# CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

GREEK TEXT EDITED

*by*

GY. MORAVCSIK

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

*by*

R. J. H. JENKINS

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GY. MORAVCSIK

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R. J. H. JENKINS

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# DUMBARTON OAKS TEXTS

# I.

# CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS
# DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

# FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

In publishing this critical edition and translation of the text of the treatise *De Administrando Imperio*, compiled exactly one thousand years ago by the emperor Constantine VII, we feel that we should explain how our work began.

The editor of the Greek text started to work on it as long ago as 1926; but the carrying out of other academic projects interfered during many years with completing the collection of his material, and bringing it into final shape for publication. Then, the latter years of the world war made completion and publication alike impossible. Fortunately, however, the ms. survived the siege of Budapest; and immediately after the war efforts were again made to finish the work, and the question arose of bringing it out.

The first draft of the English translation was made independently. But while its publication was under consideration, chance brought it into relation with the publication of the Greek text. In the pursuit of our common purpose, we established contact with one another, and agreed that text and translation should be published together, believing that an edition of a Greek text is incomplete without a translation, and having in mind that, apart from the old Latin versions and those in the Russian and Croat languages, there is still no complete translation of the treatise in existence.

From the beginning of 1947 we have worked together, through the medium of correspondence, to bring text and translation into line with one another, and have thus been able to subject the work of each to the revision of the other. Doubtless both parts of the work have benefited from this revision. Certain deficiences came to light in the Greek text, and the editor owes some corrections to the translator, who has also contributed a few conjectural emendations to the apparatus. At the same time, the translator wishes to own a special debt to the editor, whose long study and deep knowledge of the text have assisted in solving many difficulties of interpretation; and though the

translator takes responsibility for everything printed in the English version, he is happy to make this cordial acknowledgment to his senior colleague.

Edition and translation are complementary. For all that, their purposes are not quite identical; and it has been necessary that a few corruptions and errors which stand in the text of Constantine should be corrected in the version. We have therefore printed in italic those few words or phrases of the translation which do not correspond exactly with the text. References to the present edition are cited by *chapter* and *line of the chapter*; in such citations the letter «P» stands for «Proem» (Προοίμιον), *i. e.*, the introductory passage which precedes chapter 1.

Fifty years ago two scholars, the Hungarian R. Vári and the Englishman J. B. Bury, were already concerning themselves with the preparation of a new edition of Constantine. In bringing to fulfilment what they were compelled to abandon, we dedicate this work to the memory of both.

Budapest — London
15th of March, 1949.

Gy. Moravcsik — R. J. H. Jenkins

# FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

This re-edition of the Text and Translation of *D. A. I.*, which appeared in Budapest eighteen years ago, is published by the Harvard University Center for Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C., and is the first of a series of texts to be brought out by this institute. We wish to thank Dumbarton Oaks for its generosity; and also that large number of scholars whose suggestions have enlarged our apparatus and improved our translation.

Despite minor corrections, it has been possible to preserve the earlier pagination and alignment of the Greek text: so that the Commentary[1], which was arranged for use with the first edition, may equally well be used with the second.

Washington, D. C.
November, 1966 Gy. M. — R. J.

[1] Const. Porph. *De Adm. Imp.* Vol. II, Commentary (University of London, The Athlone Press, 1962).

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus[1] (905—959) was the second and only surviving son[2] of the emperor Leo VI, surnamed the Wise, (866—912) by his mistress and later fourth wife, Zoë Carbunopsina.[3] Constantine's early life was clouded by a series of misfortunes for which he himself was in no way responsible. His constitution was sickly, and he was indeed invalid throughout his life.[4] His father's birth was doubtful; and he was himself born out of regular wedlock, although his legitimacy was afterwards grudgingly recognized. From his eighth to his sixteenth year he was the pawn by turns of his malignant uncle Alexander, of his mother, of the patriarch Nicholas and of the lord admiral Romanus Lecapenus. After the seizure of power by the last of these in the year 920, he was for the next twenty four years held in a degrading tutelage, cut off from all power and patronage, and, though married to the usurper's daughter Helen, demoted successively to second, third and perhaps fifth place in the hierarchy of co-emperors. It was not until January of the year 945, at the age of nearly forty, that, with the aid of a clique of guards officers devoted to his house, he was able to expel the Lecapenid usurpers and seat himself in sole majesty on the throne that was rightfully his.

For the next fourteen years he governed, or seemed to govern: for the substance of power appears to have been in the hands of the Augusta Helen, of the hetaeriarch Basil Peteinos, of the eparch Theophilus, of the sacellarius Joseph Bringas, and of the protovestiary Basil, the emperor's illegitimate

[1] Sources in A. Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, (Paris, 1870), pp. 1—4. For date of birth, see *Vita Euthymii*, (ed. de Boor, Berlin, 1888), pp. 116—118; R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), pp. 108, 109.

[2] His elder brother, Basil, son of his father's third wife Eudocia, died in infancy; see *De Cer.*, (ed. Bonn.), I, p. 643.

[3] For her family, see Theoph. Cont., (ed. Bonn.), p. 370; *D. A. I.*, $22_{79}$; *Vita Euthymii*, p. 58; and G. Kolías, *Léon Choerosphactès*, (Athens, 1939), p. 18.

[4] Theoph. Cont., pp. 212, 379, 459, 464, 465.

brother-in-law.[5] These made or marred — for the traditions are conflicting[6] — the internal administration. The church was scandalized by the impieties of the worldly patriarch Theophylact; he, dying in 956, was succeeded by the ascetic Polyeuctus, who soon showed that stiff-necked king Stork might be worse trouble than disreputable king Log. But abroad the imperial forces, under the leadership of Bardas Phocas and his two sons, and of the protovestiary Basil, continued, with occasional set-backs, that glorious career which had begun with the accession of Michael III and was to terminate only with the death of Basil II. The sole major disaster recorded of the reign was the failure of a costly but ill-led expedition against Crete in 949.[7]

During these years the emperor devoted himself with tireless zeal to the *minutiae* of every department of administration, and to the punctilious observance of every kind of imperial ritual.[8] His greatest personal contributions to the prosperity of his empire were externally, in the sphere of diplomacy,[9] and internally, in the encouragement of higher education.[10] His relaxations were the pursuits which had always lain next his heart, and which, during the long years of his enforced seclusion, he had been able to cultivate without interruption: art, literature, history and antiquities.[11] He found domestic happiness in the society of his three daughters, whom he tenderly loved;[12] nor is there evidence that his relations with his wife were other than uniformly affectionate, despite a difference of temperament.[13] With his only son Romanus he was not so fortunate. To fit the youth for his future lofty station, he lavished on him a wealth of minute instruction[14] which was probably excessive. The boy is said to have grown up weak and even vicious; but the accounts are conflicting, and he died at the age of 24.

By the age of fifty-four the emperor was old and worn out. His fourteen years of power had been years of ceaseless toil, and his infirmities grew fast upon him. A quarrel with the patriarch Polyeuctus, whom he seems to have had in mind to depose,[15] occasioned a journey to the monks and hermits of the Bithynian Olympus; and from them he learnt the mournful tidings of his own approaching dissolution. He dragged himself back to the City guarded of

[5] Cedrenus, (ed. Bonn.), II, p. 326.

[6] F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 286ff.

[7] Leo Diac., (ed. Bonn.), p. 7; Cedrenus, II, p. 336.

[8] Theoph. Cont., pp. 447, 449.

[9] Theoph. Cont., pp. 448, 455; *De Cer.*, I, pp. 570ff.; Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, VI, 5.

[10] Theoph. Cont., p. 446.

[11] See A. Stránsky, 'Costantino VII Porfirogenito, amante delle arti e collezionista', in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, (Rome, 1940), II, pp. 412ff.

[12] Theoph. Cont., p. 459.

[13] Theoph. Cont., p. 458.

[14] Theoph. Cont., p. 458.

[15] Cedrenus, II, p. 337; Theoph. Cont., pp. 463ff.

God; and there, on the 15th of November, 959, he died.[16] In person, he was tall, broad-shouldered and erect in bearing, with a long face, an aquiline nose, blue[17] eyes and a fair complexion. Of stainless morals, deep piety and unremitting devotion to duty, he was an emperor after the hearts of his people, who testified their affection by a spontaneous outburst of grief at his funeral.

The favourable and the unfavourable traditions concerning the character of Constantine VII provide no mutually incompatible elements.[18] They show him to have been a weak and retiring personality, artistic, studious and laborious. If he drank wine to excess, it was his antidote to shyness. If he had fits of severity, even of cruelty, they were the obverse of his diffidence. His love of learning was inherited from his father, and was confirmed by seclusion. His lack of self-confidence was inveterated by his long durance in the hands of the Lecapenids. Yet in those years he was amassing a wealth of historical and antiquarian knowledge which bore fruit in those encyclopedic manuals and historical studies to which we owe the chief part of our knowledge of the machinery and organization of the mediaeval empire of East Rome.

His achievements in the cultural field were indeed immense. Of his patronage of the manual arts this is no place to speak. But of his encouragement of learning and research a word must be said. Himself deeply versed in classical learning,[19] his liberal intelligence comprehended both the theoretical and the practical aspects of knowledge, the knowledge which was good in itself, and the knowledge which was necessary to enable the practical man to arrive at a correct decision in the affairs of life.[20] To the latter branch, which was principally concerned with the study of history,[21] he devoted especial attention; and from among the graduates of his university, of which he was, after the Caesar Bardas, second founder, he chose his higher bureaucrats and churchmen.[22] To this practical education he naturally subjected his son Romanus also. If such knowledge was important for the governed in the conduct of their individual, everyday lives, how much more important was it for him who should govern all![23] How essential was it that decisions which would affect the whole world should be dictated by the utmost practical wisdom, sharpened by the widest experience and knowledge of every similar decision or parallel set of circumstances in the past!

16 The symptoms recorded (Theoph. Cont., p. 464) do not seem to support the later allegation that he was poisoned.

17 Theoph. Cont., p. 468, if that is what χαροποιούς means here; but cf. Genesis 49, 12, where the reference is to wine-induced brightness, and may in Theoph. Cont. covertly refer to the emperor's φιλοινία.

18 Rambaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

19 Zonaras, (ed. Bonn.), III, p. 483.

20 Theoph. Cont., p. 446; *D. A. I.*, $P_6$ ff.

21 Theoph. Cont., p. 211.

22 Theoph. Cont., pp. 446, 447; Cedrenus, II, p. 326.

23 *D. A. I.*, $1_6$.

This belief in the practical value of learning and education, which is set out at full in the preface to the *De Administrando Imperio* and repeated in many subsequent parts of the book, was, of course, derived through Plutarch[24] from Aristotle; and the method of education through the early inculcation of precept, which is illustrated in a long series of mediaeval manuals of gnomic wisdom, goes back ultimately to the *Ad Demonicum*[25] of the Pseudo-Isocrates, which, with the Latin *Disticha* of Cato, formed the basis of primary education throughout later mediaeval and renaissance Europe. But to Constantine may be given the credit for its revival at Byzantium; for, to teach practical wisdom, the material for such teaching is required, and was in his time extremely scanty. With tireless zeal he set about the enormous task of creating such material, and set about it in three ways: first, by diligent search for and collection of books, of which the supply was quite inadequate[26]; second, by the compilation of anthologies and encyclopedias from such books as existed but were too tedious or prolix for any but a scholar to read[27]; third, by writing or causing to be written histories of recent events and manuals of technical instruction on the various departments of business and administration.[28] A school of historians wrote beneath his eye, sometimes at his dictation.[29] Documents from the files of every branch of the administration, from the foreign ministry, the treasury, the offices of ceremonial, were scrutinized and abstracted.[30] Provincial governors and imperial envoys wrote historical and topographical reports on the areas of their jurisdiction or assignment.[31] Foreign ambassadors were diligently questioned as to the affairs of their respective countries.[32] From every quarter the tide of information rolled in, was co-ordinated and written down. Learning became the key to worldly advancement.[33] The principle

[24] Plutarch, *De Virtute Morali*, (ed. Bernardakis, Leipzig, 1891), pp. 154, 155. For this technical usage of σοφία and φρόνησις cf. *D. A. I.*, $P_7$; Romanus was of course to be σοφός as well as φρόνιμος, but practical wisdom is the end of our treatise.

[25] Cf. *Ad Demonicum*, p. 9 C, (βουλευόμενος παραδείγματα, κτλ.), with *D. A. I.*, $46_{167}$ (ἄξιον γάρ, φίλτατε υἱέ, κτλ.); *ibid.* p. 11 E (ὥσπερ ἐκ ταμιείου προφέρῃς), with *ibid.* $13_{13}$ (ὡς ἐκ πατρικῶν θησαυρῶν προφέρειν).

[26] *De Cer.*, I, p. 456; Theoph. Cont., p. 212; *Prooemium ad Excerpta de Legationibus* (M. P. G., vol. CXIII), c. 633.; *Exc. de leg.*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 1.

[27] *ibid.* pp. 633, 636.

[28] Theoph. Cont., pp. 3, 4; *D. A. I.*, $P_{25}$ (ἐσοφισάμην κατ' ἐμαυτόν). For Constantine's own works, see Rambaud, *op. cit.*, p. 73, and for those compiled under his aegis, *ibid.*, pp. 78ff.; also Moravcsik, in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, (Rome, 1939), I, pp. 514—516, and *id.*, *Byzantinoturcica*, (Budapest, 1942), I, pp. 207ff. (2nd ed. pp. 358ff.).

[29] Rambaud, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[30] Bury, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV, 1905, pp. 539ff.

[31] Theoph. Cont., p. 448.

[32] Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 553, 556.

[33] Theoph. Cont., p. 447.

laid down by the illiterate Basil I[34] found its ultimate fulfilment in the educational reforms of his scholarly grandson. This is the true glory of the Porphyrogenitus. Among the great emperors who enriched the middle-Byzantine heritage between A. D. 843 and 1204, none is to be compared with Constantine VII for depth of scholarship, catholicity of interest or fineness of taste. Of the last, his *Life* of his grandfather is a unique memorial. It was Constantine who amassed the libraries from which his successors acquired their learning. With him Byzantium, rapidly approaching the apex of its military glory, as rapidly approached the apex of its intellectual achievement, an achievement fostered by a princely patron of the arts whose like the world scarcely saw in the thirteen centuries which divided Hadrian from Lorenzo the Magnificent.

The *De Administrando Imperio*,[35] to give this nameless treatise the Latin title attached to it by Meursius,[36] was written and complied, as we know from internal evidence, between the years 948 and 952.[37] It is a manual of kingcraft addressed to the youthful Romanus, the emperor's son, and is in form, like numerous other contemporary manuals on various subjects, avowedly didactic. It aims at *teaching*[38] the youth to be a wise sovereign, first by a knowledge of past and present affairs, and second by giving him a summary of the experience of others in circumstances analogous to those likely to surround himself; so that, knowing what policies have succeeded or failed in the past, he may himself be able to act prudently and successfully in the future. The matter of this teaching is a political and historical survey of very wide extent, suitable to the training of one who is to rule the world. The preface divides it into four sections: the first, a key to *foreign policy* in the most dangerous and complicated area of the contemporary political scene, the area of the «northerners and Scythians»; the second, a lesson in the *diplomacy* to be pursued in dealing with the nations of this same area; the third and longest, a comprehensive *historical* and *geographical* survey of most of the nations surrounding the empire, starting with the Saracens to the south-east, fetching a compass round the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and ending with the Armenian states on the eastern frontier; the fourth, a summary of recent *internal history*, *politics* and *organization*, within the borders of the empire.[39] Upon the whole, these divisions are adhered to in the text as we have it.[40]

[34] Basilii Imp. *Paraenesis ad Leonem filium* (M. P. G., vol. CVII), p. XXI (περὶ παιδεύσεως; cf. *D. A. I.*, ch. 1); and *ibid.*, p. XLIX (περὶ μελέτης γραφῶν: cf. Theoph. Cont., p. 314).

[35] For full bibliography, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, pp. 215—221 (2nd ed. pp. 367—380).

[36] Johannes van Meurs (1579—1639); see below, p. 23.

[37] Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 522 ff.

[38] *D. A. I.*, $1_{13}$, (διδάξαι).

[39] *ibid.*, $P_{14-24}$.

[40] Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

The method of compilation has been elucidated in detail in the General Introduction to the Commentary[41]. These findings can here be very briefly summarized. The work as we have it now is a *rifacimento* of an earlier work which corresponds to chapters 14—42 in the present arrangement. This earlier work was a historical and antiquarian treatise probably entitled Περὶ ἐθνῶν, which the emperor had compiled during the 940's as a companion volume to his Περὶ θεμάτων. As the Περὶ θεμάτων described the origins, antiquities and topography of the imperial provinces, so the Περὶ ἐθνῶν told the traditional, sometimes legendary, stories of how the territories surrounding the empire came in past centuries to be occupied by their present inhabitants (Saracens, Lombards, Venetians, Slavs, Magyars, Pechenegs). These chapters, then, are the earliest parts of *D. A. I.* The remaining parts of the book (except for a few chapters — 23—25, 48, 52, 53 and perhaps 9 and 30 — of source-material included by oversight) are notices of a different kind: they are *political directives*, illustrated by contemporary or nearly contemporary examples. Chapters 1—8, 10—12, explain imperial policy towards the Pechenegs and Turks. Chapter 13 is a general directive on foreign policy from the emperor's own pen. Chapters 43—46 deal with contemporary policy in the north-east (Armenia and Georgia). Chapters 49—52 are guides to the incorporation and taxation of new imperial provinces, and to some parts of civil and naval administration. These later parts of the book are designed to give *practical instruction* to the young emperor Romanus II, and were probably added to the Περὶ ἐθνῶν during the year 951—952, in order that the whole treatise might mark Romanus' fourteenth birthday (952). The book as it now stands is therefore an amalgam of two unequal parts: the first historical and antiquarian, the second political and diplomatic.

The sources of the various sections, where these are known, are noted in the apparatus to the present volume. But the peculiar construction of the book, with its diversity of styles and often careless expression, calls for a note of explanation regarding the English translation. The chief value of the treatise to the modern historian lies in its third section, which provides information not found elsewhere about the origins and early history of many nations established on the borders of the Byzantine empire in the tenth century of our era. This information, valuable as it is, is often given in a style so careless as to leave many statements open to more than one interpretation. Chapter 39 is a notable instance of this;[42] but there are several others. Now, these statements have been, are and probably will continue to be the subject of controversy between scholars of many nations; and it is therefore our duty as translators, at whatever cost to elegance or even in a few cases to sense, to render

[41] See *D. A. I.* Vol. II, Commentary (London, 1962), pp. 1—8; also Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (2nd ed.) I, pp. 361—367.

[42] *D. A. I.*, $39_{3-5,\ 7-10}$.

as closely as possible what the text says rather than what we are disposed to think it means to say. Interpretations may be left to a commentary. If therefore our rendering is in some cases ambiguous, so is the original. If it often halts, so does the text. If it is often inelegant and uncouth, it is no more so than the Greek. Where our author is plain and even elegant, we have tried to preserve his idiom; where he has left his sources to tell their own stories in their own styles, we have left them too.

With all its inaccuracies and shortcomings,[43] the *De Administrando Imperio*, for the bulk and variety of its information on so much of foreign relations and internal administration, must be allowed to be one of the most important historical documents surviving from mediaeval Byzantium, even surpassing the great *Book of Ceremonies* compiled by the same indefatigable author. Its very omissions, the lack of any historical account of Bulgaria or of an up-to-date appreciation of the Saracen power, have their own historical lessons to teach us: for these two longstanding menaces to the empire had at length yielded, the one to the diplomacy of Romanus I, the other to the hammer of Gourgen. The first-hand information comes mainly from Italy, from the Balkans and Steppes, and from Armenia. In Armenia the advance of the Roman arms and the retreat of the Saracens involved a complicated Roman diplomacy in the numerous and jealous principalities beyond the eastern frontier. In a divided and enfeebled Italy, during the interim between the empires of Charlemagne and Otto, Byzantium was for the last time in its history a strong military and diplomatic influence. The only hint of anxiety comes from the north, where the watchful eyes of the foreign ministry observed intently the ever shifting kaleidoscope of the political scene, as Magyar and Slav, Russian and Pecheneg, Chazar and Alan made their complicated moves between the Caucasus and the Carpathians.

There is no doubt that the *De Administrando Imperio* was a secret and confidential document. It tells too much about the principles of imperial foreign policy and diplomacy, especially in the first thirteen chapters, to be safe for publication. Knowledge of these early chapters would have been worth untold sums in blackmail to the Pechenegs. Moreover, in the Armenian chapters there are several traces of information got through secret service channels,[44] which the government must have been most reluctant to divulge. Nor is it probable that the outspoken criticisms which the emperor passes on his father-in-law and colleague[45] were intended for general reading. These criticisms betray the justifiable resentment of a prince deprived of his throne by an interloper during a quarter of a century; but his strong regard for the imperial dignity would have debarred him from publishing this resentment to the world at

[43] Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

[44] e. g.: *D. A. I.* $43_{13-16}$, $46_{54-64}$.

[45] *ibid.*, $13_{149-175}$, $51_{184-186}$.

large. This confidential character of the book, confirmed, if confirmation be required, by its manuscript history and by the circumstance that later writers betray no knowledge of it,[46] enhances its value. It is no partial document of propaganda, fudged up to impress domestic or foreign circles. Much of it is an honest appreciation of the contemporary political situation, compiled from information upon which the government based its day-to-day foreign policy. And, as such, it is unique.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

[46] See below, p. 32.

# CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

## 1. MANUSCRIPTS

The *De Administrando Imperio* is preserved in four mss.[1] Three of these contain the full text, the fourth a part only. These mss. are:

**P** = *codex Parisinus gr. 2009*: codex on vellum, of 211 numbered leaves.[2] There are also some additional leaves, 4 at the beginning of the ms. (3 vellum, 1 paper), and 7 at the end (4 paper, 3 vellum). The leaves are of sizes varying between c. 23.8 cm — 24 cm × 15 cm. The first three of the additional leaves are blank. On the recto of the fourth is a Greek table of the contents of the codex, in a later hand;[3] on the verso of the same leaf is gummed a small slip of paper, inscribed with the table of contents in Latin.[4] On the first numbered page begins the first Greek text, which covers 4 pages (fol. 1ʳ—2ᵛ); it is entitled: Ἐπιστολὴ Πυθαγόρα πρὸς Λαΐδα («Letter of Pythagoras to Laïs»), and is followed, still on fol. 2ᵛ, by a table which relates to it. The «Letter» and table have been published from this ms. by P. Tannery.[5] At fol. 3ʳ begins the text of *D. A. I*, and it finishes at fol. 211ʳ. This text originally constituted an independent codex, with which the «Letter of Pythagoras» was subsequently bound up, as is clear from the facts, *a)* that the numeration of the quaternios

[1] See Gy. Moravcsik, ''Η χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τοῦ De administrando imperio', Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 7 (1930), pp. 138—152.

[2] See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. II (Paris, 1888), p. 178.

[3] «Κωνσταντίν(ου) βασιλέ(ως) Ῥωμαί(ων) πρὸς Ῥωμαν(ὸν) τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν καὶ συμβασιλέα ἐθνογραφία κ(αὶ) χωρογραφία κ(αὶ) ποικίλη τὶς ἱστορία τείνουσα πρὸς ὀρθὴν διοίκησιν τ(ῆς) Ῥωμαί(ων) βασιλεί(ας) No. 21.»

[4] «Codex 1783. Membr. 13. saec. Epistola Pythagorae ad Laidem cum laterculo eiusdem de vita et morbo, victoria et clade aliisque rebus, inventione et amissione, lucro et damno, bona via et mala. Constantini Imperatoris ad Romanum filium Porphyrogenitum Imperatorem. Est liber de administrando imperio, quem edidit Meursius. Ms. 1240.»

[5] 'Notices sur des fragments d'onomatomancie arithmétique', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. XXXI. 2. partie, (Paris, 1886), pp. 231—260; cf. K. I. Dyobuniotes, 'Ὀνοματομαντεία', Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου, (Athens, 1935), pp. 491—494.

begins only at fol. 3r; and *b)* that the beginning of *D. A. I.*, that is to say, the first page (fol. 3r) of the original codex, is so much worn, and the handwriting so indistinct, as to require its mending in brown ink by a later hand. In any case, the «Letter of Pythagoras» is copied in a different, and in all probability a later, hand. The subsequent history of the codex gives us, as we shall see, some clue as to when the «Letter» became attached to the ms. of *D. A. I.*

The text of *D. A. I.* ends in the middle of fol. 211r. The rest of this page and its verso, which, as it was the last page of the original codex, is very much the worse for wear, contain a number of notes in different and, in some cases, later hands. Of especial interest as casting light on the origin of the codex is that written on the then blank fol. 211v by the actual copyist of *D. A. I.*, in the same red ink which he employed for the initial letters and headings of the chapters. Some of the letters in this note are so much worn and so dim as to render them now almost illegible. The text of this metrical epilogue is as follows: [1]Βίβλος καίσ[αρ]ος [2]Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα [3]γραφῆ(σα) χερσὶν [4]οἰκογενοὺς οἰκέτου [5]Μιχα(ή)λ ὀνόματι [6]τοῦ Ῥοϊζαΐτου †, which makes it quite clear that the ms. at one time belonged to the library of the Caesar John Ducas, and that the copyist was his own confidential secretary, Michael.[6] Unfortunately there is no date, but the name of the Caesar John Ducas, references to whom in Byzantine sources occur between the years 1059—1081, proves that the ms. was copied towards the end of the XI century. This is confirmed by a dated note in a later hand on the same page, which contains a reference to the year 1098/9.[7]

Concerning the adventures of the codex during the Byzantine age we have no other information, apart from the evidence of marginal notes to be described lower down; it emerges again only towards the beginning of the XVI century, when it was copied in 1509 by Antony Eparchus, very probably in the island of Corfu (see ms. V below). By the middle of the century our ms. was in Italy, whither it had been brought perhaps through the agency of Janus Lascaris.[8] The first mention of it in Italy is in the catalogue of the library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi.[9] On the death of Ridolfi in 1550, it passed,

[6] See G. Kolias, "Ο καῖσαρ Ἰωάννης Δούκας ἀντιγραφεὺς τοῦ cod. Par. Gr. 2009 τοῦ De administrando imperio', Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 14 (1938), pp. 300—305; Gy. Moravcsik, 'La provenance du manuscrit byzantin du «De administrando imperio»', *Bulletin de la Société Historique Bulgare*, 16—18 (1940), pp. 333—337; B. Leib, 'Jean Doukas, César et moine', *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), pp. 163—180. — In the deciphering of the text I was given valuable assistance by Prof. F. Dölger (Munich) and Dir. V. Laurent (Paris), to whom I express my sincere gratitude.

[7] See Gy. Moravcsik, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 7 (1930), p. 141, but cf. V. Laurent, *Erasmus*, 3 (1950) p. 766.

[8] See B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme — Janus Lascaris — et la tradition greco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français*, (Uppsala-Paris, 1945), pp. 213, 216.

[9] «Num. 21. Constantini Romanorum Imperatoris ad Romanum filium descriptio gentium et locorum, ac varia historia ad rectam administrationem tendens.» See B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* II (Parisiis, 1739), p. 777.

τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν. καὶ καθεσθῆναι
ἡμᾶς. ἡμᾶς γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ἐκεῖ-
σε ἐκαθέζεσθαι. πρὸς τὸ εἶναι πλη-
σίον τῆς βασιλείας μου. καὶ ὅτε θέ-
λω ἀποστέλλω καὶ ἐν ταχεῖ εὑρίσκω
ἡμᾶς. πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν
τούρκων μιᾷ φωνῇ ἐξεβόησαν. ὅτι
ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοὺς πατζινακίτας
ἑαυτοὺς οὐ βάλλομεν. οὐ γὰρ δυνά-
μεθα πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς. ὅτι
καὶ χώρα μεγάλη καὶ λαὸς πολύς.
καὶ κακὰ παιδία εἰσί. καὶ τοῦ λοι-
ποῦ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πρὸς ἡμᾶς
μὴ ἐρωτήσῃς. οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτόν:-
Ὅτι καὶ οἱ πατζινακῖται ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ
δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ. μετὰ τὸ
ἔαρ διέρχονται. καὶ ἀεὶ ἐκεῖσε κα-
λοκαιρίζουσιν:~

Cod. Parisinus gr. 2009. fol. 12v

along with others of his books, into the possession of Pietro Strozzi, and later, in 1560, into the collection of Catherine de Medici. At this period some chapters from it were transcribed by Andrea Darmari (see ms. M below). From Catherine's library it passed in 1599 to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, where it was numbered 2661.[10] Now, since the relevant entry in the catalogue of Ridolfi's library is simply a Latin rendering of the Greek note on the recto of the fourth fly-leaf at the beginning of our ms. (see above), and since this entry notes *D. A. I.* only, we conclude that the «Letter of Pythagoras» was attached to our ms. subsequently to its being placed in the Bibliothèque Royale. This conclusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the present sumptuous binding of gilt red morocco bears the cypher of King Henry IV (1589—1610).

This manuscript, some pages of which have been published in facsimile,[11] I have studied by means of photographic reproductions in the Library of the Hungarian National Museum, and also by examination of the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris in 1936 and in 1948.

The text of *D. A. I.* was, as we have seen, copied by a certain Michael Roïzaïtes. Only in two passages (fol. $31^v$—$32^r$ = $14_{22}$ συμψευδομαρτυροῦντος —$15_6$ πολέμους καὶ, and $35^v$—$36^r$ = $20_6$ καὶ τὴν νῆσον — $21_{13}$ γενέσθαι)[12] has another hand relieved him. The text is written in single columns, and the columns vary in dimension between c. 16—17 cm. deep × 11—12 cm. across. The medium is the usual dark brown Byzantine ink, save that initial letters and headings of chapters are in red, a detail which goes back to the original copyist. The script is a mixture of uncial and minuscule; γ, δ, ε, ζ, η, κ, λ, μ, ξ, π are written both ways indifferently; uncial forms of β, φ, ω are uncommon, and very rare are uncial forms af α, ν, σ, ψ. Here and there we find a cursive ϑ, while τ occasionally rises above the height of the other letters. Rough breathing is still angular in shape, but the smooth breathing is always round. The writing is either on the ruled lines or under them, but never above them. Ligature abbreviations are frequent; short-hand abbreviations and

[10] See H. Omont, 'Un premier catalogue des manuscrits grecs du cardinal Ridolfi', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 49 (1888), pp. 309—323; J. Haury, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der hist. Classe der bayer. Akademie der Wiss.* 1895. I, pp. 142—143, 147; V. Gardthausen, *Sammlungen und Cataloge griechischer Handschriften*, (Leipzig, 1903), p. 18; F. Dölger, 'Der Titel des sog. Suidaslexikons', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-hist. Abt. 1936. Heft 6., (München, 1936), pp. 36—37.

[11] See *Árpád és az Árpádok*, szerk. Csánky Dezső, (Budapest, 1908): fol. $111^r$ = p. 46/7., fol. $112^v$ = p. 168/9., fol. $113^r$ = p. 174/5., fol. $115^v$ = p. 140/1.; cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, (Budapest, 1943), p. 51 (2nd ed. pl. II, no. 4). See also the facsimile on the opposite page.

[12] For the principles which have been applied to the transcription of the mss. variants, see below p. 37.

abbreviations by suspension occur rarely, and mostly at the ends of lines. The copyist is fond of special ligatures for ατ, σσ, ττ, of kinds which occur in other contemporary mss.

In the orthography the most notable points are these: iota subscript is never found, iota adscript once only ($53_{382}$ τῶι). As regards peculiarities of accentuation, we may note that proper names ending in -ῖται in many cases carry the paroxytone accent in nom. and gen. plural (e. g. $2_2$ Πατζινακίται, $8_{14}$ Πατζινακίτων, $53_{535}$ Χερσωνίται, $53_{65}$ Χερσωνίτων); while the genitive plural of paroxytone racial names in -ος is sometimes perispomenon (e. g. $28_{43}$ Φραγγῶν, $32_2$ Σερβλῶν). The word ἐπεί is occasionally accented with double stroke: ἐπεῒ (e. g. $48_{22}$, $49_9$, $49_{13}$). With regard to misspellings due to pronunciation, it is particularly noticeable that the copyist makes the same error consistently through a series of particular words or forms. Characteristic examples of such regularly repeated misspellings are: αι for ε at the end of 2nd person plural verbs (e. g. $8_{27}$ ἐκαθέζεσθαι, $53_{70}$ μάθεται, $53_{477}$ ὑποδείξαται); ει for η commonly in the words εἴτις = ἥτις (e. g. $13_6$, $26_{64}$, $29_{234}$), εἴπερ = ἥπερ (e. g. $38_{49}$, $50_{192}$) and εἷς = ἧς (e. g. $31_1$, $35_1$, $43_{187}$); and in the augmented forms of the verb αἰτῶ (e. g. $29_{157}$ εἰτίσατο = ᾐτήσατο, $42_{29}$ εἰτήσαντο = ᾐτήσαντο, $50_{209}$ εἰτήσατο = ᾐτήσατο); η for ει almost invariably in the infinitive forms -ειν and -εῖν (e. g. $1_8$ πηδαλιουχῆν, $47_9$ διαπεσῆν), and quite often also in the words ἢ and ἡ = εἰ (e. g. $13_{87}$, $29_{148}$, $41_{16}$), δῆ = δεῖ (e. g. $13_{19}$, $13_{146}$), and in the verb ὑπήκω = ὑπείκω (e. g. $38_{38}$, $50_{29}$, $50_{81}$). Some confusion is seen in the use of ει and η in the different forms of the verbs λαμβάνω and λείπω (e. g. $P_{31}$ λείψεται = λήψεται, $25_{54}$ συνελείφθη = συνελήφθη, $29_{203}$ ἀπολείψεσθαι = ἀπολήψεσθε, $21_{26}$ ὑπελήφθησαν = ὑπελείφθησαν, $26_{30}$ καταληφθεὶς = καταλειφθείς, $46_{22}$ κατελήφθη = κατελείφθη). ω is found consistently for ο in the -ονται termination of the 3rd person plur. pres. ind. pass. (e. g. $9_{111}$ κατέρχωνται, $31_{29}$ περισώζωνται, $37_{64}$ εὑρίσκωνται); and often also in the termination -ον of nom. neut. partic. act. (e. g. $9_{67}$ ἔχων, $13_{99}$ κατελθὼν, $37_{58}$ ἀποβλέπων). From verbs beginning with ο the temporal augment is usually absent (e. g. $13_{51}$ διορίσατο, $26_{71}$ μετονομάσθη, $30_{46}$ ὅρμισαν). From the point of view of the history of Byzantine pronunciation it is significant that in our codex we frequently meet with υ for οι (e. g. $20_2$ στυχήσας = στοιχήσας, $45_4$ μυχευθήσης = μοιχευθείσης, $51_{120}$ ἤνυξαν = ἤνοιξαν), and *vice versa* (e. g. $9_{35}$ προίμναν = πρύμναν, $26_{52}$ ὀμνοίοντες = ὀμνύοντες, $53_{191}$ φροιαττόμενος = φρυαττόμενος). This proves that at the period when the work was copied, the pronunciation of these two sounds was still identical (a modified *u*). An odd feature, which we meet here and elsewhere, is the frequent interchange between the forms ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς (e. g. $27_{35}$ $43_{15}$ $53_{69}$). As regards consonants, we note uncertainty in the writing of double consonants (e. g. $P_{27}$ ἀντιτάσεσθαι, $15_9$ φοσάτον, $42_{23}$ ἐναλλασόμενοι, $9_{19}$ ἰουννίου, $28_{22}$ νησσῶν, $45_{39}$ σήμμερον); and the substitution of μθ, μπ for νθ, νπ (e. g. $13_{107}$ συμπεμθεριᾶσαι, $26_9$ ἐμ Παλαιστίνῃ, $27_{76}$ ἐμπρώτοις); and of χν for γχν (e. g. $29_{97}$ σπλαχνησθεῖς = σπλαγχνισθείς). These details also throw light on

contemporary pronunciation. There is a curious use of ν for γ before γ, κ, χ (e. g. $27_{73}$ Κόνκορδα, $29_{38}$ ἐνκρύμματα, $43_{113}$ διαγονγγύζοντες, $52_{11}$ κονχυλευταί); moreover, while on the one hand the accusative sing. in α of 3rd declension substantives and the -θη or -η of the 3rd pers. sing. aor. pass. indic. add a ν before a word beginning with a vowel (e. g. $13_{32}$ βασιλέαν, $26_{49}$ ῥίναν, $26_{65}$ θυγατέραν, $53_{317}$ νύκταν, $32_{33}$ ἐγεννήθην, $43_{177}$ ἀπεστάλην), on the other hand the ν of the acc. sing. of μέγας (e. g. $9_{29}$, $41_{6}$, $46_{151}$), and of the 1st pers. sing. aor. pass. indic. drops off before words beginning with a consonant (e. g. $27_{28}$ ἐνομίσθη, $29_{168}$ ἐδιώχθη, $53_{347}$ ἠναγκάσθη).

In the ms. we note several words erased, amended, completed or corrected. A detailed study of the original may identify traces of at least six different hands in the text and, besides, of five other hands which have added marginal notes. There is no doubt that the copyist himself made some erasures and corrections; but from the styles of the handwriting and from other evidence it can be established that many alterations have been made by hands in the XIV and later centuries. In one place a marginal gloss bears a date which proves it to have been written in 1361/2 ($16_{8}$). To determine the chronology of certain other alterations we may argue from the fact that in V, which was copied from P, we often find the true text as it was before correction, which proves that at least these alterations in P were done by a hand posterior to the date when V was copied, that is, posterior to 1509 (e. g. $P_{19}$ ἐθνῶν P V: ἐθῶν $P^{y}$ || $38_{44}$ ὁ Ἀλμούτζης P V: Σαλμούτζης $P^{y}$ || $38_{49}$ Ἀλμούτζη P V: Σαλμούτζη $P^{y}$).

In the margins of the ms. are notes, some of which are from the hand of the original copyist, but others, as the style of handwriting demonstrates, from those of later readers, principally of the XIV and XVI centuries. Some of these notes are in Latin. In the marginal notes, too, we may distinguish at least six hands. Those which go back to the hand of the copyist are mainly chapter-headings and citations of the contents, which were added to the text either by collaborators of the imperial author or by later scribes and readers. At least one of these original notes is not contemporary with the work itself, as is proved beyond doubt by its reference to the Abbot John Tornices as holder of the office of Syncellus, an office which, as we know, was conferred on him about the year 979;[13] this note, therefore, was written about three decades after the treatise was compiled.

A list of these original comments, and the passages to which they refer, is as follows: $1_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν || $2_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν (καὶ) τῶν Ῥῶς || $3_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν Πατζινακιτ(ῶν) (καὶ) Τούρκ(ων) || $4_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν γ' ἐθν(ῶν) || $5_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν Πατζινακιτ(ῶν) (καὶ) τ(ῶν) Βουλγάρων || $6_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν Πατζινακιτ(ῶν) (καὶ) Χερσωνιτῶν || $7_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τ(ῶν) ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος ἀποστελλομ(ένων) βασιλικ(ῶν) ἐν Πατζινακίᾳ || $8_{1}$

[13] N. Adontz, 'Tornik le moine', *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), pp. 148—149.

Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἀποστελλομ(ένου) βασιλικ(οῦ) ἐκ τ(ῆς) πόλ(εως) διὰ τ(ῶν) ποτ(α)μ(ῶν) || $8_{23}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ κληρικοῦ Γαβριήλ || $9_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ πῶς κατέρχωντ(αι) οἱ Ῥῶς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπό(λει) || $9_{22}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν λεγομ(ένων) καταράκτ(ων) || $9_{39}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ β' φραγμ(οῦ) || $9_{43}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ γ' φραγμ(οῦ) || $9_{45}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ δ' φραγμ(οῦ) || $9_{57}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ε' φραγμοῦ || $9_{61}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ς' φραγμοῦ || $9_{64}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ζ' φραγμοῦ || $9_{72}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῆς νήσου καὶ τοῦ δρυὸς καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν || $9_{114}$ Πε(ρὶ) τ(ῶν) Οὔζω(ν) || $10_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῆς Χαζαρίας || $11_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῆς Χερσῶνο(ς) και τ(ῆς) Βοοσπόρου || $13_{73}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ λαμπροῦ || $16_{1}$ Τὸ θεμάτιν τῶν Σαρακιν(ῶν) (καὶ) ποῖον χρό(νον) ἐξῆλθ(ον) || $21_{16}$ Διέρε(σις) τῶν Ἀράβων || $21_{37}$ ε' ἀρχηγὸ(ς) Ἀράβων || $21_{49}$ Οὗτος παρεκάθησε(ν) τὴν Κωνσταντινούπο(λιν) || $22_{9}$ ͵ςρη' || $22_{40}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῆς νήσσου τῆς Κρήτης || $22_{61}$ ͵ςσπη' || $31_{6}$ Διὰ τί λέγωνται Χρ(ω)-βάτοι || $33_{10}$ Πόθ(εν) λέγω(ν)ται Ζαχλούμοι || $34_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) ἑτέρ(ων) ἐθνῶν || $36_{18}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπο(στόλου) Λουκᾶ καὶ Παύλου || $37_{15}$ Ὅτι η' ἄρχο(ν)-τες εἰσὶ(ν) ἐν Πατζιν(α)κία || $37_{33}$ Ὅτι (καὶ) εἰς μ' μέρη ἡ Παζινακί(α) || $38_{10}$ Ὅτι οἱ Τούρ(κοι) εἰς ζ' διαιροῦνται || $42_{1}$ Πε(ρι)ήγη(σις) γεωγρα(φικὴ) τῆς σκυθικῆς γῆς || $43_{136}$ Οὗτο(ς) ἐστὶ(ν) ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ Νικο(λάου) μαγίστρου τοῦ Τορνίκη || $44_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τ(ῶν) κά(στρων) τ(ῆς) Ἀνατολῆς || $45_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τῶν Ἰβήρων || $45_{56}$ Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστὶν) ὁ Τζιμισχ(ῆς) ἐπικληθεὶς || $45_{100}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ κά(στρου) τοῦ Ἀβνίκου || $45_{103}$ Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστὶν) Ζουρβανέλ(ης) ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ τοῦ Τορνίκη τ(οῦ) ἀβᾶ τοῦ ἀρτ(ίως) συγκέλλου || $46_{1}$ Πόθ(εν) γεγόνα(σιν) οἱ Ἴβηρες || $47_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τ(ῶν) Κυπρίων || $50_{235}$ Ποίου τιμήματ(ος) ἦν τοῦ (πρωτοσπαθαρίου) ἀξίωμα || $51_{1}$ Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ δρομωνίου || $53_{10}$ Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστὶν) ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντ(ίνου) π(ατ)ήρ.

The marginal notes appended by later hands consist principally of repetitions of words or names occuring in the text; but there are a few which are worth noting from the point of view of their content. These are: $3_{1}$ Πατζινάκαι οἱ Δᾶκες πρότερον $P^{5}$ (cf. Suidas s. v. Δάκες, ed. Ada Adler, II, p. 2.) || $5_{1}$ Πατζινάκαι οἱ Δάκες, Βουλγάροι οἱ Μυσοί $P^{5}$ || $16_{8}$ νῦν δέ (ἐστιν) ͵ςωσ' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε' ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότ(ε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ' $P^{3}$ || $21_{69}$ Περὶ τοῦ Ἀλὴμ τοῦ γαμβροῦ τοῦ Μουάμεθ $P^{2}$ || $21_{74}$ Πόλεμος Ἀλὴμ καὶ Μαβία $P^{8}$ || $28_{25}$ Μαδαμα(ύκον) τὸ νῦν Μαλαμόκ(ον) $P^{8}$ || $29_{258}$ Τραγούριον $P^{7}$ || $30_{115}$ Ἀλβούνου $P^{7}$ Ἀλμπόνα $P^{8}$ || $32_{11}$ Σέρβλια $P^{5}$ τὰ νῦν Σέρβοια ἐν τῇ Βεροία $P^{8}$ || $32_{12}$ Σέρβλοι διὰ τί δοῦλοι ῥωμαϊκ(ῶς) $P^{5}$ || $36_{20}$ Φάρα νῆσος ἡ Λέζενα $P^{8}$ || $36_{21}$ Βράτζης νῆσος τὰ Πράτζα $P^{8}$ || $40_{24}$ Ἐτὲλ πο(ταμὸς) κ(αὶ) Κουζοῦ $P^{8}$.

Marginal notes and textual emendations are especially frequent in the chapters dealing with the Arabs (14—22), a fact which, like the gloss of the year 1361/2, mentioned above, suggests that this section of the treatise was at some time or another an object of peculiar interest to Byzantine readers.

The original text has not merely been subject to emendations and alterations by later hands, but has also been touched by the hand of time. We have said that the writing on the first and last pages of the originally independent ms. was so much worn and faded that it had to be rewritten. Traces of

such rewriting are observable in other parts of the codex as well. Apart from these ravages of time, some leaves (fol. 59, 63, 75, 80) have received such material damage through clipping of the margins that the text itself is impaired and some letters are missing.

V = *codex Vaticanus—Palatinus gr. 126*: codex on paper of 271 numbered leaves; 3 additional leaves at the beginning, 1 at the end. Leaves measure 21.2 × 15.4 cm. Ms. contains several works. After *D. A. I.*, which covers fol $2^r$ to $127^r$, come works of Tzetzes, Theophrastus, Bessarion and Nicolas Secundinus, though these have been copied by other hands.[14] At the end of the text of *D. A. I.*, at the bottom of fol. $127^r$, are two notes in the hand of the copyist: δόξα τῷ θ(ε)ῷ τῷ λόγον καὶ γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀν(θρώπ)οις δωρουμένῳ: ͵αφθ′: ἰουν(ίῳ) ε′ⁿ ἐτελειώθ(η): ͵αφνδ′ᵛ μαΐῳ ις′ⁿ. ἐγὼ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἔπαρχος παῖς ὢν κατὰ τὸ ͵αφθ′ον ἔτος ἔγραψα τὸ ἄνωθ(εν) βιβλίον («Glory be to God who giveth understanding and knowledge to men: finished, 5th June 1509. — 16 May, 1554: I, Antony Eparchus, then a boy, wrote this book in the year 1509.») It was, then, the well-known humanist of Corfiot origin, Antony Eparchus (1491—1571), who copied the ms. — apart from a single passage at fol. $16^v$ (= $13_{192-197}$), which is in another hand — in the 18th year of his age; three years before, in 1506, he had completed his ms. copy of the Gospels.[15] The ms. passed into the possession of John Egnatius (1473—1553),[16] probably very soon after it was copied, since Egnatius in the book which he published in 1516 refers to it as being already in his library.[17] It should seem that the second note, dated 16th May 1554, was penned when Eparchus, after the death of Egnatius, came across his own copy among the relics of the deceased. The codex next passed

[14] See H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci bibliothecae Vaticanae*, (Romae, 1885), p. 60.

[15] See E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique au 15e et 16e siècles*, I, (Paris, 1885), pp. CCX—CCXXVII; L. Dorez, 'Antoine Eparque', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 13 (1893), pp. 281—364; M. Vogel—V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, (Leipzig, 1909), p. 35.

[16] Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 302; A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise*, (Paris, 1875), pp. 449—452.

[17] «. . . hic (sc. Constantinus) à literis, optimisque disciplinis non abhorrens, quas penè extinctas ab interitu uindicauit, librum Romano filio reliquit. in quo summam totius imperii, sociorum omnium foedera, hostium uires, rationes, consilia explicuit. quem nos in bibliotheca nostra tanquam thesaurum seruamus, in quo multa de Venetis etiam nostris imperator ipse disserat.» See J. B. Egnatius, *De Caesaribus libri III a dictatore Caesare ad Constantinum Palaeologum, hinc à Carolo Magno ad Maximilianum Caesarem*, (Venetiis, 1516) (sine numeris pag.); cf. *Romanorum principum ll. III*, ex recognitione Des. Erasmi Roterodami, (Basileae, 1518), p. 850.

to the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg, where it appears in the catalogue compiled by Fr. Sylburg about the year 1584.[18] From Heidelberg it was transferred in 1623, along with other mss., to the Vatican Library in Rome.

In the margins of V, as of P, there is a number of notes in Greek and Latin, which are the additions of later readers. An exceptionally large proportion of these notes is appended to the chapters dealing with Venice (27, 28), which obviously were of particular interest to Italian readers. Some of these are worth our attention: $27_{69}$ μαστρομήλης ὁ καπετάνιος || $27_{73}$ Κονκόρδια || $27_{80}$ Κόγραδον vide ne Γράδον || $27_{82}$ Ῥιβαλένσης || $27_{83}$ Λικέντζιά || $27_{86}$ Μαδοῦκον || $27_{87}$ Βρουνδουλον (*sine acc.*) || $27_{88}$ Λαύριτον || $27_{93}$ Ῥίβαλτον || $28_{22}$ Ἀεΐβολας || $29_{258}$ Τράγουρις || $29_{263}$ Κάτερα.

I have studied this ms. partly by means of photographic reproductions in the library of the Hungarian National Museum, and partly by examination of the original in the Vatican Library in 1927 and in 1936.

F = *codex Parisinus gr. 2967*: codex on paper, of 241 numbered leaves and 11 additional leaves. Leaves measure 32 × 21.5 cm. Apart from the text of *D. A. I.*, which covers fol. $1^r$ to $80^v$, ms. includes several other works, such as compositions of Photius, Themistius, Choricius, Polybius and Apollodorus.[19] The first part of *D. A. I.* (fol. $1^r$ to $16^v$) was copied by Antony Eparchus, as appears from a comparison of the script with that of V; the remainder (fol. $17^r$ to $80^v$), together with the excerpts of Polybius and the work of Apollodorus, which are together at the end of the ms. (fol. $125^r$ to $241^r$), is the work of another hand. Omont in his catalogue identified this copyist as the Cretan Michael Damascene, but in the index of the same catalogue we find instead the name of Valeriano de Forli.[20] A comparison with the script of the last named and with other mss. of Michael Damascene[21] shows that the copyist of the latter part of *D. A. I.* was not Valeriano de Forli, but Michael Damascene.

The first mention of F occurs in the catalogue of mss. sent by Jerome Fondulo to Fontainebleau in 1529.[22] That the ms. there mentioned is in fact

[18] «126. Constantini Imper. ad Romanum filium suum liber de Notitia utriusque Imperii, orientalis sc. et occidentalis in quo et de rebus Turcicis, aliisque nationibus hodiernis. Citatur in eodem Theophanis Chronographia bis . . .» See Friderici Sylburgii *Catalogus codicum Graecorum M.SS. olim in Bibliotheca Palatina, nunc Vaticana asservatorum* . . ., (Francofurti ad M., 1701), p. 40.

[19] See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire* . . . III, (Paris, 1888), p. 76.

[20] *Introduction. Liste des copistes des manuscrits grecs*, (Paris, 1898), p. XXXIII; cf. M. Vogel—V. Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 371.

[21] Cod. Paris. gr. 1926, 2937 (Michael Damascene); cod. Paris. gr. 1687, 1823, 1830, 2376 (Valeriano de Forli); cf. H. Omont, *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs du XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, (Paris, 1887), II pl. 36., 48.; E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, (London, 1906), p. 178; E. Thompson—Sp. P. Lampros, Ἐγχειρίδιον ἑλληνικῆς καὶ λατινικῆς παλαιογραφίας, (Athens, 1903), p. 297.

[22] «No. 25. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως πρὸς υἱὸν Ῥωμανόν.» See H. Omont, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^er et Henri II*, (Paris, 1889), p. 372.

our F is proved by later catalogues, which mention not only *D. A. I.*, but also the other components of the same ms. These catalogues are: the catalogue of 1544;[23] that of 1550, by Angelo Vergetius and Constantine Palaeocappa;[24] and that compiled in the reign of Charles IX (1550—1574).[25] Since, as we shall see, F is a copy of V, it is certain that it was written between 1509—1529, to which period are assignable also the water-marks of fol. 1—80.

I have studied this ms. both through photographic reproductions and by examination of the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris in 1936 and in 1948.

**M** = *codex Mutinensis gr. 179 (III F 1)*: codex on paper, of 104 leaves. Leaves measure 32.4 × 22.4 cm. Fol. $2^r$ to $6^v$ of the ms. contain text of chh. 15—21 of *D. A. I.* ($15_1$ Περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν Φατεμιτῶν — $21_{118}$ διὰ ξηρᾶς), copied by Andrea Darmari.[26] As to chronology, we know only that the dated mss. of this famous copyist fall between the years 1560—1586.[27] I have studied the relevant portion of this ms. by means of photographic reproductions.

## 2. EDITIONS

Of the Greek text in its entirety seven editions have hitherto been published. The first edition was published in 1611 by John Meursius (= **Me**) under the title «*De administrando imperio*»[28] a title which he himself gave to the work and which has been since then generally adopted. In his notes he informs the reader that the basis of his edition was the Vatican ms. (= V), which was at that time still in the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg. Meursius

[23] «No 199. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως πρὸς υἱὸν Ῥωμανὸν καὶ Φωτίου περὶ ι' ῥητόρων.» See H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

[24] «Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νουθεσίαι. Νο 334. Βιβλίον α' μήκους, ἐνδεδυμένον δέρματι λευκῷ, εἰσὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νουθεσίαι πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμανὸν τὸν Πορφυρογέννητον, ὅπως δεῖ γινώσκειν παντὸς ἔθνους φύσεις τε καὶ ἤθη καὶ ἰδιώματα, καὶ τόπων καὶ χωρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ποῖον ἐξ αὐτῶν δύναται ὠφελῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποῖον οὐχί, καὶ ἱστορίας τινὰς νέας. Φωτίου πατριάρχου περὶ δέκα ῥητόρων. Θεμιστίου ...». See H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[25] «No 560. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νουθεσίαι.» See H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

[26] See V. Puntoni, 'Indice dei codici greci della biblioteca Estense di Modena', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 4 (1896), p. 495.

[27] See Vogel—Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 16—27.

[28] *Constantini Imperatoris Porphyrogeniti, De Administrando Imperio, ad Romanum F. Liber nunquam antehac editus.* Ioannes Mevrsivs primus vulgavit, Latinam interpretationem, ac Notas adjecit. Lvgdvni Batavorvm. Ex officinâ typographicâ Ioannis Balduini, impensis verò Ludovici Elzeviri. CIↃ.IↃC.XI.

worked on it by favour of the then librarian, Janus Gruterus.[29] Six years later a new edition came out, but is was simply a literal copy of the first.[30] The text, with corrections from Bandur's edition, was also published by John Lami in his complete edition of the works of Meursius.[31]

A century after the first edition, that is, in 1711, the work was republished by Anselm Bandur (= **Ba**).[32] It appears from his introduction that Bandur collated the text of Meursius' edition of 1617 with the original Paris ms. (P), and was thus able to introduce several corrections into his text.[33] Bandur's edition was twice reprinted: an uncorrected reprint appeared in 1729, in the Venetian collection of the Byzantine Historians[34], and in 1864 Migne republished Bandur's text with a few corrections.[35]

The final edition was the work of Emmanuel Bekker (= Be),[36] who did not divulge his methods, though it is clear that he did not use any fresh ms. material.

Editions containing excerpted chapters only of *D. A. I.* have generally followed Bekker's text. Such are, e. g., the editions of Fr. Rački,[37] H. Marczali,[38]

[29] «Scias autem unde habeam. Descripsi ante quatuor amplius annos ex Codice qui est in Bibliothecâ Palatinâ, et Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii olim fuisse perhibetur ... Quin accessit huc quoque comitas V. C. Jani Gruteri, eius praefecti, per quem liber mihi quotidie ad eam accessus patuit.» See *ed. cit.*, Notae, p. 2.

[30] *Constantini Porphyrogennetae Imperatoris Opera. In quibus Tactica nunc primum prodeunt.* Ioannes Mevrsivs collegit, coniunxit, edidit. Lvgdvni Batavorum. Ex Officinâ Elzeviriana. Anno CIↃIↃCXVII.

[31] *Ioannis Meursi Operum volumen sextum* ex recensione Ioannis Lami, Florentiae, CIↃ.IↃ.CC.XLV., cc. 929—1132.

[32] *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in quatuor partes distributae* ... Operà et studio Domni Anselmi Banduri Ragusini, Presbyteri ac Monachi Benedictini è Congregatione Melitensi. Tomus primus. Parisiis. Typis et sumptibus Joannis Baptistae Coignard, Regis et Academiae Gallicae Architypographi. MDCCXI. (Corpus Byzantinae Historiae XXXIII.), pp. 53—157.

[33] «Imprimis textum Graecum contuli cum Codice MS. membranaceo Bibliothecae Regiae, optimae notae num. 2661. quem annis ab hinc circiter quingentis scriptum fuisse aiunt: innumerabiles mendas, quibus Meursiana editio undique scatebat, sustulimus, loca corrupta ac mutila quae plurima erant in textu Graeco edito ex eodem MS. Regio sarcivimus.» See *op. cit.*, p. IV.

[34] *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in quatuor partes distributae* ... opera et studio D. A. Banduri ... Venetiis 1729. (Corpus Historiae Byzantinae XV.) I., pp. 45—127.

[35] *Patrologiae cursus completus* ... Series Graeca posterior ... accurante J. P. Migne t. CXIII., Parisiis 1864, c. 158—422.

[36] *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus De thematibus et De administrando imperio. Accedit Hieroclis Synecdemus cum Banduri et Wesselingii commentariis.* Recognovit Immanuel Bekkerus, Bonnae MDCCCXL. (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae), pp. 65—270.

[37] Fr. Rački, *Documenta historiae Croaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium VII.) (Zagrabiae, 1877), pp. 264—419.

[38] Pauler-Szilágyi, *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői*, (Budapest, 1900), pp. 110—136; H. Marczali, *A magyar történet kútfőinek kézikönyve* (Enchiridion fontium historiae Hungarorum), (Budapest, 1902), pp. 27—55.

J. B. Bury,[39] St. Stanojević — V. Ćorović,[40] A. Gombos,[41] and G. Cankova-Petkova — P. Tivčev.[41bis] Only C. G. Cobet, who published a part of ch. 9 dealing with the Russians,[42] and E. Jakubovich, who published chh. 38—40 dealing with the Hungarians,[43] made a fresh collation of P. Certain variants in P are cited by V. Thomsen,[44] G. Fehér,[45] F. Šišić[46], H. Grégoire[47] and K. O. Falk[47bis] in their works. A new edition of the chh. on the Southern Slavs prepared by R. Vári was never published, and his ms. is in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum.[48]

The plan for a new critical edition of *D. A. I.* originated when the Hungarian scholar, R. Vári, at that time a young man, began preliminary researches in 1892 with a view to elucidating the ms. tradition.[49] The plan next engaged the English historian J. B. Bury, who proposed to include the work in his collection of Byzantine Texts. But these projects came to nothing. Bury, in a letter dated 5th October, 1925, announced that he had given up the plan of an edition, which he surrendered to me.

[39] J. B. Bury, *The early History of the Slavonic Settlements in Dalmatia, Croatia, & Serbia, Constantine Porphyrogennetos De administrando imperio,* Chapters 29—36. (Texts for Students No. 18.), (London, 1920).

[40] St. Stanojević—V. Ćorović, Одабрани извори за српску историју I, (Beograd, 1921), pp. 58—72.

[41] A. B. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCI.* T. I, (Budapestini, 1937). pp. 720—727.

[41 bis] Гръцки извори за българската история V (Sofia, 1964), pp. 198—220.

[42] C. G. Cobet, 'Locus Constantini Porphyrogeniti ex codice archetypo Parisino descriptus', *Mnemosyne*, 4 (1876), pp. 378—382.

[43] E. Jakubovich—D. Pais, *Ó-magyar olvasókönyv* (Tudományos Gyüjtemény 30.), (Pécs, 1929), pp. 6—10.

[44] V. Thomsen, *Der Ursprung des russischen Staates*, (Gotha, 1879), p. 59.

[45] G. Fehér, 'Ungarns Gebietsgrenzen in der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts. Nach dem De administrando imperio des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos', *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 2 (1922), p. 46. = 'Magyarország területe a X. század közepe táján Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos De administrando imperioja alapján', *Századok*, 56 (1921—22), p. 354.

[46] F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara*, (Zagreb, 1925), p. 239.

[47] H. Grégoire, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* V. *Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, (Bruxelles, 1937), p. 450.

[47 bis] *Dneprforsarnas namn i Kejsar Konstantin* VII *Porfyrogennetos*' De administrando imperio (Lund, 1951).

[48] 12. Quart. Graec. fol. 11—79, 99—105.

[49] R. Vári, 'Jeléntes Constantinus Porphyrogennitus De administrando imperio czimű munkájának kéziratairól', *Akadémiai Értesitő*, 6 (1895), pp. 710—712.

## 3. TRANSLATIONS

Of the full text of *D. A. I.* four translations have been published, two in Latin, one in Russian, and one in Croat.

The first Latin rendering, supplied by Meursius, was printed in his edition of 1611 and afterwards reprinted without alteration in the edition of 1617: it appeared side by side with the Greek text. It was reprinted by Lami in his collected works of Meursius, as an appendix.[50] The translation of Meursius was radically revised and amended by Anselm Bandur in his edition of 1711, and the revised version was published in the Venice edition of 1729. Bandur's rendering was also republished by Lami, side by side with the Greek text, in his collected works of Meursius. The same rendering was introduced, practically without alteration, by Bekker into his edition of 1840 and by Migne into the text of his *Patrologia* (1864).

*D. A. I.* was translated into Russian by G. Laskin,[51] and into Croat by N. Tomašić.[52]

Translation of select chapters or sections have been published in many works and in many languages. We may instance the following: several passages in Latin translation are to be found in Stritter's collection;[53] N. V. Malickij published a revised Russian translation of chh. 1—14, 38—40, 42—46 and 53, which was found in ms. among the papers of V. V. Latyšev[54]; Russian renderings of other passages are found in the works of E. Kunik, N. Protopopov, A. Zernin, V. Jurgevič, K. Grot, F. I. Uspenskij, S. P. Šestakov, F. Westberg, N. P. Kondakov and others. K. Dieterich turned some chapters into German.[55] German translations of select passages are found in the works of A. C. Lehrberg, E. Kunik, V. Thomsen and others; French translations in the work of M. Brosset; and English in that of C. A. Macartney. Serb and Croat renderings of select passages have been published in the works of Fr. Rački, A. Pavić, F. Šišić, G. Manojlović, Stanojević—Ćorović, B. Ferjančić and others; and

[50] See *ed. cit.*, c. 1133—1208.

[51] 'Сочиненія Константина Багрянороднаго: „О ѳемахъ" (De thematibus) и „О народахъ" (De administrando imperio)', Чтенія въ Имп. Обществѣ исторіи и древностей россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ 1899, I (188), (Moskva, 1899), pp. 1—262.

[52] *Vjesnik kr. Hrvatsko-Slavonsko-Dalmatinskoga Zemaljskog Arkiva*, 20 (1918), pp. 1—91; *Vjesnik kr. Državnog Arkiva u Zagrebu*, 3 (1928), pp. 1—70.

[53] J. G. Stritter, *Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, mare Caspium et inde magis ad septemtriones incolentium e scriptoribus historiae Byzantinae erutae et digestae* I—IV, Petropoli, 1771—1779.

[54] (V. V. Latyšev—N. V. Malickij), 'Константина Багрянородного Об управлении государством,' Известия Государственной Академии истории материальной культуры 91, Moskva—Leningrad, 1934.

[55] K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* I—II, (Leipzig, 1912).

Bulgarian in the work of G. Cankova-Petkova—P. Tivčev. A Hungarian version of the chh. dealing with the Hungarians may be found both in the editions of H. Marczali and in the special study of K. Szabó.

## 4. MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

A full collation of the four mss. (P, V, F, M) and of the three editions (Me, Ba, Be) shows their mutual relationship to have been as follows:

V is a simple transcript of P. This is clear from the following considerations:

1. V contains many orthographical errors, which are due to the peculiar and individual forms of letters employed by P, that is to say, they are due to palaeographical causes. Antony Eparchus imitated faithfully in many places the peculiarities and abbreviations in the script of P, but occasionally misread some of the letters and abbreviations, e. g.: $13_{183}$ περιγίνεσθαι P: περιήνεσθαι V || $29_{63}$ Χρωβάτοι P: Χρωμάτοι V || $30_{110}$ Βράτζα P: Βράτζω V || $42_{88}$ Χαράκουλ P: Χωράκουλ V || $43_{87}$ ἔγγραφον P: ἄγγραφον V || $43_{111}$ Κα^κι^κίου P: Κικίου V || $43_{169-170}$ α^θ'^ Κρινίτ(ην) P: ἀκρινίτην V || $50_{199}$ προβληθέντας P: προκληθέντας V || $53_{425}$ ἔσπευσε(ν) P: ἔπεσεν V || $53_{429}$ λεληθότι P: λεμθότι V.

2. In other passages some letters of P are indistinct and were in consequence omitted by the copyist of V, e. g.: $13_{136}$ προσετρίψατο P: προετρέψατο V || $14_{16}$ συναναστρεφόμενος P: συνανατρεφόμενος V || $25_{14}$ μεταπεμφθεὶς P: μεταπεμφεὶς V.

3. Further, it is clear that in two places the copyist of V has written a passage twice over, just because the initial words of the duplicated passages happen in P to recur at the beginning of a line. These dittographies are: $50_{126}$ Μεσοποταμίαν — $50_{128}$ θέμα *iter.* V. || $51_{198}$ μαγίστρου — ὄντος *om. et a*^θ'^ — ταξειδεύειν (cf. $51_{194-195}$) *iter.* V.

4. Basic corruptions of P recur in V. Common to both versions are: $P_{19}$ αὐτῶν *om.* P V || $1_4$ δεῖν *om.* P V || $9_{90}$ καιρὸς] ταρὸς P V || $13_{77}$ Θεοῦ *om.* P V || $26_{71}$ *post* ἔτη *lac. ind.* P V || $29_{47}$ ῾Ρωμάνους] Κομάνους P V || $29_{50}$ τὰ Δεκάτερα] τάδε κάστρα P V || $32_{29}$ χριστιανῶν] χρόνων P V || $37_{22}$ Χαραβόη] Χαβόη P V || $38_{33}$ Λεβεδία] χελάνδια P V || $42_{23}$ τριακόσιοι] τὰ P V || $42_{27}$ ὁ καὶ P V || $53_{101}$ ἀθροίλους P V.

5. Antony Eparchus incorporated into his version additions and alterations made by later hands in P, among which is the note, already referred to, which bears the date 1361/2, e. g.: $16_8$ *post* ͵ϛρλ' *siglo* ·/. *adhibito* νῦν δέ (ἐστιν) ͵ϛωο' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε', ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότ(ε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ' *mg. add.* P³: ͵ϛρλ' νῦν δέ ἐστι ͵ϛωο' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε', ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότ(ε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ' V || $21_{55}$ *post* ἱκανόν *s. v. add.* ἤτι ζ' ἔτη P³: ἱκανὸν, ἤτοι ἔτη ζ' V || $22_{81}$ *post* Βασιλείου *s. v. add.* τοῦ ἐκ Μακεδονίας P³: Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐκ Μακεδονίας V.

6. In two passages of the text of P ($22_{53}$, $22_{57}$: correction of the word Ἀράβων) we recognise unmistakably the handwriting of Antony Eparchus (= P[4]).

These examples prove indisputably that the youthful Antony Eparchus copied V from P in 1509. For all that, V is not a faithful, verbal transcript of P. The text of V, as compared with P, shows many significant variants, a large proportion of which has crept into the editions (Me, Ba, Be). It is unnecessary to detail all the errors of V; some examples are:

1. The copyist of V often omits words or phrases, e. g.: $9_{15}$ καὶ ἀπέρχονται *om.* V (F Me) || $13_{49}$ βασιλέως *om.* V (F Me Ba Be) || $21_{49-50}$ τοῦ Μουάμεϑ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀράβων, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν *om.* V (F Me) || $25_{57-59}$ ἐν τῷ Βαγδάδ, ἔστιν δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μουάμεϑ γενεᾶς, ἤτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ . ὁ δὲ δεύτερος καϑέζεται *om.* V (F Me) || $40_{57}$ ἐποίησεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἐζέλεχ *om.* V (F Me) || $45_{11}$ χρηματισϑῆναι *om.* V (F Me Ba Be) || $50_{90-91}$ Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ στρατηγὶς τοῦρμα ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων στρατηγίδος *om.* V (F Me) || $50_{152}$ καὶ *om.* V (F Me Ba Be) || $51_{72-74}$ ὁ τοῦ πρωτοσπαϑαρίου Ἀρσενίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου πατήρ. Οὗτοι δέ, ὅ τε ὁ πρωτοσπαϑάριος ὁ Ποδάρων καὶ ὁ πρωτοσπαϑάριος Λέων ὁ Ἀρμένης *om.* V (F Me) || $53_{343-344}$ Καὶ λέγει τῇ παιδίσκῃ. «Πῶς εὗρες τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο;» *om.* V (F Me).

2. The copyist of V read or transcribed some words incorrectly, e. g.: $9_{69}$ φϑάζειν P: φϑάνειν V (F Me Ba Be) || $25_{50}$ κροτηϑέντος P (Ba Be): κρατηϑέντος V (F Me) || $27_{87}$ Βροῦνδον P (Ba Be): Βροῦδον V (F Me) || $30_{42}$ ἀρεσϑέντες P: ἐρασϑέντες V (F Me Ba Be) || $32_{94}$ ἔχοντας P (Be): ἔχοντες V (F Me Ba) || $38_{64}$ πρὸ ῥηϑέντες P: προειρημένοι V (F Me Ba Be) || $40_{7}$ Κάβαροι P (Ba Be): Βάκαροι V (F Me) || $40_{34}$ Σφενδοπλόκος P (Ba Be): Σφενδονοπλόκος V (F Me) || $42_{106}$ Σπαταλοῦ P: ποταμοῦ V (F Me Ba Be) || $43_{26}$ ἐσκήπτετο P (Be): ἐσκέπτετο V (F Me Ba) || $44_{19}$ Ἀπελβάρτ P (Ba Be): Ἀπελκάρτ V (F Me) || $50_{148}$ Βαασακίου P (Me Ba Be): Κaασακίου V (F) || $51_{114}$ πλοκούς P: πλοκὰς V (F Me Ba Be) || $53_{271}$ Γυκίαν P: γυναῖκα V (F Me Ba Be) || $53_{403}$ βάλεται P: λάβετε V (F Me Ba Be) || $53_{525}$ πραγματείας P: πράγματος V (F Me Ba Be).

3. The copyist of V sometimes replaced the numerical cyphers of P by the verbal equivalents, or, conversely, rendered the numerals of P by numerical cyphers, e. g.: $9_{36}$ α′ P: πρῶτον V (F Me Ba Be) || $9_{45}$ δ′ P: τέταρτον V (F Me Ba Be) || $9_{53}$ ἕξ P (Me Ba Be): ς′ V (F) || $16_{7}$ ιβ′ P: δωδέκατον V (F M Me Ba Be) || $23_{16}$ β′ P: δευτέρας V (F Me Ba Be) || $26_{28}$ α′ P: πρῶτον V (F Me Ba Be) || $29_{248}$ μιᾶς P: α′ V (F Me Ba Be) || $30_{20}$ ͵α P: χιλίων V (F Me Ba Be) || $46_{6}$ γ′ P: τρεῖς V (F Me Ba Be) || $52_{6}$ δύο P (Me Ba Be): β′ V F.

4. The copyist of V occasionally changed the word-order, e. g.: $P_{40}$ αἰώνιος καὶ ἀνώλεϑρος P: ἀνώλεϑρος καὶ αἰώνιος V (F Me Ba Be) || $7_{1-2}$ περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν P: περὶ τῶν ἀποστελλομέ-

νων βασιλικῶν ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος V (F Me Ba Be) || $9_{105-106}$ ἐξέρχωνται ἄρχοντες P: ἄρχοντες ἐξέρχονται V (F Me Ba Be) || $13_{50-51}$ διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς P: ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου V (F Me Ba Be) || $17_8$ ἐσθίοντα ἀπὸ καμήλου P (M): ἀπὸ καμήλου ἐσθίοντα V (F Me Ba Be) || $29_{258}$ νησίον ἐστὶν μικρὸ(ν) P: μικρόν ἐστι νησίον V (F Me Ba Be) || $32_{92}$ ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος P: γενόμενος ἐν τούτῳ V (F Me Ba Be) || $46_{42}$ ἔστιν ὀχυρὸν πάνυ P: ὀχυρόν ἐστι πάνυ V (F Me Ba Be) || $49_{50}$ ναὸν αὐτοῦ P: αὐτοῦ ναόν V (F Me Ba Be) || $50_{226}$ τῆς αὐτοῦ P: αὐτοῦ τῆς V (F Me Ba Be).

5. The copyist of V occasionally made stylistic changes, e. g.: $16_{4-5}$ καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων διέπω(ν) P (M): καὶ τίς ἦν τότε ὁ βασιλ(εὺς) Ῥωμαί(ων) V (F Me Ba Be) || $29_{37-38}$ διαπερασάντων ποτὲ τῶν Ῥωμανῶν, ποιήσαντες οὗτοι ἐνκρύμματα P (Ba Be): διαπεράσαντες ποτὲ οἱ Ῥωμάνοι ἐποίησαν οὗτοι ἔγκρυμα V (F Me) || $38_{60-61}$ παρὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο P: μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν οὐκ ἐποίησαν V (F Me Ba Be) || $46_{110}$ βαλὼν αὐτὸ εἰς κοντάριον P: λαβὼν αὐτὸ εἰς κοντάριον περιέθηκε καὶ V (F Me Ba Be) || $50_{67}$ τοῦ τελεῖν αὐτοὺς P: ἵνα τελῶσι τὰ V (F Me Ba Be).

6. The copyist of V occasionally inserted words which are missing in P, e. g.: $9_{48}$ *post* ἅπαντα *add.* τὰ μονόξυλα τὰ V (F) || $9_{61}$ *ante* δεύτερον *add.* εἰς τὸν V (F Me Ba Be) || $9_{106}$ *post* Κίαβον *add.* ποταμὸν V (F Me) || $18_1$ *post* Ἀράβων *add.* ἀρχηγὸς V (F Me) || $29_{203}$ *ante* μέλλοντος *add.* τοῦ V (F) || $33_9$ *post* βασιλέα *add.* Ῥωμάνων V (F) || $40_{32}$ *post* ἐκεῖνο *add.* τὸ V (F Me Ba Be) || $42_{66}$ *post* μέχρι *add.* τοῦ V (F Me Ba Be) || $50_{229}$ *ante* πατρίκιος *add.* ὁ V (F Me Ba Be) || $53_{25}$ *post* Χερσωνιτῶν *add.* χώρας V (F Me Ba Be) || $53_{308}$ *ante* παίδων *add.* τῶν V (F Me Ba Be) || $53_{390}$ *post* ἔθος *add.* μου V (F Me Ba Be) || $53_{480}$ *post* πόλεως² *add.* αὐτὴν V (F Me Ba Be).

If we look more closely at the variants of V, we observe that they are only in part oversights or slips of the copyist, while others of them represent a deliberate attempt to emend the text. Antony Eparchus, like so many other humanists, was, it should seem, no slavish copyist, but showed some independence in his efforts to correct what he was copying. This is clear also from the fact that in many places he has emended not only misspellings in P, but also textual corruptions.

Comparison of the mss. makes it clear that F is copied immediately from V. This is proved not only by the circumstance that at the end of the text of F we discover the same chronological note which, as we saw, Antony Eparchus appended to V in 1509, but also by the fact that all the omissions, repetitions and variants of V recur in F; that is to say, where P and V disagree, F invariably follows V to the letter. The copyist of F was faithful to the text of V, but here and there introduced noteworthy corrections of his own.

It is also beyond question that in his transcription into M of the section relating to the Saracens, Andrea Darmari copied from P. This is proved indisputably by the fact that where P and V disagree, M always agrees with

P, and further that Darmari introduced into his text corrections and additions made by later hands in P. Numerous errors distort his text; and in two places the copyist has incorporated marginal notes from P as though they were chapter-headings.

As for the editions, Meursius, as he tells us himself, used V: but comparison shows that in many places he has diverged from his original. These divergences are in most cases blunders on the part of Meursius, and only in a few instances can be regarded as deliberate attempts at emendation. Some of his blunders Meursius himself corrected in the «Notae breves» and «Errata» appended to his edition, but most of them perpetuated themselves in the later editions, Ba and Be.

Discrepancies between the text of Meursius and V are:

1. Meursius omitted many words and phrases, e. g.: $2_3$ πρὸς ἀλλήλους *om.* Me || $13_{198}$ καὶ ἐθῶν *om.* Me || $21_{91-92}$ Μαυίου γέρων πρὸς τὸν γέροντα τοῦ *om.* Me || $26_3$ τοῦ *om.* Me (Ba) || $26_{12}$ ἐστέφθη παρὰ τοῦ τότε πάπα. Καὶ *om.* Me || $27_{79}$ κάστρου *om.* Me (Ba Be) || $29_{16-17}$ καὶ καταμαθεῖν, τίνες κατοικοῦσιν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διαπεράσαντες *om.* Me || $29_{253-254}$ ὅλον καὶ ποιῆσαι τὰ παλάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ κάστρου *om.* Me || $36_{11-12}$ 'ἀβάπτιστοι' ἑρμηνεύονται, τῇ τῶν Ρωμαίων δὲ διαλέκτῳ *om.* Me || $43_{170-171}$ αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβέσθαι καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν *om.* Me || $44_{66}$ τὸ κάστρον *om.* Me (Ba Be) || $46_{53}$ τὸ *om.* Me (Ba) || $49_{63-65}$ καὶ ἀναστήσονται καὶ ἀπαγγελοῦσιν αὐτὸ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ πρεσβειῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου *om.* Me || $53_{65}$ παρὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν *om.* Me || $53_{129}$ αὐτοὺς *om.* Me (Ba Be) || $53_{172-173}$ τόπῳ πολεμήσαντες τὸν Σαυρόματον ἐνίκησαν, ἐν ᾧ *om.* Me || $53_{502}$ Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρα βρύσις ἔστιν ἐκεῖσε ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσα *om.* Me.

2. Meursius misread or miscopied several words, and his edition has also typographical errors, e. g.: $1_{21}$ θεοφυλάκτω (P) V (F Be): θευφυλάκτῃ Me (Ba) || $9_{10}$ αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβινίαι (P) V (F): οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι Me (Ba Be) || $17_{17}$ ἀποκτενόμενος (P) V (F): ἀποκτεινόμενος (M) Me (Ba Be) || $27_{30}$ Λαγούβαρδοι (P) V (F): Λογουβάρδοι Me (Ba Be) || $37_{22}$ Κουρκοῦται (P) V (F): Κουρκοῦταν Me (Ba Be) || $40_5$ Κουρτουγερμάτου (P) V (F): Κουρτυγερμάτου Me (Ba Be) || $43_{70}$ διατρίψας (P) V (F Be): ἐπιτρίψας Me (Ba) || $43_{110}$ ἀνεβλάστησεν (P) V (F): ἐβλάστησε Me (Ba Be) || $49_{73}$ τὸ τί (P) V (F Ba Be): τότε Me || $50_5$ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένου πάκτου (P) V (F): τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένων πάκτων Me (Ba Be) || $53_{113}$ ἡμεῖς (P) V (F Ba Be): οὐδεὶς Me || $53_{357}$ ἐκλεξάσθωσαν (P) V (F): ἐκλεξάτωσαν Me (Ba Be) || $53_{428}$ ἐνεχθῆναι (P) V (F Be): ἠνεχθῆναι Me (Ba).

3. Meursius in most cases replaced the numerical cyphers of V by the verbal equivalents, e. g.: $9_{57}$ ε′ (P) V (F): πέμπτον Me (Ba Be) || $18_5$ γ′ (P) V (F M): τρία Me (Ba Be) || $29_{98}$ ρ′ (P) V (F): ἑκατόν Me (Ba Be) || $29_{265}$ ιε′ (P) V (F): δεκαπέντε Me (Ba Be) || $30_{50}$ ͵α (P) V (F): χιλίων Me (Ba Be) || $37_{33}$ μ′ (P) V (F): τεσσαράκοντα Me (Ba Be) || $40_{38}$ α′ (P) V: πρῶτος (F) Me (Ba Be) || $49_{39}$ γ′ (P) V (F): τρίτη Me (Ba Be) ||

$51_{21}$ β′ (P) V (F): δεύτερον Me (Ba Be) || $53_{295}$ ι′ ἢ ιβ′ (P) V (F): δέκα ἢ δώδεκα Mε (Ba Be).

4. Meursius made occasional changes in word-order, e. g.: $27_{20}$ ἀποσταλῆναι μοι (P) V (F): μοι ἀποσταλῆναι Me (Ba Be) || $29_{211}$ σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ (P) V (F): αὐτοῦ σφαγῆς Me (Ba Be) || $29_{286}$ ἐκεῖσε κλύδωνα (P) V (F): κλύδωνα ἐκεῖσε Me (Ba Be) || $32_{136}$ τῶν ‘Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς (P) V (F): βασιλεὺς ‘Ρωμαίων Me (Ba Be) || $40_{51}$ κύρια ὀνόματα (P) V (F): ὀνόματα κύρια Me (Ba Be) || $45_{141}$ γενέσθαι δοῦλος (P) V (F): δοῦλος γενέσθαι Me (Ba Be) || $50_{130-131}$ τῶν ’Ρωμαίων ἐξουσίαν (P) V (F): ἐξουσίαν τῶν ‘Ρωμαίων Me (Ba Be) || $51_{125}$ βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον (P) V (F): δρομώνιον βασιλικὸν Me (Ba Be) || $53_{369}$ πληροφορῆσαι ἐν ὅρκω (P) V (F): ἐν ὅρκῳ πληροφορῆσαι Me (Ba Be).

5. Meursius here and there inserts words missing in V, and hence in P also, e. g.: $9_{1}$ *ante* ‘Ρωσίας *add.* τῆς Me (Ba Be) || $9_{63}$ *post* τούτου *add.* καὶ Me || $22_{29}$ *ante* ’Ιουστινιανὸν *add.* τὸν Me (Ba Be) || $22_{64}$ *ante* τὴν[1] *add.* διὰ Me || $25_{3}$ *post* Βρεττανίαν *add.* ἀλλὰ Me || $25_{28}$ *post* ἑσπερίου *add.* Λιβύης Me (Ba Be) || $25_{63}$ *post* ὅτι *add.* ἐν τῷ Me (Ba Be) || $27_{44}$ *ante* τῶν *add.* διὰ Me (Ba Be) || $40_{60}$ *ante* υἱοὶ *add.* οἱ Me (Ba Be) || $43_{73}$ *post* εἰς *add.* τὴν Me (Ba Be) || $46_{15}$ *ante* ‘Ρωμανίας *add.* τῆς Me (Ba Be) || $50_{4}$ *post* κάστρου *add.* τοῦ Me (Ba Be) || $50_{229}$ *ante* βασιλέως *add.* τοῦ Me (Ba Be) || $53_{288}$ *post* ταῦτα *add.* τὰ Me (Ba Be).

If we take into consideration that the ms. V used by Meursius contains, as we have shown, innumerable errors, we can scarcely wonder that the first edition presents a sufficiently corrupted version of the original. It should, however, be emphasized that Meursius, particularly in his notes, made a large number of emendations to the text, and of these emendations later editions have made use.

The edition of Bandur marks an advance on that of Meursius; Bandur, as he himself records, collated Meursius' text with P, and was thus able to correct, both in his text and in his notes, a large number of errors originating partly in V and partly in Me. But Bandur did not make his collation with the necessary care, with the result that many omissions and blunders escaped his attention. How many errors of Meursius were corrected by Bandur, and how many Bandur transferred to his own edition, may be easily discerned if we look at the examples given above in our examination of the relationship of V and Me, and note the proportion of the number of errors found in V Me and Me only to the number of errors found in V Me Ba or V Me Ba Be, and in Me Ba or Me Ba Be. To the number of inherited blunders Bandur added a fresh crop of his own, e. g.: $6_{8}$ πέπερι Ba (Be) || $29_{61}$ ἐξ *om.* Ba || $29_{82}$ ἑρμηνεύονται Ba (Be) || $30_{94}$ οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι Ba (Be) || $40_{12}$ Λιούντινα Ba (Be) || $45_{21}$ καὶ[1] *om.* Ba (Be) || $46_{111}$ Κωνσταντίνῳ (*per comp.* P)] Κώνσταντι Ba (Be) || $46_{144}$ Κωνσταντῖνος (*per comp.* P)] (Be) Κώνστας Ba || $51_{70}$ πρωτοσπαθάριος *om.* Ba (Be) || $51_{200}$ Λογουβαρδίᾳ Ba (Be) || $53_{218}$ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατῷ *om.* Ba (Be) || $53_{251}$ ἀρχομένου Ba (Be) || $53_{455}$ τῆς[1]]τὴν Ba (Be).

Bekker's edition marks no considerable advance. He made no study of mss., and therefore made no use of fresh ms. material. He republished Bandur's text, which he occasionally emended by his own conjectures. Although he recorded in his critical apparatus the variants between the mss. used by Meursius and Bandur, and between their respective editions, yet he merely copied this information out of Bandur's notes, as is seen from the fact that he reproduces Bandur's typographical errors. Bekker's edition therefore repeats numerous errors of earlier editions, as appears in our examination above of the relationship between V Me and Ba; and he added to their number the slips and typographical errors of his own edition, e. g.: $21_{42}$ κροβάλλονται || $26_{16}$ τὸν] τὴν || $29_{26}$ κάστρον$^{2}$ *om.* || $30_{78}$ καὶ μόνον *om.* || $30_{88}$ καὶ *om.* || $30_{103-105}$ *ordinem versuum permutavit* || $37_{2}$ οἱ *om.* || $37_{18}$ Κουλπέῃ || $37_{49}$ πλησίεστερον || $37_{55}$ κόντευρα || $45_{44}$ τὸν$^{1}$ *om.* || $45_{101}$ προσφασιζόμενος || $45_{145}$ Μασάτον΄|| $46_{69}$ πᾶσας || $47_{19}$ ἐν *om.* || $49_{42}$ τἆλλα || $49_{60}$ παραδόττες || $50_{79}$ τὴν *om.* || $50_{213}$ Νικήτης || $51_{159}$ νήπιον τυγχάνειν τὸν βασιλέα, καθὼς εἴρηται, καὶ τὸ *om.* || $51_{174}$ τῷ βασιλεῖ || $53_{267}$ τε$^{1}$ *om.* || $53_{510}$ τὸ χωρίον *om.*

In the light of our examination of the mutual relationship of mss. and editions, we may summarize as follows the history of the text of *D. A. I.*

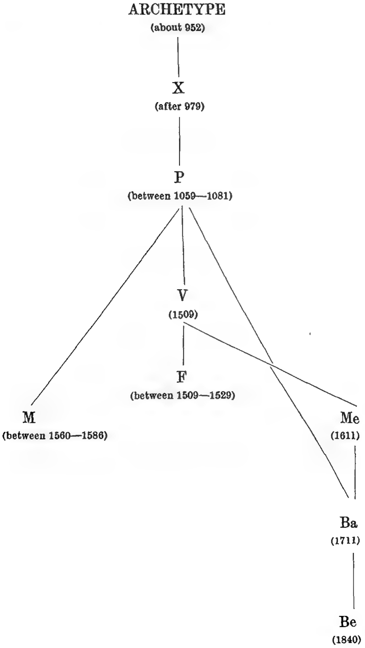
Of *D. A. I.*, as of the *De Cerimoniis*, only one ms. survives from the Byzantine age.[55 bis] In view of the fact that none of the later Byzantine historians or chronographers makes use of the work, we must conclude that *D. A. I.*, which was a confidential, indeed a most secret, document, was never published, but only preserved at the imperial court. There, probably, it was discovered by a member of the imperial family, the Caesar John Ducas, who between 1059 and 1081 had it copied for his library. But P is not an immediate copy of the original. Since P exhibits so many corruptions, and one marginal note refers to the year 979, we must postulate, between the archetype and P, yet another copy, probably made towards the close of the X century after the death of the author. Marginal notes and emendations make it clear that P continued to be read during the Byzantine age; from the note of 1361/2 and from other corrections we may conclude that the chh. on the Saracens were of peculiar interest at the period when the Ottoman Turks had crossed the Hellespont (1360) and were threatening the capital.

After this the history of P is obscure. We do not know where it went from the library of John Ducas or what was its fate, until it came into the hands of Antony Eparchus. Certain it is that during the Renaissance the interest of Venetian humanists was aroused by the chh. of the work dealing with Venice, as is clear from the marginal notes to V; and that it is owing to this circumstance, not merely that the copy from the library of the Byzantine

[55 bis] But see now C. Mango—I. Ševčenko, 'A New MS of the *De Cerimoniis*', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), pp. 247—249.

Caesar reached Italy, but also that, at the beginning of the XVI century, two other complete copies of the work were made there as well. Upon the copy of Antony Eparchus was based the first edition of Meursius, the errors of which Bandur endeavoured to correct by a collation with the Byzantine copy; but even so, many inherited errors were transmitted not only to his own edition but also to the final edition of Bekker, published more than a century ago.

The relationships of mss. and editions may be seen at a glance in the following tree:



## 5. METHOD FOLLOWED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

It will be clear from our examination of the relationship of mss. and editions that all the known mss. of *D. A. I.* derive from a Byzantine copy of the XI century, P, which is thus the source of the whole textual tradition. On this ms. therefore, a new edition must be based.[56] However, as we have emphasized, P exhibits additions, erasures and emendations which are partly the work of the copyist or a contemporary, and partly of various later hands. These last are again divisible into two categories: into those which were added to P before V and M were copied, and those which were added after V and M were copied. Insertions of the former class, which go back to the Byzantine age, are of unequal value: we find among them alterations which are mere arbitrary additions of later readers, such as the marginal note of 1361/2; but there are others, especially in the chh. dealing with the Arabs, which do emend errors which have occurred in the copying of P. Additions of the second category, dating from the post-Byzantine period and consisting of arbitrary alterations made by later readers, are of no value whatever; a characteristic specimen of these is the garbling from analogy of the original name 'Almoutzis' (see $38_{44}$, $38_{49}$). But, apart from the attentions of later hands, P has also, as we saw, sustained material damage; and to restore the occasionally faded or mutilated text we are compelled to have recourse to the copies of P, made when P was in better condition than it is to-day. For these reasons, then, to restore the original text of P, use must be made of its copies, V and M.

But even if the text of the Byzantine version preserved to us be purged of its later alterations and be restored, so far as may be, to its original state, the question remains whether P, thus restored, can be regarded as a faithful replica of the original text of Constantine. Since our new edition rests upon one ms. only, which cannot be checked by comparison with any other, the problem thus raised can be solved only by reference to internal evidence, that is, to the condition of the text as preserved in P and to the linguistic peculiarities of the work. There can be no doubt that copyist's errors have crept even into P. It can be demonstrated that in some passages the copyist has omitted words, as is seen is cases where the text is mutilated or unintelligible (e. g. $1_4$, $9_{19}$, $13_{77}$, $22_{61}$, $26_{71}$, $46_{95}$). It is also certain that, in other passages, we have to deal with more serious corruptions (e. g. $13_{177}$, $29_{58}$, $29_{229}$, $38_{33}$, $42_{23}$, $53_{101}$), which can only be conjecturally emended.

In correcting the text of P, we have to take into account the fact that *D. A. I.* is compiled from various sources of which the language is not uniform. In some chapters we find vulgarisms whose removal would distort the genuine

[56] See Gy. Moravcsik, 'L'édition critique du «De administrando imperio»', *Byzantion,* 14 (1939), pp. 353—360.

form of the work.[57] But since, as we saw above, the orthography of P is extremely faulty, there are many places where it is not easy to determine which linguistic peculiarities are native to Constantine's text and which are to be put down to the copyist. So, for example, we see in P forms which indicate the amalgamation of the participles of οἶδα and εἶδον (e. g. $45_{140}$, $49_{28}$, $49_{34}$, $53_{193}$, $53_{419}$, $53_{429}$), a phenomenon exemplified also in papyri and other demotic texts.[58] Again, as is well known, in later Greek certain forms of indicative and subjunctive coincide in pronunciation; and since P often confuses the diphthong ει with the vowel η, these forms coincide and amalgamate in its text also. It is well known, too, that in the post-classical age the conjunction ἵνα is followed by indicative as well as subjunctive; and since the orthography of P is not consistent, we sometimes find after ἵνα indicative and subjunctive forms used alternately even in the same sentence (e. g. $13_{81}$—$_{83}$, $53_{516}$). All these and other confusions in the orthography of P (e. g. absence of the temporal augment) often make it hard to determine when we have, or have not, the right to correct it.

Again, it is common knowledge that Constantine drew one part of his material from written sources which have come down to us independently. Such sources are, apart from citations of Holy Scripture, the Chronicles of Theophanes and George Monachus, the *Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, the Acts of the Synod in Trullo, etc. Elsewhere, passages of *D. A. I.* agree so closely with parallel passages of the *De Thematibus*, attributed to the same imperial author, and of the work known as Theophanes Continuatus, that for these passages we must postulate a common source. Some passages, then, of *D. A. I.* have come down to us immediately, and do not depend on P. We can thus compare the text of P with the text of the sources of the work, which sources may be used to restore the text of *D. A. I.*

A comparison of the text of P with that of the sources and of other parallel passages shows that the author sometimes followed his originals faithfully, but at other times modified their styles, and occasionally supplemented his sources with others of unknown origin. But for our appraisal of the text of Constantine it is of great importance to realize that the text of *D. A. I.* preserved to us, when compared with the text of its sources, gives evidence in several places of serious corruption. At first sight we might conclude that

[57] See Gy. Moravcsik, Τὰ συγγράμματα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου ἀπὸ γλωσσικῆς ἀπόψεως', *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 5 (1938), pp. 514—520.

[58] See S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, (Munich, 1938), p. 91.

P is a faulty copy, and that these errors must be corrected from the sources. But this is not so. A more searching examination shows that these supposed corruptions were to be found already in some mss. of the sources themselves (e. g. $25_{30}$, $42_{49}$). It follows that, as Constantine or his collaborators copied the sources they used out of mss. which were themselves corrupt, it is incorrect to attribute these corruptions to the carelessness of the copyist of P or other copyists of *D. A. I.*; we must, on the contrary, suppose that these very corruptions stood even in the original ms. of Constantine. Recognition of this fact, and of its bearing on the restoration of the original form of *D. A. I.*, enjoins upon us the preservation of these corruptions in our text; since, if we emend P, we shall be disturbing the true text as Constantine wrote it. Of course, in the many cases where direct evidence is lacking, it is very hard to pronounce whether a corruption is of pre- or post-Constantinian origin, that is to say, whether it has been introduced by the copyist or existed already in the mss. of the sources and was thence transferred to the original ms. of Constantine. In this difficulty we derive some assistance from the fact that, considering the corruptions from the point of view of their nature and quantity, we note a great difference between those sections of *D. A. I.* which are based on contemporary information and those which the editor has derived from older, written sources. In the former sections we find fewer errors, mainly of a minor character; but in the latter, which had been subject to continual transcription over a period of a century or more, the corruptions are proportionately greater in numbers and importance. This principle cannot be used as an absolute criterion; we have in each case, according to the nature of the corruption, to judge whether the corruption in question is or is not anterior to the age of Constantine, and whether in consequence we may or may not retain it in his text.

In view of these facts, the principles applied to the new edition may thus be summarized:

The new edition is based on P, the text of which, however, in places where it is disturbed by material damage, erasures or alterations by later hands, is restored by reference to V and M. The critical text diverges from P when the text of P appears to be corrupt, that is to say, in places where it may be supposed that, owing to copyists' errors or alterations by later hands, the text of P does not correspond to the original text of Constantine's work. In such places we have taken into account the variants of the later transcripts (V, F, M) and editions (Me, Ba, Be) and the conjectural emendations of later researchers; and on the basis of these we have emended the text of P.

Besides, the critical text diverges from P in spelling also. Modern spelling has been adopted, which has involved the tacit correction of errors arising from itacism, of accentual errors (including the Byzantine system of enclitic accentuation) and of other irregularities. This has been done the more readily since in our description of P above we have pointed out its orthographical peculiarities. We have kept the forms of the codex for the *ephelcusticon* and

for elision, although P is not consistent in their use. As regards numbers in the text, P uses verbal forms and cyphers indifferently, sometimes in the same sentence; we have substituted verbal forms for cyphers in the text only where consistency absolutely demanded it.

The apparatus criticus falls into two parts, and contains

1. references to sources and parallel passages (*F*);

2. variants of mss. and editions, and emendations and conjectures of scholars (*V*).

In the first section we have directed attention not merely to the immediate sources of Constantine but also to other, parallel passages which may assist the understanding of passages to which they are referred. But we have restricted ourselves to Greek sources only, because the enumeration of all parallels in the different Western and Eastern sources would have made the apparatus too bulky. In cases where there is no question of borrowing, but only of a common source, of similar sources of information, or simply of fortuitous concord, we cite the works in question with the symbol «cf.».

In the second section, the following principles have been adopted. In each case where, for reasons already set forth, we diverge from the text of P, or where traces of emendations or erasures appear in the text of P, the fact is noted *positively*; i. e. we indicate the origin of the variant adopted in the text, and the reading of P, and if necessary, the readings of the later transcripts V, F, M, and of the editions Me, Ba, Be. In all other cases, that is, where the form adopted in the text differs only in spelling from the form found in P, or when noteworthy variants are recorded in later transcripts or editions, we note *negatively*, that is, we confine ourselves to a reference to the variants in the transcripts or editions in question.

In its references to P, the apparatus records not only the corrections of the copyist himself ($P^1$), but also the alterations and the marginal notes made by different later hands ($P^2$—$P^9$). By the symbol $P^x$ are noted the alterations or erasures which were made by an unrecognizable hand before V was copied, and by the symbol $P^y$ are noted the alterations or erasures which were made by another unrecognizable hand after V was copied. We have left unnoted erasures or alterations which are of a purely orthographical character, or those which occur in words whose meaning is obvious, though we note all erasures and alterations met with in uncommon proper names. Unnoted also are traces of occasional attempts by later hands to amend faded writing, unless such traces suggest that the text has been altered.

Orthographical irregularities of P are noted in the apparatus only when they occur in uncommon proper names, words of foreign derivation, colloquial words, or where the handwriting of P admits of more than one reading; and lastly where the accent falls on a syllable other than that which generally carries it. Abbreviations of P are noted only where their interpretation is doubtful, or when numerals are denoted by letters.

Variants found in V, an immediate transcript of P, are noted in the apparatus only in cases where the parallel passages of P have suffered from material damage, erasures or alterations by later hands, or where V gives a variant which differs from the variant of P and which may serve to elucidate or emend the text. Variants found in F, a transcript of V, are noted only in exceptional cases, i. e. when F supplies some emendation of substance, or where the parallel passages of both V and P show trades of alteration. Variants found in M, a transcript of P, are noted only when erasure or alteration is found in the parallel passage of P.

We regard it as unnecessary to note in the apparatus all the omissions, all the blunders and all the alterations of later transcripts and editions, especially as in our description of mss. and editions we have already given several examples. The apparatus, therefore, notes only the variants which are informative from the point of view of the restoration or history of the text (including the discrepancies between our new text and the text of Be). Note that where reference is made to the text of the editions, the abbreviations noted above (Me, Ba, Be) are employed; but where we refer to emendations or conjectures in the notes or apparatus of the editions, we cite them under the names of the respective editors (Meursius, Bandur, Bekker).

If a source copied word for word by Constantine has come down to us independently, our apparatus notes variations therefrom, but not omissions and arbitrary alterations made by Constantine, who often modified the wording of his sources. Where, however, the author has inserted anything into the text of his source, this is noted in the apparatus.

In respect to these sources, it has been found necessary in two cases to examine their mss., and make use of the results of the new collation. The relevant passages of the edition of Theophanes Continuatus I have collated with V (= codex Vaticanus gr. 167), and of *De Thematibus* with C (= codex Parisinus gr. 854); the variants are noted in the apparatus. Special treatment had to be applied to the text of George Monachus; for, as C. de Boor has shown, the emperor Constantine made use of that variant of his text which is represented by codex P (= cod. Coislin. gr. 305). We have therefore considered in the apparatus those variants especially which occur in this codex of George Monachus.

In the apparatus ms. variants are noted in all cases in the original spelling, omitting only the horizontal strokes above proper names and the dots over the ι and υ. Variant proper names are given an initial capital. Uncial numerical signs are replaced by the usual minuscule forms, and the horizontal stroke above them by the acute stroke universally employed to-day. Signs and technical details of the apparatus of our edition are generally in conformity with the ruling of the International Union of Academies.[59]

[59] *Emploi des signes critiques, disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins.* Conseils et recommandations par J. Bidez et A. B. Drachmann. Édition nouvelle par A. Delatte et A. Severyns, (Bruxelles-Paris, 1938).

Lastly, we have included in the apparatus most of the emendations and conjectures of scholars known to us, though they are not all of equal value.[60] This course is justified by the fact that the bibliography relating to *D. A. I.* is so rich and extensive that many individual conjectures are extraordinarily difficult to find. The work has in the past attracted so many different scholars, and their studies are published in so many different languages, that it is practically impossible for one who is not a specialist to know them all.[61] We hope that it will be of service to those who use this edition to find collected here all the resources of previous research directed towards critical examination of the text, and that they will be able to build further upon the foundations here laid; for research on *D. A. I.* is by no means exhausted yet, and the present edition aims at providing future research with a sure and reliable substructure.

GY. MORAVCSIK.

[60] I have also made use of some comments of Prof. Ph. Kukules (Athens) which he kindly communicated by letter, and for which I express my sincere gratitude.

[61] See the complete bibliography by Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. I, (Budapest, 1942), pp. 215—221 (2nd ed. pp. 367—379). — The studies published since are as follows: M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1941., Philos.-hist. Klasse No. 12., Berlin, 1941); A. Vogt, 'Le protospathaire de la phiale et la marine byzantine', *Échos d'Orient*, 39 (1941—42), pp. 329—332; M. Laskaris, 'La rivalité bulgaro-byzantine en Serbie et la mission de Léon Rhabdouchos (917), (Constantin Porphyrogénète, De adm. imp. chap. 32)', *Revue historique du Sud-Est Européen*, 20 (1943), pp. 202—207; H. Gégroire, 'L'origine et le nom des Croates et des Serbes', *Byzantion*, 17 (1944—45), pp. 88—118; K. H. Menges, 'Etymological notes on some Päčänäg names', *Byzantion*, 17 (1944—45), pp. 256—279; K. Czeglédy, 'A IX. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései', *Magyar Nyelv*, 41 (1945), pp. 33—55; G. Vernadsky, 'Great Moravia and White Chorvatia', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 65 (1945), pp. 357—359; J. Deér, 'A IX. századi magyar történet időrendjéhez', *Századok*, 79—80 (1945—46). pp. 2—30; J. Harmatta, 'Szines lovú népek', *Magyar Nyelv*, 42 (1946), pp. 26—34; G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie. Państwo Samona*, Poznań, 1949. pp. 194—262. For bibliography since 1949, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (2nd ed.) I, pp. 367—379; *D. A. I.* vol. II, Commentary (London, 1962); *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1962) and subsequent volumes.

# LIST OF SIGNS

*F* = Fontes et loci paralleli
*V* = Variae lectiones et coniecturae

## MANUSCRIPTS:

P = cod. Parisinus gr. 2009 (cf. pp. 15—21.)
$P^1$ = manus prima
$P^{2-9}$ = manus recentiores
$P^x$ = manus incerta (ante a. 1509)
$P^y$ = manus incerta (post a. 1509)
V = cod. Vaticanus-Palatinus gr. 126 (cf. pp. 21—22.)
$V^1$ = manus prima
$V^2$ = manus secunda
F = cod. Parisinus gr. 2967 (cf. pp. 22—23.)
$F^1$ = manus prima
$F^2$ = manus secunda
M = cod. Mutinensis gr. 179 [III F 1] (cf. p. 23.)

## EDITIONS:

Me = editio Meursiana (cf. p. 24.)
Meursius = notae Meursii
Ba = editio Banduriana (cf. p. 24.)
Bandurius = animadversiones Bandurii
Be = editio Bekkeriana (cf. p. 24.)
Bekker = apparatus criticus Bekkeri
edd. = editiones Me Ba Be
Migne = editio a Migne curata (cf. p. 24.)
Bury = editio cap. 29—36 a J. Bury facta (cf. p. 25.)

## SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES:

Georg. Mon. = Georgius Monachus, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiae, 1904)
Georg. Mon. $^{BEPV}$ = codices B E P V a C. de Boor collati
De Them. = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De Thematibus, ed. I. Bekkerus (Bonnae, 1840); ed. A. Pertusi (Roma, 1952)
De Them.$^c$ = cod. Parisinus gr. 854 a me collatus
Theoph. = Theophanes, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiae, 1883)
Theoph. $^{codd.}$ = codices a. C. de Boor collati
Theoph. $^{bcdefghm}$ = codices b c d f g h m a C. de Boor collati
Theoph. Cont. = Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekkerus (Bonnae, 1838)
Theoph. Cont.$^v$ = cod. Vaticanus gr. 167 a me collatus

# TEXT AND TRANSLATION

# ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ

## ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΑΙΩΝΙΩΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΣΤΕΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ

### ⟨Π ρ ο ο ί μ ι ο ν.⟩

Υἱὸς σοφὸς εὐφραίνει πατέρα, καὶ πατὴρ φιλόστοργος ἐπὶ υἱῷ τέρπεται φρονίμῳ. Κύριος γὰρ δίδωσι νοῦν, ἡνίκα δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ προστίθησιν οὖς τοῦ ἀκούειν· παρ' αὐτῷ θησαυρὸς σοφίας, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δίδοται πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον· καθιστᾷ βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ κυρίαν τοῦ παντὸς δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς. Νῦν οὖν ἄκουσόν μου, υἱέ, καὶ τήνδε μεμαθηκὼς τὴν διδαχὴν ἔσῃ σοφὸς παρὰ φρονίμοις, καὶ φρόνιμος παρὰ σοφοῖς 3vP λογισθήσῃ· εὐλογήσουσί σε οἱ λαοί, καὶ μακαριοῦσί σε πλήθη | ἐθνῶν. Διδάχθητι, ἃ χρή σε πρὸ πάντων εἰδέναι, καὶ νουνεχῶς τῶν τῆς βασιλείας οἰάκων ἀντιλαβοῦ. Περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων μελέτησον, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων διδάχθητι, ἵνα πεῖραν μετ' εὐβουλίας ἀθροίσῃς, καὶ μεγαλε- 66Be πήβολος ἔσῃ περὶ | τὰ πράγματα. Ἰδοὺ ἐκτίθημί σοι διδασκαλίαν, ὥστε τῇ ἐκ ταύτης πείρᾳ καὶ γνώσει συνετισθέντα περὶ τὰς βελτίστας βουλὰς καὶ {τῷ} τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον μὴ διαμαρτάνειν· πρῶτα μὲν ποῖον ἔθνος κατὰ τί μὲν ὠφελῆσαι δύναται Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ τί δὲ βλάψαι, {καὶ ποῖον} καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον τούτων καὶ παρὰ ποίου δύναται ἔθνους καὶ πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ ὑποτάσσεσθαι, ἔπειτα περὶ τῆς ἀπλήστου καὶ 4rP ἀκορέστου αὐτῶν γνώ|μης, καὶ ὧν παραλόγως ἐξαιτοῦνται λαμβάνειν, εἶθ' οὕτως καὶ περὶ διαφορᾶς ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν, γενεαλογίας τε ⟨αὐτῶν⟩

*F* P. 2 Υἱὸς — πατέρα: Prov. 10, 1. 2 ἐπὶ υἱῷ — 3 φρονίμῳ: cf. Prov. 17, 21. 3 Κύριος — 4 ἀκούειν: Is. 50, 4. 4 παρ' αὐτῷ — σοφίας: cf. Prov. 2, 6; Sir. 1, 25. 4 ἐξ αὐτοῦ — 5 τέλειον: Iac. 1, 17. 5 καθιστᾷ — θρόνου: cf. II Paralip. 23, 20. 8 εὐλογήσουσι — ἐθνῶν: cf. Psalm. 71, 17.

CONSTANTINE

# IN CHRIST THE ETERNAL EMPEROR EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS TO HIS SON ROMANUS THE EMPEROR CROWNED OF GOD AND BORN IN THE PURPLE

## *Proem.*

A wise son maketh glad a father, and an affectionate father taketh delight in a prudent son. For the Lord giveth wit to speak in season, and addeth thereto an ear to hear; with Him is the treasure of wisdom, and from Him cometh every perfect gift; He setteth kings upon the throne and giveth unto them the lordship over all. Now therefore hearken unto me, my son, and being adept in this my teaching thou shalt be wise among the prudent, and be accounted prudent among the wise; the peoples shall bless thee, and the multitudes of the nations shall call thee blessed. Be instructed in what it behoves thee before all else to know, and lay hold skilfully upon the helm of the rule. Study the things that are now, and be instructed concerning the things that are to be, so that thou mayest amass experience with sound judgment, and thou shalt be most competent in thine affairs. Lo, I set a doctrine before thee, so that being sharpened thereby in experience and knowledge, thou shalt not stumble concerning the best counsels and the common good: first, in what each nation has power to advantage the Romans, and in what to hurt, and how and by what other nation each severally may be encountered in arms and subdued; then, concerning their ravenous and insatiate temper and the gifts they demand inordinately; next, concerning also the difference between other nations, *their* origins

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*V* **Tit.** 1 *post* Κωνσταντίνου *add.* τοῦ edd. || 4 πορφυρογέννητον] *litteras* φυρ *s. v. add.* P[1] || *post* βασιλέα *add.* νουθεσίαι F[2].

**P.** 1 Προοίμιον *add.* Moravcsik || 8 εὐλογήσουσί F[1] edd.: εὐλογήσωσί P || 11/12 μεγαλεπήβολος Meursius Ba Be: μεγαλεπίβολος P || 13 συνετισθέντα Meursius Ba Be: συνετισθέντι P || 14 τῷ *secl.* Be || 16 καὶ ποῖον *secl.* Be || 19 τε F[1] Meursius Ba Be: δὲ P || αὐτῶν *add.* Moravcsik ||

καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ βίου διαγωγῆς καὶ θέσεως καὶ κράσεως τῆς κατοικουμένης
παρ' αὐτῶν γῆς καὶ περιηγήσεως αὐτῆς καὶ σταδιασμοῦ, πρὸς τούτοις
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔν τινι καιρῷ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν
συμβεβηκότων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτα, ὅσα ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ κατά τινας χρόνους ἐκαινοτομήθη. Ταῦτα
ἐσοφισάμην κατ' ἐμαυτόν, καὶ εἶπα γνωστά σοι ποιῆσαι, τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ
μου υἱῷ, ἵν' ἔχῃς εἰδέναι τὴν ἑκάστου τούτων διαφοράν, καὶ πῶς ἢ
4vP μεταχειρίζεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ οἰκειοῦσθαι ἢ πολεμεῖν | καὶ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι.
Πτοηθήσονται γάρ σε ὡς μεγαλοφυῆ, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς φεύξονται ἀπὸ
σοῦ· φιμωθήσονται τὰ χείλη αὐτῶν, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ βελῶν τοῖς σοῖς κατα-
τρωθήσονται ῥήμασιν. Ὀφθήσῃ αὐτοῖς φοβερός, καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου
σου τρόμος λήψεται αὐτούς. Καί σου ὁ Παντοκράτωρ ὑπερασπιεῖ, καὶ
συνετιεῖ σε ὁ πλάσας σε· κατευθυνεῖ σου τὰ διαβήματα, καὶ ἑδράσει
67Be σε ἐπὶ βάσιν ἀσάλευτον. Ὁ θρόνος σου ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐναντίον | αὐτοῦ,
καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσονται βλέποντες ἐπί σε, καὶ οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ ἅψηταί
σου τῶν χαλεπῶν, καθότι αὐτός σε ἐξελέξατο καὶ ἀπὸ μήτρας ἀφώρισεν,
καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ὡς ἀγαθῷ ὑπὲρ πάντας σοι ἔδωκεν, καὶ τέθεικεν
5rP ὡς σκέ|πην ἐπὶ βουνοῦ καὶ ὡς χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ ὡς
πόλιν ἐπ' ὄρους ἀνύψωσεν, ὥστε δωροφορεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν καὶ προσκυ-
νεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν γῆν. Ἀλλὰ σύ, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου,
οὗ ἡ βασιλεία αἰώνιος καὶ ἀνώλεθρος, εἴης κατευοδῶν τὸν διὰ σοῦ ἐξ
ἐμοῦ γεννηθέντα, καὶ ἔστω ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ τοῦ προσώπου σου ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ
τὸ οὖς σου ἐπικλινέσθω ταῖς τούτου δεήσεσιν. Σκεπασάτω αὐτὸν ἡ χείρ
σου, καὶ βασιλευέτω ἕνεκεν ἀληθείας, καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτὸν ἡ δεξία σου·
κατευθυνθείησαν αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιόν σου τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὰ δικαιώ-
ματά σου. Πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πεσοῦνται πολέμιοι, καὶ λείξουσι
5vP χοῦν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ. Κατασκιασθείη τὸ στέλεχος τοῦ γένους | αὐτοῦ
πολυγονίας φύλλοις, καὶ ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπικαλύψαι ὄρη
βασίλεια, ὅτι διὰ σοῦ βασιλεύουσι βασιλεῖς δοξάζοντές σε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

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*F* 28 ὡς ἀπὸ — 29 ἀπὸ σοῦ: cf. Deut. 28, 7; Is. 10, 18. 31 τρόμος λήψεται: Is. 33, 14. 31 ὁ Παντοκράτωρ ὑπερασπιεῖ: Zach. 9, 15. 32 κατευθυνεῖ σου τὰ διαβήματα: cf. Psalm. 39, 3; 118, 133. 32 ἑδράσει — 33 ἀσάλευτον: cf. Sap. 4, 3. 33 Ὁ θρόνος — αὐτοῦ: Psalm. 88, 37. 34 οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ — βλέποντες cf. I Paralip. 21, 3. 34 οὐδὲν — 35 χαλεπῶν: cf. Iob 5, 19; Sap. 3, 1. 35 σε ἐξελέξατο: Deut. 14, 2. 35 ἀπὸ μήτρας ἀφώρισεν: cf. Galat. 1, 15. 36 τὴν αὐτοῦ — ἔδωκεν: cf. Esd. 1, 2. 36 τέθεικεν — 37 ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ: cf. Psalm. 17, 34; Ezech. 40, 2. 37 ὡς πόλιν — 38 ἀνύψωσεν: cf. Matth. 5, 14. 38 ὥστε — ἐθνῶν: cf. Psalm. 71, 10. 38 προσκυνεῖσθαι — 39 γῆν: cf. Psalm. 32, 14; 71, 11. 40 κατευοδῶν: cf. Psalm. 67, 20. 41 ἔστω — ἐπ' αὐτόν: cf. Exod. 13, 19. 42 Σκεπασάτω — 43 χείρ σου: cf. Exod. 33, 22; Sap. 19, 8.

and customs and manner of life, and the position and climate of the land they dwell in, its geographical description and measurement, and moreover concerning events which have occurred at various times between the Romans and different nations; and thereafter, what reforms have been introduced from time to time in our state, and also throughout the Roman empire. These things have I discovered of my own wisdom, and have decreed that they shall be made known unto thee, my beloved son, in order that thou mayest know the difference between each of these *nations*, and how either to treat with and conciliate them, or to make war upon and oppose. For so shall they quake before thee as one mighty in wisdom, and as from fire shall they flee from thee; their lips shall be bridled, and as darts shall thy words wound them unto death. Thou shalt appear terrible unto them, and at thy face shall trembling take hold upon them. And the Almighty shall cover thee with his shield, and thy Creator shall endue thee with understanding; He shall direct thy steps, and shall establish thee upon a sure foundation. Thy throne shall be as the sun before Him, and His eyes shall be looking towards thee, and naught of harm shall touch thee, for He hath chosen thee and set thee apart from thy mother's womb, and hath given unto thee His rule as unto one excellent above all men, and hath set thee as a refuge upon a hill and as a statue of gold upon an high place, and as a city upon a mountain hath He raised thee up, that the nations may bring to thee their gifts and thou mayest be adored of them that dwell upon the earth. But Thou, O Lord my God, whose rule abideth unharmed for ever, prosper him in his ways who through Thee was begotten of me, and may the visitation of Thy face be toward him, and Thine ear be inclined to his supplications. May Thy hand cover him, and may he rule because of truth, and may Thy right hand guide him; may his ways be made straight before Thee to keep thy statutes. May foes fall before his face, and his enemies lick the dust. May the stem of his race be shady with leaves of many offspring, and the shadow of his fruit cover the kingly mountains; for by Thee do kings rule, glorifying Thee for ever and ever.

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43 βασιλευέτω — ἡ δεξιά σου: Psalm. 44, 5. 44 κατευθυνθείησαν — 45 τὰ δικαιώματά σου: Psalm. 118, 5; cf. Psalm. 5, 9. 45 Πρὸ προσώπου — πολέμιοι: cf. Psalm. 71, 9; Lev. 26, 8. 45 λείξουσι — 46 αὐτοῦ Psalm. 71, 9; Is. 49, 23. 48 διὰ σοῦ — βασιλεῖς Prov. 8, 15.

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*V* 20 καὶ[1] *om.* V edd. || ἐθῶν (*littera* ν *erasa*) P[y]: ἐθνῶν P V edd. || 22 τινι V edd.: τισι P || 24 πάσῃ edd. πάσῃ V: πᾶσι P || κατα τίνας P || 31 καὶ σοῦ P || 35 ἀφόρησεν P || 36 αὐτοῦ Migne || τέθηκεν P || 37 σκέπην *coni.* Moravcsik: σκέπων P σκοπὴν Meursius Ba Be || 38 δωροφορεῖθαι V F edd. δοροφορεῖσθαι P δορυφορεῖσθαι F[1] || 40 ἀνώλεθρος καὶ αἰώνιος V edd. || 43 ὁδηγήσει V Me: ὁδιγήσῃ P ὁδηγήσῃ Meursius Ba Be

## 1. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν, καὶ πρὸς πόσα συμβάλλονται μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων εἰρηνεύοντες.

Ἄκουσον τοίνυν, υἱέ, ἅ μοι δοκεῖ ⟨δεῖν⟩ σε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ 68Be νοήμων γενοῦ, ἵνα κτήσῃ κυβέρνησιν. Φημὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | ἅπασιν εἶναι καλὸν τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων τὴν μάθησιν, διαφερόντως δὲ σοί, τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων σωτηρίας ὀφείλοντι διαμεριμνᾶν καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν ὁλκάδα πηδαλιουχεῖν τε καὶ κυβερνᾶν. Εἰ δὲ σαφεῖ καὶ κατημαξευμένῳ 6rP λόγῳ καὶ οἷον εἰκῇ ῥέοντι πεζῷ καὶ ἁπλοϊκῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν | προκειμένων ἐχρησάμην δήλωσιν, μηδὲν θαυμάσῃς, υἱέ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίδειξιν καλλιγραφίας ἢ φράσεως ἠττικισμένης καὶ τὸ διηρμένον διογκούσης καὶ ὑψηλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ κοινῆς καὶ καθωμιλημένης ἀπαγγελίας διδάξαι σοι ἔσπευσα, ἅπερ οἴομαι δεῖν σε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ ἃ τὴν ἐκ μακρᾶς ἐμπειρίας σύνεσίν τε καὶ φρόνησιν εὐμαρῶς σοι δύναται προξενεῖν.

Ὑπολαμβάνω γὰρ κατὰ πολὺ συμφέρειν ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἰρήνην ἐθέλειν ἔχειν μετὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν καὶ φιλικὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι συνθήκας τε καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ ἀποστέλλειν καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποκρισιάριον μετὰ ξενίων ἁρμο- 6vP ζόντων | καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι ἐκεῖθεν ὁμήρους, ἤτοι ὄψιδας καὶ ἀποκρισιάριον, οἵτινες ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ ταύτῃ πόλει μετὰ τοῦ καθυπουργοῦντος εἰς ταῦτα συνελεύσονται, καὶ βασιλικῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ φιλοτιμιῶν τῶν ἐπαξίων πάντων τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀπολαύσουσιν.

Ὅτι γειτνιάζει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν τῷ μέρει τῆς Χερσῶνος, καὶ εἰ μὴ φιλίως ἔχουσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δύνανται κατὰ τῆς Χερσῶνος ἐξέρχεσθαι καὶ κουρσεύειν καὶ ληΐζεσθαι αὐτήν τε τὴν Χερσῶνα καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα κλίματα.

## 69Be 2. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ῥῶς.

Ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Ῥῶς οἱ Πατζινακῖται γείτονες καὶ ὅμοροι καθε- 7rP στήκασιν, καὶ πολλάκις, ὅταν μὴ πρὸς ἀλ|λήλους εἰρηνεύουσι, πραιδεύουσι τὴν Ῥωσίαν, καὶ ἱκανῶς αὐτὴν παραβλάπτουσι καὶ λυμαίνονται.

Ὅτι καὶ οἱ Ῥῶς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχουσιν εἰρήνην ἔχειν μετὰ τῶν

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*F* 1. 4 Ἄκουσον — ἀγνοεῖν: cf. Prov. 1, 8; De cerim., ed. Bonn. p. 456, 3—4. 5 νοήμων — κυβέρνησιν Prov. 1, 5. 8 Εἰ δὲ — 13 ἔσπευσα: cf. De cerim., ed. Bonn. p. 5, 2—4. = ed. Vogt I. p. 2, 15 — 17.

## 1. Of the Pechenegs, and how many advantages accrue from their being at peace with the emperor of the Romans.

Hear now, my son, those things of which I think you *should* not be ignorant, and be wise that you may attain to government. For I maintain that while learning is a good thing for all the rest as well, who are subjects, yet it is especially so for you, who are bound to take thought for the safety of all, and to steer and guide the laden ship of the world. And if in setting out my subject I have followed the plain and beaten track of speech and, so to say, idly running and simple prose, do not wonder at that, my son. For I have not been studious to make a display of fine writing or of an Atticizing style, swollen with the sublime and lofty, but rather have been eager by means of every-day and conversational narrative to teach you those things of which I think you should not be ignorant, and which may without difficulty provide that intelligence and prudence which are the fruit of long experience.

I conceive, then, that it is always greatly to the advantage of the emperor of the Romans to be minded to keep the peace with the nation of the Pechenegs and to conclude conventions and treaties of friendship with them and to send every year to them from our side a diplomatic agent with presents befitting and suitable to that nation, and to take from their side sureties, that is, hostages and a diplomatic agent, who shall be collected together under charge of the competent minister in this city protected of God, and shall enjoy all imperial benefits and gifts suitable for the emperor to bestow.

This nation of the Pechenegs is neighbour to the district of Cherson, and if they are not friendly disposed towards us, they may make excursions and plundering raids against Cherson, and may ravage Cherson itself and the so-called Regions.

## 2. Of the Pechenegs and the Russians.

The Pechenegs are neighbours to and march with the Russians also, and often, when the two are not at peace with one another, raid Russia, and do her considerable harm and outrage.

The Russians also are much concerned to keep the peace with the

*V* **1.** 4 δεῖν *add.* Moravcsik || 6 τῷ V edd.: τὸ P || 11 διηρημένον V διηρημένον Me || ὑψηλοῦ Meursius Ba Be || 12 καθομηλιμένης P || 13 σοι: σε V edd. || 21 ὄψηδας P || 28 κλήματα P.

**2.** 2 Πατζινακῖται P ||

Πατζινακιτῶν. Ἀγοράζουσι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν βόας καὶ ἵππους καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ ἐκ τούτων εὐμαρέστερον διαζῶσι καὶ τρυφερώτερον, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν τῶν προειρημένων ζώων ἐν τῇ Ῥωσίᾳ καθέστηκεν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑπερορίους πολέμους ἀπέρχεσθαι δύνανται ὅλως οἱ Ῥῶς, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰρηνεύοντες, διότι δύνανται — ἐν τῷ ἐκείνους τῶν οἰκείων ὑποχωρεῖν — αὐτοὶ ἐπερχόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνων ἀφανίζειν τε καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι. Διὸ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ σπουδὴν οἱ Ῥῶς τίθενται — διά τε τὸ μὴ παραβλάπτεσθαι 7vP παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἰσχυ|ρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος — συμμαχίαν παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν καὶ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς εἰς βοήθειαν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάττωνται καὶ τῆς βοηθείας καταπολαύοιεν.

Ὅτι οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ταύτην τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν οἱ Ῥῶς παραγίνεσθαι δύνανται, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰρηνεύοντες, οὔτε πολέμου χάριν, οὔτε πραγματείας, ἐπειδὴ — ἐν τῷ μετὰ τῶν πλοίων εἰς τοὺς φραγμοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γίνεσθαι τοὺς Ῥῶς καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἐξαγάγωσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αὐτῶν, καὶ 70Be ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων βαστάζοντες διαβάσωσιν, — ἐπιτί|θενται τότε αὐτοῖς 8rP οἱ τοῦ τοιούτου ἔθνους τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν, καὶ | ῥᾳδίως, ἅτε πρὸς δύο πόνους ἀντέχειν μὴ δύνανται, τροποῦνται καὶ κατασφάζονται.

## 3. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν καὶ Τούρκων.

Ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῶν Τούρκων γένος μεγάλως πτοεῖται καὶ δέδιε τοὺς εἰρημένους Πατζινακίτας διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἡττηθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τελείως σχεδὸν παραδοθῆναι ἀφανισμῷ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀεὶ φοβεροὶ τοῖς Τούρκοις οἱ Πατζινακῖται νομίζονται, καὶ συστέλλονται ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

## 4. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν καὶ Ῥῶς καὶ Τούρκων.

Ὅτι τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰρηνεύοντος, οὔτε ⟨οἱ⟩ Ῥῶς πολέμου νόμῳ κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας, 8vP οὔτε οἱ Τοῦρκοι δύνανται ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὔτε | ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης μεγάλα καὶ ὑπέρογκα χρήματά τε καὶ πράγματα παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύνανται ἀπαιτεῖν, δεδιότες τὴν διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ἔθνους παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κατ' αὐτῶν ἰσχὺν ἐν τῷ ἐκείνους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύειν. Οἱ ⟨γὰρ⟩ Πατζινακῖται, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φιλίᾳ συνδούμενοι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου διὰ γραμμάτων καὶ δώρων ἀναπειθόμενοι, δύνανται ῥᾳδίως

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V 21 τῶν V edd.: τὸν P ‖ διαβήσωσιν edd.

Pechenegs. For they buy of them horned cattle and horses and sheep, whereby they live more easily and comfortably, since none of the aforesaid animals is found in Russia. Moreover, the Russians are quite unable to set out for wars beyond their borders unless they are at peace with the Pechenegs, because while they are away from their homes, these may come upon them and destroy and outrage their property. And so the Russians, both to avoid being harmed by them and because of the strength of that nation, are the more concerned always to be in alliance with them and to have them for support, so as both to be rid of their enmity and to enjoy the advantage of their assistance.

Nor can the Russians come at this imperial city of the Romans, either for war or for trade, unless they are at peace with the Pechenegs, because when the Russians come with their ships to the barrages of the river and cannot pass through unless they lift their ships off the river and carry them past by portaging them on their shoulders, then the men of this nation of the Pechenegs set upon them, and, as they cannot do two things at once, they are easily routed and cut to pieces.

## **3.** Of the Pechenegs and Turks.

The tribe of the Turks, too, trembles greatly at and fears the said Pechenegs, because they have often been defeated by them and brought to the verge of complete annihilation. Therefore the Turks always look on the Pechenegs with dread, and are held in check by them.

## **4.** Of the Pechenegs and Russians and Turks.

So long as the emperor of the Romans is at peace with the Pechenegs, neither Russians nor Turks can come upon the Roman dominions by force of arms, nor can they exact from the Romans large and inflated sums in money and goods as the price of peace, for they fear the strength of this nation which the emperor can turn against them while they are campaigning against the Romans. *For* the Pechenegs, if they are leagued in friendship with the emperor and won over by him through letters and gifts, can easily

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**3.** 5 Πατζινακῖται Be Πατζινακίται F[1] Me Ba: Πατζινάκαι P || ἀπ': ὑπ' edd.

**4.** 4 οἱ *add.* Jenkins || 5 Τούρκοι P || 8 *post* ἰσχὺν *punctum posuerunt* P V Me Ba Migne || *post* ἐκστρατεύειν *punctum posuerunt* P V F Be *comma posuerunt* Ba Migne || 9 γὰρ *add.* Moravcsik: δὲ *add.* F[1] Be || Πατζινακίται P.

κατὰ τῆς χώρας τῶν τε Ῥῶς καὶ τῶν Τούρκων ἐπέρχεσθαι καὶ ἐξανδραποδίζεσθαι τὰ τούτων γύναια καὶ παιδάρια καὶ ληΐζεσθαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

71Be

## 5. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν καὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων.

Ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Βουλγάροις φοβερώτερος ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν ὁ τῶν
9rP Ῥωμαί|ων βασιλεύς, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἡσυχίας ἐπιτιθέναι τούτοις δύναται ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰρηνεύειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Βουλγάρους οἱ εἰρημένοι Πατζινακῖται πλησιάζουσιν, καὶ ἡνίκα βουληθῶσιν, ἢ δι᾽ οἰκεῖον κέρδος ἢ τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων χάριτι εὐχερῶς δύνανται κατὰ Βουλγαρίας ἐκστρατεύειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιόντος πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῶν ὑπερνικᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡττᾶν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι ἀγῶνα καὶ σπουδὴν διηνεκῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν καὶ ὁμονοεῖν μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν. Ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ πολλάκις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν καταπολεμηθῆναι καὶ πραιδευθῆναι τῇ πείρᾳ ἐγνώκασι
9vP καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον | εἶναι τὸ εἰρηνεύειν ἀεὶ πρὸς αὐτούς.

## 6. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν καὶ Χερσωνιτῶν.

Ὅτι καὶ ἕτερος λαὸς τῶν τοιούτων Πατζινακιτῶν τῷ μέρει τῆς Χερσῶνος παράκειντι, οἵτινες καὶ πραγματεύονται μετὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν, καὶ ποιοῦσι τὰς δουλείας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως εἴς τε τὴν Ῥωσίαν καὶ Χαζαρίαν καὶ τὴν Ζιχίαν καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖθεν μέρη, δηλονότι λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν τὸν προσυμπεφωνη-
72Be μένον μισθὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας κατὰ τὸ | ἀνῆκον τῆς δουλείας καὶ τοῦ κόπου αὐτῶν, οἷον βλαττία, πράνδια, χαρέρια, σημέντα, πέπεριν,
10rP δερμάτια ἀληθινὰ Πάρ|θικα καὶ ἕτερα εἴδη τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιζητούμενα, καθὼς ἂν ἕκαστος Χερσωνίτης ἕκαστον Πατζινακίτην πείσῃ συμφωνῶν ἢ πεισθῇ. Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ οἷον αὐτόνομοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι Πατζινακῖται οὐδεμίαν δουλείαν ἄνευ μισθοῦ ποιοῦσί ποτε.

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*F* **6.** 8 οἷον — 9 ἐπιζητούμενα cf. Eparch. bibl. IX. 6., ed. I. et P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum II. p. 382. 9 Πάρθικα: cf. Ioannes Lydus, De magistr. II. 13., ed. Wuensch p. 68, 23—24.

come upon the country both of the Russians and of the Turks, and enslave their women and children and ravage their country.

## 5. Of the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians.

To the Bulgarians also the emperor of the Romans will appear more formidable, and can impose on them the need for tranquillity, if he is at peace with the Pechenegs, because the said Pechenegs are neighbours to these Bulgarians also, and when they wish, either for private gain or to do a favour to the emperor of the Romans, they can easily march against Bulgaria, and with their preponderating multitude and their strength overwhelm and defeat them. And so the Bulgarians also continually struggle and strive to maintain peace and harmony with the Pechenegs. For from having frequently been crushingly defeated and plundered by them, they have learned by experience the value and advantage of being always at peace with them.

## 6. Of the Pechenegs and Chersonites.

Yet another folk of these Pechenegs lies over against the district of Cherson; they trade with the Chersonites, and perform services for them and for the emperor in Russia and Chazaria and Zichia and all the parts beyond: that is to say, they receive from the Chersonites a prearranged remuneration in respect of this service proportionate to their labour and trouble, in the form of pieces of purple cloth, ribbons, loosely woven cloths, gold brocade, pepper, scarlet *or* «Parthian» leather, and other commodities which they require, according to a contract which each Chersonite may make or agree to with an individual Pecheneg. For these Pechenegs are free men and, so to say, independent, and never perform any service without remuneration.

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*V* **5.** 1 τῶν² om. V edd. || 6 Πατζινακῖται P.

**6.** 1 Χερσωνίτων P || 4 Χερσωνίτων P || 6 Χερσωνίτων P || 8 χεράρια Meursius || σήμεντα edd. || πέπερι Ba Be || 9 *post* ἀληθινὰ et πάρδικα *punctum posuit* P Πάρθικα *scr.* Moravcsik Παρθικὰ *coni.* Bekker Šestakov: πάρδικα P edd. || 11/2 Πατζινακῖται P.

## 7. Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν ἐν Πατζινακίᾳ.

Ὅτι ἡνίκα περάσῃ βασιλικὸς εἰς Χερσῶνα ἕνεκα τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας, ὀφείλει εὐθὺς ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Πατζινακίαν καὶ ἐπιζητεῖν ὄψιδας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ διασώστας, καὶ ἐρχομένων αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὄψιδας εἰς τὸ κάστρον Χερσῶνος κρατουμένους καταλιμπάνειν, αὐτὸς 10vP δὲ μετὰ | τῶν διασωστῶν πρὸς Πατζινακίαν ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐπιτελεῖν. Οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι Πατζινακῖται ἄπληστοι ὄντες καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σπανίων ὀξεῖς ἐπιθυμηταὶ ἀνέδην ἐπιζητοῦσιν ξενάλια ἱκανά, οἱ μὲν ὄψιδες ἄλλα μὲν λόγῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλα λόγῳ τῶν αὐτῶν γυναικῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀποσῶσται τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόπου αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόπου τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτῶν. Εἶτα, εἰσερχομένου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ζητοῦσι πρότερον τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δῶρα, καὶ πάλιν, ὅτε κορέσουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν, ζητοῦσι τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τῷ ἀποσώζειν αὐτὸν ὑποστρέ- 73Be 11rP |φοντα πρὸς Χερσῶνα κατέλθωσι | μετ' αὐτοῦ, ζητοῦσι παρ' αὐτοῦ ῥογευθῆναι διὰ τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτῶν.

## 8. Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θεοφυλάκτου πόλεως ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν μετὰ χελανδίων διά τε τοῦ Δανουβίου καὶ Δάναπρι καὶ Δάναστρι ποταμοῦ ἐν Πατζινακίᾳ.

Ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς Βουλγαρίας καθέζεται λαὸς τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ Δάναπρι καὶ τοῦ Δάναστρι καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων ποταμῶν. Καὶ βασιλικοῦ ἀποστελλομένου ἐντεῦθεν μετὰ χελανδίων, δύναται καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ εἰς Χερσῶνα ἀπελθεῖν ἐνταῦθα 11vP συντόμως καὶ ταχέως εὑρίσκειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς | Πατζινακίτας, οὓς καὶ εὑρὼν μηνύει διὰ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλικός, ἐντὸς τῶν χελανδίων μένων καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ βασιλικὰ ἐπιφερόμενος καὶ φυλάττων ἐν τοῖς χελανδίοις πράγματα. Καὶ κατέρχονται πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτε κατέλθωσιν, δίδωσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλικὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ ὄψιδας, καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων Πατζινακιτῶν ἑτέρους ὄψιδας, καὶ κρατεῖ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ χελάνδια, καὶ τότε συμφωνεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅτε

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*V* 7. 1/2 τῶν ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος V edd. ‖ 5 ὄψηδας P ‖ 8 Πατζινακίται P ‖ 9 σπανιῶν P ‖ ἀναίδην P edd. ‖ 14 κορέσουσι *versionem Laskin secutus coni.* Moravcsik: χωρήσουσι P χωρίσουσι *coni.* Kukules.

## 7. Of the dispatch of imperial agents from Cherson to Patzinacia.

When an imperial agent goes over to Cherson on this service, he must at once send to Patzinacia and demand of them hostages and an escort, and on their arrival he must leave the hostages under guard in the city of Cherson, and himself go off with the escort to Patzinacia and carry out his instructions. Now these Pechenegs, who are ravenous and keenly covetous of articles rare among them, are shameless in their demands for generous gifts, the hostages demanding this for themselves and that for their wives, and the escort something for their own trouble and some more for the wear and tear of their cattle. Then, when the imperial agent enters their country, they first ask for the emperor's gifts, and then again, when these have glutted the menfolk, they ask for the presents for their wives and parents. Also, all who come with him to escort him on his way back to Cherson demand payment from him for their trouble and the wear and tear of their cattle.

## 8. Of the dispatch of imperial agents with ships of war from the city protected of God to Patzinacia along the Danube and Dnieper and Dniester river.

In the region of Bulgaria also is settled a folk of the Pechenegs, toward the region of the Dnieper and the Dniester and the other rivers of those parts. And when an imperial agent is dispatched from here with ships of war, he may, without going to Cherson, shortly and swiftly find these same Pechenegs here; and when he has found them, the imperial agent sends a message to them by his man, himself remaining on board the ships of war, carrying along with him and guarding in the ships of war the imperial goods. And they come down to him, and when they come down, the imperial agent gives them hostages of his men, and himself takes other hostages of these Pechenegs, and holds them in the ships of war, and then he makes

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8. 5/6 Πατζινακίτων P || 8 Χερσῶνα Be: Χερσῶνος P Me Ba || 14 Πατζινακίτων P ||

ποιήσουσιν οἱ Πατζινακῖται πρὸς τὸν βασιλικὸν τοὺς ὅρκους κατὰ τὰ
12rP ζάκανα αὐτῶν, ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς βασιλικὰς δωρεάς, καὶ ἀ|ναλαμβά-
νεται φίλους ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅσους βούλεται, καὶ ὑποστρέφει. Οὕτω δὲ χρὴ
συμφωνεῖν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὥστε, ὅπου ἂν χρεωποιηθῇ αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεύς,
ποιήσωσι δουλείαν, εἴτε εἰς τοὺς Ῥῶς, εἴτε εἰς τοὺς Βουλγάρους, εἴτε
74Be καὶ εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους. Εἰσὶ γὰρ δυνατοὶ | τοῦ πάντας τούτους πολεμεῖν,
καὶ πολλάκις κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες, φοβεροὶ νῦν καθεστήκασιν. Καὶ
τοῦτο δῆλον καὶ ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν. Τοῦ γὰρ κληρικοῦ Γαβριὴλ ποτε πρὸς
τοὺς Τούρκους ἀποσταλέντος ἀπὸ κελεύσεως βασιλικῆς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
εἰπόντος, ὅτι· «Ὁ βασιλεὺς δηλοποιεῖ ὑμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἀποδιῶξαι
12vP τοὺς Πατζινακίτας ἀπὸ | τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν καὶ καθεσθῆναι ὑμᾶς (ὑμεῖς
γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ἐκεῖσε ἐκαθέζεσθε) πρὸς τὸ εἶναι πλησίον τῆς βασι-
λείας μου, καὶ ὅτε θέλω, ἀποστέλλω, καὶ ἐν τάχει εὑρίσκω ὑμᾶς»,
πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Τούρκων μιᾷ φωνῇ ἐξεβόησαν, ὅτι· «Ἡμεῖς
μετὰ τοὺς Πατζινακίτας ἑαυτοὺς οὐ βάλλομεν· οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθα πολε-
μεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι καὶ χώρα μεγάλη καὶ λαὸς πολὺς καὶ κακὰ παιδία
εἰσί· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ εἴπῃς· οὐ γὰρ
ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτόν.»

Ὅτι καὶ οἱ Πατζινακῖται ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ μετὰ τὸ ἔαρ διέρχονται, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐκεῖσε καλοκαιρίζουσιν.

## 13rP 9. Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥωσίας ἐρχομένων Ῥῶς μετὰ τῶν μονοξύλων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει.

Ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω Ῥωσίας μονόξυλα κατερχόμενα ἐν Κων-
σταντινουπόλει εἰσὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεμογαρδάς, ἐν ᾧ Σφενδοσθλάβος,
ὁ υἱὸς Ἴγγωρ, τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ῥωσίας, ἐκαθέζετο, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ
κάστρον τὴν Μιλινίσκαν καὶ ἀπὸ Τελιούτζαν καὶ Τζερνιγῶγαν καὶ
ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουσεγραδέ. Ταῦτα οὖν ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατέρχονται
75Be Δανάπρεως, καὶ ἐπισυνάγονται εἰς τὸ κάστρον | τὸ Κιοάβα, τὸ ἐπονομα-
ζόμενον Σαμβατάς. Οἱ δὲ Σκλάβοι, οἱ πακτιῶται αὐτῶν, οἱ Κριβηταιη-
13vP νοὶ λεγόμενοι, καὶ οἱ Λενζανῆνοι καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ | Σκλαβηνίαι εἰς τὰ ὄρη
αὐτῶν κόπτουσι τὰ μονόξυλα ἐν τῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος καιρῷ, καὶ καταρτί-
σαντες αὐτά, τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνοιγομένου, ἡνίκα διαλυθῇ ὁ παγετός, εἰς
τὰς πλησίον οὔσας λίμνας εἰσάγουσιν αὐτά. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖναι εἰσβάλ-
λουσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Δάναπριν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε οὗτοι εἰς τὸν

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*V* 16 Πατζιναχῖται P || 34 Πατζιναχῖται P.

**9.** 1 *ante* Ῥωσίας *add.* τῆς edd. || 4 Νεμογαρδάς: Νεογαρδα (*sine acc.*) *coni.* Bayer Νεύογαρδα (*sic*) *coni.* Rački Νεβογαρδάς *coni.* Bury Obolensky Νευογαρδάς Kukules ||

agreement with them; and when the Pechenegs have taken their oaths to the imperial agent according to their 'zakana', he presents them with the imperial gifts, and takes from among them as many 'friends' as he sees fit, and returns. Agreement must be made with them on this condition, that wherever the emperor calls upon them, they are to serve him, whether against the Russians, or against the Bulgarians, or again against the Turks. For they are able to make war upon all these, and as they have often come against them, are now regarded by them with dread. And this is clear from what follows. For once when the cleric Gabriel was dispatched by imperial mandate to the Turks and said to them, «The emperor declares that you are to go and expel the Pechenegs from their place and settle yourselves there (for in former days you used to be settled there yourselves) so that you may be near to my imperial majesty, and when I wish, I may send and find you speedily», then all the chief men of the Turks cried aloud with one voice, «We are not putting ourselves on the track of the Pechenegs; for we cannot fight them, because their country is great and their people numerous and they are the devil's brats; and do not say this to us again; for we do not like it!»

When spring is over, the Pechenegs cross to the far side of the Dnieper river, and always pass the summer there.

## 9. Of the coming of the Russians in 'monoxyla' from Russia to Constantinople.

The 'monoxyla' which come down from outer Russia to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Sviatoslav, son of Igor, prince of Russia, had his seat, and others from the city of Smolensk and from Teliutza and Chernigov and from Vyshegrad. All these come down the river Dnieper, and are collected together at the city of Kiev, also called Sambatas. Their Slav tributaries, the so-called Krivichians and the Lenzanenes and the rest of the Slavonic regions, cut the 'monoxyla' on their mountains in time of winter, and when they have prepared them, as spring approaches, and the ice melts, they bring them on to the neighbouring lakes. And since these *lakes* debouch into the river Dnieper, they enter thence on to this same

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6 Μιλινίσκαν: <Σ>μιλινίσκαν *coni.* Rački || Τελιούτζαν: τε Λιούτζαν *coni.* Šafarik Manojlović τε Λιού<β>τζαν *coni.* Rački || Τζερνιγώγαν V edd. Τζερνιγωύαν *coni.* Rački || 8 εἰς (*etiam* Bandurius): ἐπὶ edd. || 10 οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι edd. || Σκλαβινίαι P || 11/2 καταρτήσαντες P edd. || 12 αὐτά *corr.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. || 13 ἐκεῖνα edd. || 14 τὸν[1] *om.* edd. ||

9

αὐτὸν ποταμὸν εἰσέρχονται, καὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν Κίοβα, καὶ σύρουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξάρτισιν, καὶ ἀπεμπολοῦσιν αὐτὰ εἰς τοὺς Ῥῶς. Οἱ δὲ Ῥῶς σκαφίδια καὶ μόνα ταῦτα ἀγοράζοντες, τὰ παλαιὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα καταλύοντες, ἐξ αὐτῶν βάλλουσιν πέλλας καὶ σκαρμοὺς εἰς αὐτὰ καὶ
14ʳP λοιπὰς | χρείας * * * ἐξοπλίζουσιν αὐτά. Καὶ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Δανάπρεως ἀποκινοῦντες, κατέρχονται εἰς τὸ Βιτετζέβη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πακτιωτικὸν κάστρον τῶν Ῥῶς, καὶ συναθροιζόμενοι ἐκεῖσε μέχρι δύο καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἡνίκα ἂν ἅπαντα ἀποσυναχθῶσι τὰ μονόξυλα, τότε ἀποκινοῦσιν, καὶ κατέρχονται διὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ἐσσουπῆ, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Ῥωσιστὶ καὶ Σκλαβηνιστὶ ʽμὴ κοιμᾶσαιʼ· ὁ δὲ τούτου φραγμὸς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν στενός, ὅσον τὸ πλάτος τοῦ
14ᵛP τζυκανιστηρίου· μέσον δὲ αὐτοῦ πέτραι εἰσὶ ῥιζιμαῖαι | ὑψηλαὶ νησίων
76Be δίκην ἀποφαινόμεναι. Πρὸς αὐτὰς οὖν ἐρχόμενον τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ | πλημμυροῦν κἀκεῖθεν ἀποκρημνιζόμενον πρὸς τὸ κάτω μέρος ἦχον μέγαν καὶ φόβον ἀποτελεῖ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέσον αὐτῶν οὐ τολμῶσιν οἱ Ῥῶς διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πλησίον σκαλώσαντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ξηράν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πράγματα ἐάσαντες εἰς τὰ μονόξυλα, εἶθ' οὕτως γυμνοὶ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν ψηλαφοῦντες * * *, ἵνα μή τινι λίθῳ προσκρούσωσιν. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν οἱ μὲν πλώρᾳ, οἱ δὲ μέσον, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πρύμναν μετὰ κονταρίων κοντοβευόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τοιαύτης ἁπάσης ἀκριβείας διέρχονται τὸν τοιοῦτον πρῶτον φραγμὸν διὰ τῆς
15ʳP γωνίας καὶ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ἡνίκα δὲ διέλθωσι | τὸν τοιοῦτον φραγμόν, πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς ἀναλαμβανόμενοι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποπλέουσι, καὶ κατέρχονται εἰς τὸν ἕτερον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Οὐλβορσί, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Ὀστροβουνιπράχ, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται ʽτὸ νησίον τοῦ φραγμοῦʼ. Ἔστιν κἀκεῖνος ὅμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ, χαλεπός τε καὶ δυσδιέξοδος. Καὶ πάλιν ἐκβαλόντες τὸν λαὸν διαβιβάζουσι τὰ μονόξυλα, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον. Ὁμοίως δὲ διέρχονται καὶ τὸν τρίτον φραγμόν, τὸν λεγόμενον Γελανδρί, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Σκλαβηνιστὶ ʽἦχος φραγμοῦʼ, εἶθ' οὕτως τὸν τέταρτον φραγμόν, τὸν μέγαν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Ἀειφόρ, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Νεασήτ, διότι φωλεύουσιν οἱ πελεκᾶνοι εἰς τὰ λιθάρια τοῦ φραγμοῦ. Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ φραγμῷ
15ᵛP σκαλώνουσιν ἅπαντα | εἰς τὴν γῆν ὀρθόπλωρα, καὶ ἐξέρχονται οἱ ὡρι-

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*V* 15 τὸν: τὸ Meursius Ba Be || Κιόβα edd. || 16 ἐξάρτησιν P edd. || 18 *ante* πέλλας *add.* καὶ edd. || 19 *lac. ind.* Moravcsik καὶ οὕτως *addendum coni.* Bekker || 24/5 τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ ⟨μὲν...⟩, Σκλαβινιστὶ ⟨δὲ⟩ Νεσσουπῆ, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται *coni.* Kunik *aliquid excidisse susp.* Thomsen || 25 Ἐσσουπῆ: Νεσσουπί *coni.* Bandurius Νεσσουπῆ *coni.* Bayer Thunmann Šafarik Kunik Gedeonov Thomsen Hruševskyj || Σκλαβινιστῆ P || 25/6 κοιμᾶσαι (*etiam* Cobet):

river, and come down to Kiev, and draw *the ships* along to be finished and sell them to the Russians. The Russians buy these bottoms only, furnishing them with oars and rowlocks and other tackle from their old 'monoxyla', which they dismantle; *and so* they fit them out. And in the month of June they move off down the river Dnieper and come to Vitichev, which is a tributary city of the Russians, and there they gather during two or three days; and when all the 'monoxyla' are collected together, then they set out, and come down the said Dnieper river. And first they come to the first barrage, called Essoupi, which means in Russian and Slavonic 'Do not sleep!'; the barrage itself is as narrow as the width of the Polo-ground; in the middle of it are rooted high rocks, which stand out like islands. Against these, then, comes the water and wells up and dashes down over the other side, with a mighty and terrific din. Therefore the Russians do not venture to pass between them, but put in to the bank hard by, disembarking the men on to dry land leaving the rest of the goods on board the 'monoxyla'; they then strip and, feeling with their feet to avoid striking on a rock, ***. This they do, some at the prow, some amidships, while others again, in the stern, punt with poles; and with all this careful procedure they pass this first barrage, edging round under the river-bank. When they have passed this barrage, they re-embark the others from the dry land and sail away, and come down to the second barrage, called in Russian Oulvorsi, and in Slavonic Ostrovouniprach, which means 'the Island of the Barrage'. This one is like the first, awkward and not to be passed through. Once again they disembark the men and convey the 'monoxyla' past, as on the first occasion. Similarly they pass the third barrage also, called Gelandri, which means in Slavonic 'Noise of the Barrage', and then the fourth barrage, the big one, called in Russian Aeifor, and in Slavonic Neasit, because the pelicans nest in the stones of the barrage. At this barrage all put into land prow foremost,

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κοιμάσαι Me Ba κοιμᾶσθαι Be || 27 ῥιζημαῖαι P Me Ba Cobet: ῥιζικαῖαι Du Cange Be || 29 μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 33 *lac. ind.* διέρχονται *vel* διαβάζουσιν *excidisse coniciens* Moravcsik σύρουσιν *coni.* Kyriakides σύρουσιν αὐτά *coni.* Dujčev || 34 Τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν: ταῦτα, ὁδοποιοῦσιν *coni.* Jenkins || πλώρᾳ *coni.* Jenkins πλῶρα P: πλῶραν Ba Be πρῶραν Meursius || 35 κοντοβευόμενοι: κοντοβολούμενοι *vel* κοντευόμενοι *coni.* Meursius || 36 πρῶτον V edd.: α′ P || 40 Οὐλβορσί: Οὐλμβορσί *seu* Οὐλμορσί *coni.* Thunmann Οὐλμφόρς *coni.* Zeuss || Σκλαβινιστὶ P || Ὀστροβουνίπραχ edd. Ὀστροβνουῒ πράχ *coni.* Zeuss || 41 ὅμοιως P || 42 χαλεπῶς P || δυσδιέξοδος $P^1$ $V^1$ edd.: δισδιέξοδος P || 44 τὸν λεγόμενον ⟨Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν⟩ Γελανδ{ρ}ί, Σκλαβινιστὶ ⟨δὲ...⟩, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται *coni.* Kunik *aliquid excidisse susp.* Thomsen || Γελανδρί: Γελανδί *coni.* Kunik Gedeonov || 44/5 Σκλαβινιστὶ ⟨σβόνετζ ὅ ἐστι⟩ ἦχος φραγμοῦ *coni.* Lehrberg || 45 τέταρτον V edd.: δ′ P || μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 46 Ἀειφόρ (*etiam* $V^1$ F Cobet): Ἀειφάρ V edd. || Νεασήτ: Νενασήτ *coni.* Thomsen || 48 *post* ἅπαντα *add.* τὰ μονόξυλα τὰ V || ὀρθόπρωρα Meursius || 48/9 ὀρισμενοι (*sine acc.*) P ||

σμένοι ἄνδρες φυλάττειν τὴν βίγλαν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπέρχονται, καὶ
τὰς βίγλας οὗτοι διὰ τοὺς Πατζινακίτας ἀγρύπνως φυλάττουσιν. Οἱ δὲ
77Be λοιποὶ τὰ | πράγματα, ἅπερ ἔχουσιν εἰς τὰ μονόξυλα, ἀναλαμβανόμενοι,
τὰ ψυχάρια μετὰ τῶν ἁλύσεων διὰ τοῦ ξηροῦ αὐτὰ διαβιβάζουσι
μίλια ἕξ, ἕως ἂν διέλθωσι τὸν φραγμόν. Εἶθ' οὕτως οἱ μὲν σύροντες,
οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὤμους βαστάζοντες τὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα εἰς τὸ τοῦ
φραγμοῦ ἐκεῖθεν μέρος διαβιβάζουσιν· καὶ οὕτως ῥίπτοντες αὐτὰ εἰς
τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰ πετζιμέντα αὐτῶν ἐμβλησκόμενοι, εἰσέρχονται,
16rP καὶ αὖθις ἐναποπλέουσιν. Ἀπερχόμε|νοι δὲ εἰς τὸν πέμπτον φραγμόν,
τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Βαρουφόρος, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Βουλνη-
πράχ, διότι μεγάλην λίμνην ἀποτελεῖ, πάλιν εἰς τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γωνίας
τὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα διαβιβάσαντες, καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὸν πρῶτον φραγμὸν
καὶ δεύτερον, καταλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἕκτον φραγμόν, λεγόμενον μὲν
Ῥωσιστὶ Λεάντι, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Βερούτζη, ὅ ἐστιν 'βράσμα νεροῦ',
καὶ διαβαίνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως. Καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποπλέουσι καὶ
πρὸς τὸν ἕβδομον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Στρούκουν,
Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Ναπρεζή, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'μικρὸς φραγμός'. Καὶ διαβαί-
νουσιν εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον πέραμα τοῦ Κραρίου, ἐν ᾧ διαπερῶσιν ἀπὸ
16vP Ῥωσίας οἱ Χερσωνῖται | καὶ οἱ Πατζινακῖται ἐπὶ Χερσῶνα, ἔχον τὸ
αὐτὸ πέραμα τὸ μὲν πλάτος, ὅσον τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἀπὸ κάτω
ἕως ὅτου προκύπτουσιν ὕφαλοι, ὅσον καὶ φθάζειν σαγίτταν τοῦ τοξεύον-
τος ἔνθεν ἐκεῖσε. Ὅθεν καὶ εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον τόπον κατέρχονται οἱ
Πατζινακῖται, καὶ πολεμοῦσι τοὺς Ῥῶς. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ διελθεῖν τὸν
78Be τοιοῦτον τόπον τὴν νῆσον, τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην | ὁ Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος
καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἐν ᾗ νήσῳ καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτελοῦσιν διὰ τὸ
ἐκεῖσε ἵστασθαι παμμεγέθη δρῦν, καὶ θύουσι πετεινοὺς ζῶντας. Πη-
γνύουσι δὲ καὶ σαγίττας γυρόθεν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ψωμία καὶ κρέατα, καὶ
ἐξ ὧν ἔχει ἕκαστος, ὡς τὸ ἔθος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατεῖ. Ῥίπτουσι δὲ καὶ
17rP σκαρφία περὶ τῶν πετεινῶν, εἴτε σφάξαι αὐτούς, | εἴτε καὶ φαγεῖν, εἴτε
καὶ ζῶντας ἐάσειν αὐτούς. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νησίου τούτου Πατζινακίτην οἱ
Ῥῶς οὐ φοβοῦνται, ἕως ἂν φθάσωσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σελινάν.
Εἶθ' οὕτως ἀποκινοῦντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἀποπλέουσιν,
ἕως οὗ καταλάβωσιν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ ποταμοῦ στόμιον οὖσαν, ἐν ᾗ
ἐστιν καὶ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ Ἁγίου Αἰθερίου. Καταλαβόντες οὖν οὗτοι τὴν
τοιαύτην νῆσον, προσαναπαύουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἕως δύο καὶ τριῶν
ἡμερῶν. Καὶ πάλιν τὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα, εἰς ὅσας ἂν λίπωνται χρείας,
περιποιοῦνται, τά τε ἄρμενα καὶ τὰ κατάρτια καὶ τὰ αὐχένια, ἅπερ

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*F* 72 τὴν νῆσον — Γρηγόριος: cf. Not. episc. (s. XIV.), ed. G. Parthey p. 130. No 3, 754.

and those who are deputed to keep the watch with them get out, and off they go, these men, and keep vigilant watch for the Pechenegs. The remainder, taking up the goods which they have on board the 'monoxyla', conduct the slaves in their chains past by land, six miles, until they are through the barrage. Then, partly dragging their 'monoxyla', partly portaging them on their shoulders, they convey them to the far side of the barrage; and then, putting them on the river and loading up their baggage, they embark themselves, and again sail off in them. When they come to the fifth barrage, called in Russian Varouforos, and in Slavonic Voulniprach, because it forms a large lake, they again convey their 'monoxyla' through at the edges of the river, as at the first and second barrages, and arrive at the sixth barrage, called in Russian Leanti, and in Slavonic Veroutzi, that is 'the Boiling of the Water', and this too they pass similarly. And thence they sail away to the seventh barrage, called in Russian Stroukoun, and in Slavonic Naprezi, which means 'Little Barrage'. This they pass at the so-called ford of *Vrar*, where the Chersonites cross over from Russia and the Pechenegs to Cherson; which ford is as wide as the Hippodrome, and, measured upstream from the bottom as far as the rocks break surface, a bow-shot in length. It is at this point, therefore, that the Pechenegs come down and attack the Russians. After traversing this place, they reach the island called St. Gregory, on which island they perform their sacrifices because a gigantic oak-tree stands there; and they sacrifice live cocks. Arrows, too, they peg in round about, and others bread and meat, or something of whatever each may have, as is their custom. They also throw lots regarding the cocks, whether to slaughter them, or to eat them as well, or to leave them alive. From this island onwards the Russians do not fear the Pecheneg until they reach the river Selinas. So then they start off thence and sail for four days, until they reach the lake which forms the mouth of the river, on which is the island of St. Aitherios. Arrived at this island, they rest themselves there for two or three days. And they re-equip their 'monoxyla' with such tackle as is needed, sails and masts and rudders, which they bring with them. Since this

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*V* 51 ἀναλαβόμενοι V edd. || 57 πέμπτον edd.: ε′ P || 58 Σκλαβινιστὶ P || 58/9 Βουλνηπράχ: Βολνουτ̀ πράχ *coni.* Zeuss || 59 λίμνην: δίνην *coni.* Lehrberg Zeuss Thomsen Hruševskyj || 61 *ante* δεύτερον *add.* εἰς τὸν V edd. || 62 Λεάντι: Λωάντι *seu* Λωάνδι *coni.* Zeuss || Σκλαβινιστὶ P || 64 ἕβδομον edd.: ζ′ P || Στρούκουν (*etiam* Cobet): Στρούβουν V edd. || 65 Σκλαβινιστὶ P || Ναστρεζή *coni.* Falk || 65/6 διαβαίνοντες Me Be διαβαίνονται Meursius Ba || 66 Κριαρίου *coni.* Vasmer Βραρίου *coni.* Falk || 67 Χερσωνίται P || Πατζινακίται P || 69 προκύπτουσιν ὕφαλοι *coni.* Jenkins: παρακύπτουσιν οἱ φίλοι P edd. || φίλοι: ὀφθαλμοί Ba || φθάνειν V edd. || 71 Πατζινακίται P || πολεμοῦσι V edd.: πολεμῶσι P || 77 εἴτε καὶ φαγεῖν εἴτε καὶ σφάξαι αὐτούς V Me Ba || 78 αὐτούς (*add. etiam* Bandurius): *om.* V edd. || 79 οὐ *om.* Me || 82 Ἐθαιρίου P || 84 αὐτῶν: ἑαυτῶν V edd. || λίπωνται *scr.* Moravcsik λίπονται P: λείπωνται Be ||

ἐπιφέρονται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στόμιον τοῦ τοιούτου ποταμοῦ ἐστιν ἡ τοιαύτη 17vP λίμνη, καθὼς εἴρηται, καὶ | κρατεῖ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν κεῖται ἡ νῆσος τοῦ Ἁγίου Αἰθερίου, ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀπέρχονται πρὸς τὸν Δάναστριν ποταμόν, καὶ διασωθέντες ἐκεῖσε πάλιν ἀναπαύονται. Ἡνίκα δὲ γένηται καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος, ἀποσκαλώσαντες ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ἄσπρον, καὶ ὁμοίως κἀκεῖσε ἀναπαυσάμενοι, πάλιν ἀποκινοῦντες ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν Σελινάν, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ λεγόμενον παρακλάδιον. Καὶ ἕως οὗ διέλθωσι τὸν 79Be Σελινὰν | ποταμόν, παρατρέχουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Πατζινακῖται. Καὶ ἐὰν πολλάκις ἡ θάλασσα μονόξυλον εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπορρίψῃ, σκαλώνουσιν 18rP ὅλα, ἵνα τοῖς Πατζινακίταις ἀντιπαρα|ταχθῶσιν ὁμοῦ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τὸν Σελινὰν οὐ φοβοῦνταί τινα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς Βουλγαρίας γῆν ἐνδυσάμενοι, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Δανουβίου στόμιον ἔρχονται. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δανουβίου καταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς τὸν Κωνοπάν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωνοπᾶ εἰς Κωνστάντιαν * * * εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βάρνας, καὶ ἀπὸ Βάρνας ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν Διτζίναν, ἅπερ πάντα εἰσὶ γῆ τῆς Βουλγαρίας. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διτζίνας εἰς τὰ τῆς Μεσημβρίας μέρη καταλαμβάνουσιν, καὶ οὕτως μέχρι τούτων ὁ πολυώδυνος αὐτῶν καὶ περίφοβος, δυσδιέξοδός τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ἀποπεραίνεται πλοῦς. Ἡ δὲ χειμέριος τῶν αὐτῶν Ῥῶς καὶ σκληρὰ διαγωγή ἐστιν αὕτη. Ἡνίκα ὁ Νοέμβριος μὴν εἰσέλθῃ, εὐθέως οἱ αὐτῶν ἐξέρχον- 18vP ται ἄρχοντες | μετὰ πάντων τῶν Ῥῶς ἀπὸ τὸν Κίαβον, καὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ πολύδια, ὃ λέγεται γύρα, ἤγουν εἰς τὰς Σκλαβηνίας τῶν τε Βερβιάνων καὶ τῶν Δρουγουβιτῶν καὶ Κριβιτζῶν καὶ τῶν Σεβερίων καὶ λοιπῶν Σκλάβων, οἵτινές εἰσιν πακτιῶται τῶν Ῥῶς. Δι' ὅλου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐκεῖσε διατρεφόμενοι, πάλιν ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀπριλίου, διαλυομένου τοῦ πάγους τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ, κατέρχονται πρὸς τὸν Κίαβον. Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀπολαμβάνονται τὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα, καθὼς προείρηται, καὶ ἐξοπλίζονται, καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμανίαν κατέρχονται.

Ὅτι οἱ Οὖζοι δύνανται τοῖς Πατζινακίταις πολεμεῖν.

## 80Be 10. Περὶ τῆς Χαζαρίας, πῶς δεῖ πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ παρὰ τίνων.

19rP Ὅτι οἱ Οὖζοι δύνανται πολεμεῖν τοὺς Χαζάρους, ὡς αὐτοῖς πλησιάζοντες, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἐξουσιοκράτωρ Ἀλανίας.

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V 88 Ἐθαιρίου P ‖ 89 Δάναστριν *coni.* Laskin: Δάναπριν P edd. ‖ 90 καιρὸς Meursius Ba Be: ταρὸς P ‖ 94 Πατζινακίται P ‖ 95 μονόξυλα edd. ‖ 99 Κωνοπά P ‖ Κωνσταντίαν edd. ‖ 100 *lac. ind.* καὶ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντίας *excidisse coniciens* Jenkins ‖ 101 γῆς edd. ‖ Δίτζινας P ‖ 105/6 ἄρχοντες ἐξέρχονται V edd. ‖ 106 *post* Κίαβον *add.* ποταμὸν V Me ‖ 107 πολύδρια

lake is the mouth of this river, as has been said, and carries on down to the sea, and the island of St. Aitherios lies on the sea, they come thence to the Dniester river, and having got safely there they rest again. But when the weather is propitious, they put to sea and come to the river called Aspros, and after resting there too in like manner, they again set out and come to the Selinas, to the so-called branch of the Danube river. And until they are past the river Selinas, the Pechenegs keep pace with them. And if it happens that the sea casts a 'monoxylon' on shore, they all put in to land, in order to present a united opposition to the Pechenegs. But after the Selinas they fear nobody, but, entering the territory of Bulgaria, they come to the mouth of the Danube. From the Danube they proceed to the Konopas, and from the Konopas to Constantia, *and from Constantia* to the river of Varna, and from Varna they come to the river Ditzina, all of which are Bulgarian territory. From the Ditzina they reach the district of Mesembria, and there at last their voyage, fraught with such travail and terror, such difficulty and danger, is at an end. The severe manner of life of these same Russians in winter-time is as follows. When the month of November begins, their chiefs together with all the Russians at once leave Kiev and go off on the 'poliudia', which means 'rounds', that is, to the Slavonic regions of the Vervians and Drugovichians and Krivichians and Severians and the rest of the Slavs who are tributaries of the Russians. There they are maintained throughout the winter, but then once more, starting from the month of April, when the ice of the Dnieper river melts, they come back to Kiev. They then pick up their 'monoxyla', as has been said above, and fit them out, and come down to Romania.

The Uzes can attack the Pechenegs.

## **10.** Of Chazaria, how and by whom war must be made upon it.

The Uzes can attack the Chazars, for they are their neighbours, and so can the ruler of Alania.

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Meursius || ὃ (*coni. etiam* Schlözer Nevolin): ἃ edd. || 107 Σκλαβινίας P || 107/8 τε Βερβιάνων: Τεβερβιάνων *coni.* Šafarik τε Δερβιάνων *coni.* Marquart Šachmatov || 108 Σεβερίων V *coni.* Šachmatov Σευερίων P: Σεβέρων *coni.* Račkі Σεβίρων *coni.* Marquart Σερβίων edd. || 112 ἀπολαμβάνονται edd.: ἐπιλαμβάνωνται P || 114 Οὔζοι P.

**10.** 2 παρά τινων Be || 3 Οὔζοι P || 4/5 'Αλανίας· ὅτι Ba Migne

Ὅτι τὰ ἐννέα κλίματα τῆς Χαζαρίας τῇ Ἀλανίᾳ παράκεινται, καὶ δύναται ὁ Ἀλανός, εἰ ἄρα καὶ βούλεται, ταῦτα πραιδεύειν καὶ μεγάλην βλάβην καὶ ἔνδειαν ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς Χαζάροις ποιεῖν· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἐννέα τούτων κλιμάτων ἡ πᾶσα ζωὴ καὶ ἀφθονία τῆς Χαζαρίας καθέστηκεν.

## 11. Περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Χερσῶνος καὶ τοῦ κάστρου Βοσπόρου.

Ὅτι τοῦ ἐξουσιοκράτορος Ἀλανίας μετὰ τῶν Χαζάρων μὴ εἰρηνεύοντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον προτιμοτέραν τιθεμένου τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ βασι-
19vP λέως Ῥωμαίων, ἐὰν οἱ Χάζαροι οὐ βούλωνται τὴν | πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην τηρεῖν, δύναται μεγάλως αὐτοὺς κακοῦν, τάς τε ὁδοὺς ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ἀφυλάκτως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθέμενος ἐν τῷ διέρχεσθαι πρός τε τὸ Σάρκελ καὶ τὰ κλίματα καὶ τὴν Χερσῶνα. Καὶ εἰ ποιήσηται σπουδὴν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐξουσιοκράτωρ τοῦ κωλύειν αὐτούς, μεγάλης καὶ βαθείας εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν ἥ τε Χερσὼν καὶ τὰ κλίματα· φοβούμενοι γὰρ οἱ Χάζαροι τὴν τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἐπίθεσιν καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκοντες ἄδειαν μετὰ φοσσάτου ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ Χερσῶνι καὶ τοῖς κλίμασιν, ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ταὐτῷ πολεμεῖν ἐξισχύοντες, εἰρηνεύειν ἀναγκασθήσονται.

81Be
20rP
## 12. Περὶ τῆς μαύρης Βουλγαρίας καὶ τῆς Χαζαρίας.

Ὅτι καὶ ἡ μαύρη λεγομένη Βουλγαρία δύναται τοῖς Χαζάροις πολεμεῖν.

## 13. Περὶ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ἐθνῶν τοῖς Τούρκοις.

Ὅτι τοῖς Τούρκοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη παράκεινται· πρὸς μὲν τὸ δυτικώτερον μέρος αὐτῶν ἡ Φραγγία, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βορειότερον οἱ Πατζινακῖται, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μεσημβρινὸν μέρος ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία, ἤτοι ἡ χώρα τοῦ Σφενδοπλόκου, ἥτις καὶ παντελῶς ἠφανίσθη παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων Τούρκων, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν κατεσχέθη. Οἱ δὲ Χρωβάτοι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τοῖς Τούρκοις παράκεινται.

20vP Ὅτι δύνανται καὶ οἱ Πατζινακῖται | τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ μεγάλως πραιδεύειν καὶ παραβλάπτειν αὐτούς, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πατζινακιτῶν κεφαλαίῳ προείρηται.

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*V* Ἀλανίας, ὅτι Be || 5 ἐννέα edd.: θ' P || κλήματα P || 7 ἐννέα edd.: θ' P || 8 κλημάτων τούτων V Me Ba κλιμάτων τούτων Be || κλημάτων P.

Nine regions of Chazaria are adjacent to Alania, and the Alan can, if he be so minded, plunder these and so cause great damage and dearth among the Chazars: for from these nine regions come all the livelihood and plenty of Chazaria.

## 11. Of the city of Cherson and the city of Bosporus.

If the ruler of Alania is not at peace with the Chazars, but thinks preferable the friendship of the emperor of the Romans, then, if the Chazars are not minded to preserve friendship and peace with the emperor, he, *the Alan*, may do them great hurt by ambushing their routes and setting upon them when they are off their guard, in their passage to Sarkel and the Regions and Cherson. And if this ruler will act zealously to check them, then Cherson and the Regions may enjoy great and profound peace; for the Chazars, afraid of the attack of the Alans and consequently not being free to attack Cherson and the Regions with an army, since they are not strong enough to fight both at once, will be compelled to remain at peace.

## 12. Of black Bulgaria and Chazaria.

The so-called black Bulgaria can also attack the Chazars.

## 13. Of the nations that are neighbours to the Turks.

These nations are adjacent to the Turks: on their western side Francia; on their northern the Pechenegs; and on the south side great Moravia, the country of Sphendoplokos, which has now been totally devastated by these Turks, and occupied by them. On the side of the mountains the Croats are adjacent to the Turks.

The Pechenegs too can attack the Turks, and plunder and harm them greatly, as has been said above in the chapter on the Pechenegs.

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**11.** 2 Βοοσπόρου P || 7 ἀφυλάκτοις *coni.* Kyriakides || 8 κλήματα P || ποιήσεται edd. || 10 Χερσῶν P || κλήματα P || 12 κλήμασιν P.

**12.** 1 τῆς[2] *om.* V edd.

**13.** 4/5 Πατζινακίται P || 5 *post* μέρος ἡ *lac. ind.* Jenkins *excidisse suspiciens* Χρωβατία ἣν δέ ποτε ὁ τόπος ἡ *vel hujusmodi aliquid* || 9 Πατζινακίται P ||

## 13

Ἐπίστησον, υἱέ, διανοίας ὄμμα τῆς σῆς λόγοις ἐμοῖς, καὶ γνῶθι,
ἅ σοι ἐντέλλομαι, καὶ ἕξεις ἐν καιρῷ ὡς ἐκ πατρικῶν θησαυρῶν προφέρειν
πλοῦτον φρονήσεως καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι χύμα συνέσεως. Ἴσθι οὖν, ὅτι
τοῖς βορείοις ἅπασι γένεσι φύσις ὥσπερ καθέστηκεν τὸ ἐν χρήμασι
λίχνον καὶ ἄπληστον καὶ μηδέποτε κορεννύμενον, ὅθεν πάντα ἐπιζητεῖ
καὶ πάντων ἐφίεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὅρῳ περιγραφομένας,
ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ ἀντὶ μικρᾶς ὠφελείας μεγάλα κέρδη
21rP προσ|πορίζεσθαι | βούλεται. Διὸ δεῖ τὰς τούτων ἀκαίρους αἰτήσεις
82Be καὶ παρρησιαστικὰς ἀξιώσεις διὰ λόγων πιθανῶν καὶ φρονίμων καὶ
συνετῶν ἀπολογιῶν ἀνατρέπειν καὶ ἀποκρούεσθαι, αἵτινες, ὅσον ἀπὸ
τῆς πείρας ἡμεῖς καταλαβεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν,
τοιαῦταί τινες ἔσονται.

Εἰ ἀξιώσουσί ποτε καὶ αἰτήσονται εἴτε Χάζαροι, εἴτε Τοῦρκοι,
εἴτε καὶ Ῥῶς, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἔθνος τῶν βορείων καὶ Σκυθικῶν, οἷα πολλὰ
συμβαίνει, ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐσθήτων ἢ στεμμάτων ἢ στολῶν ἕνεκά
τινος δουλείας καὶ ὑπουργίας αὐτῶν ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτοῖς, οὕτως χρή σε
ἀπολογήσασθαι, ὅτι· «Αἱ τοιαῦται στολαὶ καὶ τὰ στέμματα, ἃ παρ'
21vP ὑμῶν καμε|λαύκια ὀνομάζεται, οὔτε παρὰ ἀνθρώπων κατεσκευάσθησαν,
οὔτε ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων τεχνῶν ἐπενοήθησαν ἢ ἐξηργάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἀπὸ παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λόγοις γεγραμμένον εὑρίσκομεν,
ἡνίκα ὁ Θεὸς βασιλέα ἐποίησεν Κωνσταντῖνον ἐκεῖνον τὸν μέγαν, τὸν
πρῶτον Χριστιανὸν βασιλεύσαντα, δι' ἀγγέλου αὐτῷ τὰς τοιαύτας στολὰς
ἐξαπέστειλεν καὶ τὰ στέμματα, ἅπερ ὑμεῖς καμελαύκια λέγετε, καὶ
διωρίσατο αὐτῷ θεῖναι ταῦτα ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
ἥτις ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτῆς τῆς ἐνυποστάτου σοφίας Θεοῦ Ἁγία Σοφία
κατονομάζεται, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτὰ ἀμφιέννυσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτε
22rP δημοτελὴς καὶ με|γάλη τυγχάνῃ δεσποτικὴ ἑορτή. Διὸ δὴ Θεοῦ προσ-
τάγματι ταῦτα ἀπέθετο, ἅτινα καὶ ἄνωθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ἐν τῷ
θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ ἀποκρέμαται, καὶ εἰς κόσμον τῆς ἐκκλη-
83Be σίας καθέστηκεν. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἱμάτια καὶ σαγία βασιλικὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς | ταύ-
της τραπέζης ἄνωθεν ἐπίκεινται ἐφαπλούμενα. Ἡνίκα δὲ καταλάβῃ
τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑορτή, ἀναλαμβάνεται ἐκ
τῶν τοιούτων στολῶν καὶ στεμμάτων τὰ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδεια
καὶ ἁρμόζοντα ὁ πατριάρχης, καὶ ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ
ἀμφιέννυται αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ὑπηρέτης Θεοῦ καὶ διάκονος, ἐν τῇ προελεύ-
22vP σει καὶ μόνον, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν χρείαν ἀν|τιστρέφει αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀπόκεινται ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ κατάρα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ

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*F* 12 Ἐπίστησον — σῆς cf. Prov. 23, 5. 13 ἅ σοι ἐντέλλομαι Prov. 6, 3.

**13**

Fix, my son, your minds's eye upon my words, and learn those things which I command you, and you will be able in due season as from ancestral treasures to bring forth the wealth of wisdom, and to display the abundance of wit. Know therefore that all the tribes of the north have, as it were implanted in them by nature, a ravening greed of money, never satiated, and so they demand everything and hanker after everything and have desires that know no limit or circumscription, but are always eager for more, and desirous to acquire great profits in exchange for a small service. And so these importunate demands and brazenly submitted claims must be turned back and rebutted by plausible speeches and prudent and clever excuses, which, in so far as our experience has enabled us to arrive at them, will, to speak summarily, run more or less as follows:

Should they ever require and demand, whether they be Chazars, or Turks, or again Russians, or any other nation of the northerners and Scythians, as frequently happens, that some of the imperial vesture or diadems or state robes should be sent to them in return for some service or office performed by them, then thus you shall excuse yourself: «These robes of state and the diadems, which you call 'kamelaukia', were not fashioned by men, nor by human arts devised or elaborated, but, as we find it written in secret stories of old history, when God made emperor the former Constantine the great, who was the first Christian emperor, He sent him these robes of state by the hand of His angel, and the diadems which you call 'kamelaukia', and charged him to lay them in the great and holy church of God, which, after the name of that very wisdom which is the property of God, is called St.Sophia; and not to clothe himself in them every day, but *only* when it is a great public festival of the Lord. And so by God's command he laid them up, and they hang above the holy table in the sanctuary of this same church, and are for the ornament of the church. And the rest of the imperial vestments and cloaks lie spread out upon this holy table. And when a festival of our Lord and God Jesus Christ comes round, the patriarch takes up such of these robes of state and diadems as are suitable and appropriated to that occasion, and sends them to the emperor, and he wears them in the procession, and only in it, as the servant and minister of God, and after use returns them again to the church, and they are laid up in it. Moreover, there is a curse of the holy and great emperor Constantine en-

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*V* 21 ἀποκρούεσθαι *corr.* Moravcsik: ἀνακρούεσθαι P edd. || 24 Τούρκοι P || 25 βορειῶν P || 26 ἐσθητῶν P || 28 ἀπολογίσασθαι P edd. || στολαὶ] *corrupto pergameno litteras* αὶ *s. v. iter.* P³ || 29 ὑμῶν (*etiam* Meursius): ἡμῶν V edd. || 30 ἐξειργάσθησαν Be || 32 βασιλέα Be: βασιλέαν P || 34 ἅπερ ὑμεῖς (*etiam* Meursius): ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν Ba Be || λέγετε V Me: λέγεται P Ba Be || 35 διορίσατω P || 36 τῆς *om.* edd. || 43/4 ἐκ τῶν: τὰ ἐκ Me Ba τε ἐκ Be || 45 ἀποστέλλῃ P || 47 ἀντιστρέφῃ P ||

μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ταύτῃ τραπέζῃ τῆς
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐγγεγραμμένη, καθὼς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὁ
Θεὸς διωρίσατο, ἵνα, ἐὰν βουληθῇ βασιλεὺς διά τινα χρείαν ἢ περίστασιν
ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν ἄκαιρον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπᾶραι καὶ ἢ αὐτὸς καταχρήσασθαι ἢ
ἑτέροις χαρίσασθαι, ὡς πολέμιος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσταγμάτων
ἐχθρός, ἀναθεματίζεται καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρύττεται· εἰ δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἕτερα ὅμοια καμεῖν βουληθῇ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὰ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία
ἀναλαμβάνηται, τῶν ἀρχιερέων πάντων εἰς ταῦτα παρρησιαζομένων
23rP καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου· | καὶ μὴ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν μήτε τὸν βασιλέα, μήτε
τὸν πατριάρχην, μήτε ἕτερόν τινα τὰς τοιαύτας ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι στολὰς
ἢ τὰ στέμματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ φόβος μέγας
ἐπήρτηται τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀνατρέπειν τι τῶν τοιούτων θεϊκῶν διατά-
ξεων. Εἷς γάρ τις τῶν βασιλέων, Λέων ὀνόματι, ὃς καὶ ἀπὸ Χαζαρίας
γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο, ἀβούλῳ τόλμῃ χρησάμενος ἓν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνελάβετο
84Be στεμμάτων, δεσποτικῆς μὴ παρούσης | ἑορτῆς, καὶ δίχα γνώμης τοῦ
πατριάρχου τοῦτο περιεβάλετο. Καὶ εὐθέως ἄνθρακα ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου
ἐκβαλὼν καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τούτου ὀδύναις κατατρυχόμενος κακιγκάκως ἀπέρ-
23vP ρηξεν τὸ ζῆν, | καὶ πρὸ καιροῦ τὸν θάνατον ἐπεσπάσατο. Καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου
συντόμως ἐκδικηθέντος τολμήματος, ἔκτοτε τύπος ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἐν
τῷ μέλλειν στέφεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρότερον ὀμνύειν καὶ ἀσφαλίζεσθαι,
ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐναντίον τῶν προστεταγμένων καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ φυλαττομένων
τολμήσει ποιήσειν ἢ ἐννοήσασθαι καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου στέ-
φεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἁρμόζοντα τῇ καθεστώσῃ ἑορτῇ ἐπιτελεῖν τε καὶ δια-
πράττεσθαι.»

Ὡσαύτως χρή σε καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ πυρός, τοῦ διὰ τῶν σιφώνων
ἐκφερομένου μεριμνᾶν τε καὶ μελετᾶν, ὡς εἴπερ ποτὲ τολμήσωσί τινες
24rP καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπιζητῆσαι, καθὼς καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν πολλάκις ἐ|ζήτησαν, τοιού-
τοις αὐτοὺς ἔχεις ἀποκρούεσθαι καὶ ἀποπέμπεσθαι ῥήμασιν, ὅτι· «Καὶ
αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ⟨Θεοῦ⟩ δι' ἀγγέλου τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ πρώτῳ βασιλεῖ Χριστι-
ανῷ, ἁγίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐφανερώθη καὶ ἐδιδάχθη. Παραγγελίας δὲ
μεγάλας καὶ περὶ τούτου παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐδέξατο, ὡς παρὰ
πατέρων καὶ πάππων πιστωθέντες πληροφορούμεθα, ἵνα ἐν μόνοις
τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καὶ τῇ ὑπ' αὐτῶν βασιλευομένῃ πόλει κατασκευάζηται,
ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ μηδαμῶς, μήτε εἰς ἕτερον ἔθνος τὸ οἱονδήποτε παραπέμπηται,
μήτε διδάσκηται. Ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας οὗτος βασιλεὺς
85Be ἐξασφαλιζόμενος περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ | ἐκκλη-
24vP σίας ἀρὰς ἐγγραφῆναι πεποίηκεν, ἵνα ὁ ἐκ τοῦ | τοιούτου πυρὸς εἰς

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*F* 61 Εἷς — 66 ἐπεσπάσατο: cf. Theoph. p. 453, 25—30; Georg. Mon. p. 765, 8—14.

graved upon this holy table of the church of God, according as he was charged by God through the angel, that if an emperor for any use or occasion or unseasonable desire be minded to take of them and either himself misuse them or give them to others, he shall be anathematized as the foe and enemy of the commands of God, and shall be excommunicated from the church; moreover, if he himself be minded to make others like them, these too the church of God must take, with the freely expressed approval of all the archbishops and of the senate; and it shall not be in the authority either of the emperor, or of the patriarch, or of any other, to take these robes of state or the diadems from the holy church of God. And mighty dread hangs over them who are minded to transgress any of these divine ordinances. For one of the emperors, Leo by name, who also married a wife from Chazaria, out of his folly and rashness took up one of these diadems when no festival of the Lord was toward, and without the approval of the patriarch put it about his head. And straightway a carbuncle came forth upon his forehead so that in torment at the pains of it he evilly departed his evil life, and ran upon death untimely. And, this rash act being summarily avenged, thereafter a rule was made, that when he is about to be crowned the emperor must first swear and give surety that he will neither do nor conceive anything against what has been ordained and kept from ancient times, and then may he be crowned by the patriarch and perform and execute the rites appropriate to the established festival.»

Similar care and thought you must take in the matter of the liquid fire which is discharged through tubes, so that if any shall ever venture to demand this too, as they have often made demands of us also, you may rebut and dismiss them in words like these: «This too was revealed and taught by *God* through an angel to the great and holy Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and concerning this too he received great charges from the same angel, as we are assured by the faithful witness of our fathers and grandfathers, that it should be manufactured among the Christians only and in the city ruled by them, and nowhere else at all, nor should it be sent nor taught to any other nation whatsoever. And so, for the confirmation of this among those who should come after him, this great emperor caused curses to be inscribed on the holy table of the church of God, that he who

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*V* 49 βασιλέως *om.* V edd. || 50/1 ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου V edd. || 51 διορίσατο P || 54 ἀναθεματίζηται Meursius Ba Be || ἀποκηρύττηται Meursius Ba Be || 65 κακὴν κάκος P || 69 φυλαττομένων edd.: φυλαττομένοις P || 70 τολμήσῃ Ba Be || 73 χρῆσαι P || σιφόνων P || 76 αὐτοὺς edd.: αὐτοῖς P || ἔχοις V edd. || 77 ἀπὸ τοῦ *om.* edd. || Θεοῦ *add.* Moravcsik || 77/8 Χριστιανῷ Meursius Ba Be: Χριστιανῶν P || 82 παραπέμπηται edd.: παραπέμπεται P ||

ἕτερον ἔθνος δοῦναι τολμήσας μήτε Χριστιανὸς ὀνομάζεται, μήτε ἀξίας τινὸς ἢ ἀρχῆς ἀξιοῦται· ἀλλ' εἴ τινα καὶ ἔχων τύχῃ, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκβάληται καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀναθεματίζηται καὶ παραδειγματίζηται, εἴτε βασιλεύς, εἴτε πατριάρχης, εἴτε τις ἄλλος ὁ οἱοσοῦν ἄνθρωπος, εἴτε ἄρχων, εἴτε ἀρχόμενος τυγχάνοι ὁ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐντολὴν παραβαίνειν πειρώμενος. Καὶ προετρέψατο πάντας τοὺς ζῆλον καὶ φόβον Θεοῦ ἔχοντας, ὡς κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ παραβάτην τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης ἐντολῆς, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειροῦντα ποιεῖν ἀναιρεῖν σπουδάζειν, καὶ ἐχθίστῳ ⟨καὶ⟩ χαλεπῷ παραπέμπεσθαι θανάτῳ. Συνέβη δέ ποτε, τῆς κακίας 25rP ἀεὶ χώραν εὑρισκούσης, τινὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν δῶ|ρα παρά τινων ἐθνικῶν πάμπολλα εἰληφότα μεταδοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου πυρός, καὶ μὴ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνεκδίκητον καταλιπεῖν τὴν παράβασιν, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσιέναι ἐκκλησίᾳ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατελθὸν τοῦτον κατέφαγε καὶ ἀνάλωσεν. Καὶ ἀπὸ τότε φόβος μέγας καὶ τρόμος ἐν ταῖς ἁπάντων ἐνετέθη ψυχαῖς, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς τοῦ λοιποῦ, οὔτε βασιλεύς, οὔτε ἄρχων, οὔτε ἰδιώτης, οὔτε στρατηγός, οὔτε ὁ οἱοσοῦν ὅλως ἄνθρωπος κατετόλμησέ τι τοιοῦτον ἐνθυμηθῆναι, μήτι γε καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπιχειρῆσαι ποιῆσαι ἢ διαπράξασθαι.»

Ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι, καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον εἶδος αἰτήσεως παραλόγου 86Be 25vP καὶ ἀπρεποῦς εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ ἁρμόζοντας λόγους ἀνα|ζήτει |καὶ ἀναμάνθανε. Εἰ γάρ ποτε ἔθνος τι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων τούτων καὶ ἀτίμων βορείων γενῶν αἰτήσηται συμπενθεριάσαι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἢ θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ εἰς νύμφην λαβεῖν ἢ ἐπιδοῦναι οἰκείαν θυγατέρα εἰς γυναῖκα χρηματίσαι βασιλέως ἢ βασιλέως υἱοῦ, χρή σε τοιούτοις ῥήμασι καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην αὐτῶν παράλογον ἀποκρούσασθαι αἴτησιν, λέγοντα, ὅτι· «Καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως παραγγελία καὶ διάταξις φοβερὰ καὶ ἀπαραποίητος τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου ἐναπογέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ τῆς καθολικῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας· τοῦ μηδέποτε βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων συμπενθεριάσαι μετὰ ἔθνους 26rP παρηλ|λαγμένοις καὶ ξένοις ἔθεσι χρωμένου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καταστάσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἀλλοπίστου καὶ ἀβαπτίστου, εἰ μὴ μετὰ μόνων τῶν Φράγγων· τούτους γὰρ μόνους ὑπεξείλετο ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἅγιος, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γένεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἔσχε μερῶν, ὡς συγγενείας καὶ ἐπιμιξίας πολλῆς τυγχανούσης Φράγγοις τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις. Καὶ διὰ τί μετὰ τούτων μόνων προετρέψατο συνιστᾶν γαμικὰ συναλ-

*F* 98 πῦρ — 99 ἀνάλωσεν: cf. IV Reg. 1, 10—12; Apoc. 20, 9; Socrates, Hist. eccl. VII. 43. 100 φόβος — τρόμος: cf. Exod. 15, 16; Psalm. 54, 6. 104 Ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι: Homeri Od. VIII. 492.

*V* 86 ὀνομάζηται edd. || 88 ἐκβάλληται Be || αἰῶνα V edd. || ἀναθεματί-

should dare to give of this fire to another nation should neither be called a Christian, not be held worthy of any rank or office; and if he should be the holder of any such, he should be expelled therefrom and be anathematized and made an example for ever and ever, whether he were emperor, or patriarch, or any other man whatever, either ruler or subject, who should seek to transgress this commandment. And he adjured all who had the zeal and fear of God to be prompt to make away with him who attempted to do this, as a common enemy and a transgressor of this great commandment, and to dismiss him to a death most hateful *and* cruel. And it happened once, as wickedness will still find room, that one of our military governors, who had been most heavily bribed by certain foreigners, handed over some of this fire to them; and, since God could not endure to leave unavenged this transgression, as he was about to enter the holy church of God, fire came down out of heaven and devoured and consumed him utterly. And thereafter mighty dread and terror were implanted in the hearts of all men, and never since then has anyone, whether emperor, or noble, or private citizen, or military governor, or any man of any sort whatever, ventured to think of such a thing, far less to attempt to do it or bring it to pass.»

'But come, now, turn', and to meet another sort of demand, monstrous and unseemly, seemly and appropriate words discover and seek out. For if any nation of these infidel and dishonourable tribes of the north shall ever demand a marriage alliance with the emperor of the Romans, and either to take his daughter to wife, or to give a daughter of their own to be wife to the emperor or to the emperor's son, this monstrous demand of theirs also you shall rebut with these words, saying: «Concerning this matter also a dread and authentic charge and ordinance of the great and holy Constantine is engraved upon the sacred table of the universal church of the Christians, St. Sophia, that never shall an emperor of the Romans ally himself in marriage with a nation of customs differing from and alien to those of the Roman order, especially with one that is infidel and unbaptized, unless it be with the Franks alone; for they alone were excepted by that great man, the holy Constantine, because he himself drew his origin from those parts; for there is much relationship and converse between Franks and Romans. And why did he order that with them alone the emperors of the Romans should

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ζεται V || 88/9 παραδειγματίζεται V || 89 ὁ *om.* edd. || 90 παραβαίνειν V edd.: παραβαίνον P/|| 91 προυτρέψατο edd. || 93 τοιοῦτο Ba Be τοῦτο Meursius || 93/4 ἐχθίστῳ ⟨καὶ⟩ χαλεπῷ *coni.* Moravcsik: ἐκτίστω χαλεπῶ P ἐκτίστῳ τῷ χαλεπῷ Ba Be εὐθὺς τῷ χαλεπῷ Meursius ἐκτίστῳ καὶ χαλεπῷ Bandurius *an* ἐχθίστῳ *vel* οἰκτίστῳ *omissis* τῷ χαλεπῷ? Bekker || 99 κατελθὸν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ V Me || ἀνήλωσεν V edd. || 102 ὁ *om.* edd. || 104 Ἀλλ' ἄγε Be: ἀλλάγε P || 107 αἰτήσεται edd. || συμπεμθεριᾶσαι P || 108 εἰς *corr.* Kyriakides: ἢ P edd. || 109 χρῆσαι P || 114 συμπεμθεριᾶσαι P || 115 ἤθεσι V Me Ba || 120 τί: τοῦτο edd. || προυτρέψατο Be || 120/1 συναλλαγία P ||

λάγια τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων; Διὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν τῶν μερῶν ἐκείνων
καὶ γενῶν περιφάνειαν καὶ εὐγένειαν. Μετ' ἄλλου δέ του οἱουδήποτε
ἔθνους μὴ δυναμένους τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τολμήσας
ἵνα, ὡς παραβάτης πατρικῶν εἰσηγήσεων καὶ βασιλείων θεσμῶν, ἀλλό-
26vP τριος κρί|νοιτο τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταλόγων καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παραδί-
87Be δοιτο. Ὁ δὲ προμνημονευθεὶς Λέων ἐκεῖνος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ καὶ | τὸ στέμμα,
καθὼς ἀνωτέρω προείρηται, παρανόμως καὶ τολμηρῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας δίχα γνώμης τοῦ τότε πατριαρχοῦντος λαβὼν καὶ περιθέμενος
καὶ τὴν δίκην συντόμως δοὺς ἀξίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ πονηρᾶς ἐγχειρήσεως,
ἐτόλμησε καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐντολὴν τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως ἐκείνου, ἥτις,
ὡς ἤδη δεδήλωται, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ ἀναγεγραμμένη καθέστηκεν,
παρὰ φαῦλον θέσθαι καὶ ὡς μηδὲν λογίσασθαι, καὶ ὡς ἅπαξ ἔξω τοῦ
θείου φόβου καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἑαυτόν, συνεστήσατο
27rP καὶ μετὰ τοῦ χαγάνου Χαζαρίας | γαμικὸν συναλλάγιον, καὶ τὴν θυγα-
τέρα αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μέγα ἐκ τούτου ὄνειδος καὶ τῇ
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσετρίψατο, ὡς τὰ προγονικὰ παραγγέλ-
ματα ἀκυρώσας καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν λογισάμενος· πλὴν οὐδὲ ὀρθόδοξος
ἐκεῖνος Χριστιανὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' αἱρετικὸς καὶ εἰκονομάχος. Διὸ χάριν τῶν
τοιούτων αὐτοῦ παρανόμων ἀσεβημάτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ
διηνεκῶς ἀποκηρύττεται καὶ ἀναθεματίζεται, ὡς καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ
καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου διατάξεως
παραβάτης καὶ ἀνατροπεύς. Πῶς γάρ ἐστιν τῶν ἐνδεχομένων Χριστια-
νοὺς μετὰ ἀπίστων γαμικὰς κοινωνίας ποιεῖν καὶ συμπενθεριάζειν, τοῦ
27vP κανόνος τοῦτο κωλύ|οντος καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης ἀλλότριον αὐτὸ
λογιζομένης καὶ ἔξω τῆς Χριστιανικῆς καταστάσεως; Ἢ τίς τῶν ἐγκρί-
των καὶ εὐγενῶν καὶ σοφῶν βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων κατεδέξατο;» Εἰ δὲ
ἀντείπωσιν· «Πῶς ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ Βουλγάρων
88Be συνεπενθερίασεν, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν | ἐκγόνην δέδωκεν τῷ κυρῷ Πέτρῳ τῷ
Βουλγάρῳ;», δεῖ ἀπολογήσασθαι, ὅτι· «Ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανός, ὁ βασιλεύς,
ἰδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος ἄνθρωπος ἦν, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐν βασιλείοις
τεθραμμένων, οὔτε τῶν παρηκολουθηκότων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς
ἐθισμοῖς, οὔτε ἀπὸ γένους βασιλείου καὶ εὐγενοῦς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
28rP αὐθαδέστερον καὶ ἐξουσιαστικώτερον τὰ πολλὰ κατεπράττετο, | καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ οὔτε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαγορευούσῃ ὑπήκουσεν, οὔτε τῇ ἐντολῇ καὶ
διαταγῇ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου κατηκολούθησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ γνώμης
αὐθάδους καὶ αὐτοβούλου καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀμαθοῦς καὶ μὴ βουλομένης

F 142 Πῶς γάρ ἐστιν — 145 καταστάσεως: cf. can. XIV. IV. Concilii, can. LXXII. VII. Concilii, ed. Mansi VII. 364, XI. 976. = Ralles-Potles II, 251, 471. 147 Πῶς ὁ κύρις — 149 Βουλγάρῳ: cf. Georg. Mon. (cont.), ed. Bonn, p. 905, 19—907, 5; 913, 6—8; Georg. Mon. (cont.), ed. Istrin II. p. 56, 8—34; 60, 6—8; Theoph. Cont. p. 414, 1—415, 9; 422, 10—13. 150 ἰδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος: cf. Acta 4, 13.

intermarry? Because of the traditional fame and nobility of those lands and races. But with any other nation whatsoever it was not to be in their power to do this, and he who dared to do it was to be condemned as an alien from the ranks of the Christians and subject to the anathema, as a transgressor of ancestral laws and imperial ordinances. And that emperor Leo aforesaid, who also, as has been described above, unlawfully and rashly, without the consent of him who was then patriarch, took from the church the diadem and put it about his head and was summarily punished in full for his wicked attempt, dared to make light of and to disregard this commandment also of that holy emperor, which, as has already been made clear, is engraved on the holy table; and as he had once put himself outside the fear of God and His commandments, so also he contracted an alliance in marriage with the chagan of Chazaria, and received his daughter to be his wife, and thereby attached great shame to the empire of the Romans and to himself, because he annulled and disregarded the ancestral injunctions; yet he, however, was not even an orthodox Christian, but an heretic and a destroyer of images. And so for these his unlawful impieties he is continually excommunicated and anthematized in the church of God, as a transgressor and perverter of the ordinance of God and of the holy and great emperor Constantine. For how can it be admissible that Christians should form marriage associations and ally themselves by marriage with infidels, when the canon forbids it and the whole church regards it as alien to and outside the Christian order? Or which of the illustrious or noble or wise emperors of the Romans has admitted it?» But if they reply: «How then did the lord Romanus, the emperor, ally himself in marriage with the Bulgarians, and give his grand-daughter to the lord Peter the Bulgarian?», this must be the defence: «The lord Romanus, the emperor, was a common, illiterate fellow, and not from among those who have been bred up in the palace, and have followed the Roman national customs from the beginning; nor was he of imperial and noble stock, and for this reason in most of his actions he was too arrogant and despotic, and in this instance he neither heeded the prohibition of the church, nor followed the commandment and ordinance of the great Constantine, but out of a temper arrogant and self-willed and untaught in virtue and refusing to follow what was

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*V* **121** *post* Ῥωμαίων *signum interrogationis posuit* Moravcsik: Ῥωμαίων διὰ Be || **122** τοῦ οἵου δήποτε edd.: τοιουδήποτε P || **123** δυναμένους edd.: δυναμένου P δύνασθαι *coni.* Kyriakides || **124** παραβάτης edd.: παραβάτην P || **128** πατριαρχεύοντος edd. || **129** ἐγχειρίσεως P || **138** Χριστιανὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος edd. || **143** συμπεμθεριάζειν P || **144** αὐτὸ Ba Be: αὐτῷ P || **145/6** ἐκκρίτων Meursius Ba || **147** κῦρης P: κύριος edd. || **148** συνεπεμθερίασεν P || κυρίῳ edd. || **149** κῦρης P: κύριος edd. || **151** τεθραμμένων Be: τετραμμένων P ||

ἕπεσθαι τῷ πρέποντι καὶ καλῷ, μηδὲ ταῖς πατροπαραδότοις στοιχεῖν
διατάξεσιν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τετόλμηκεν, ταύτην μόνην εὔλογον δηλονότι
προβαλλόμενος πρόφασιν, τοσοῦτον πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων Χριστιανῶν
διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης πράξεως ἀναρρύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ Χριστιανοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς
Βουλγάρους ⟨καὶ⟩ ὁμοπίστους ἡμῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ αὐτοκράτορος
καὶ ἐνθέσμου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ ἡ ἐκδιδομένη ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ τρίτου
28vP καὶ ἐσχάτου καὶ ἔτι ὑποχει|ρίου καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς
μετέχοντος πράγμασι· καὶ οὐδὲν διέφερεν τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῦ καὶ ἄλλην
τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν συγγενίδων, τῶν πορρωτέρω τε καὶ ἐγγὺς τῆς βασι-
λείας εὐγενείας τυγχανουσῶν, καὶ διά τινα κοινωφελῆ δουλείαν, καὶ τοῦ
ἐσχάτου καὶ μηδὲν σχεδὸν ἐξουσιάζοντος. Ἐπεὶ ἔξω τοῦ κανόνος καὶ τῆς
ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παραδόσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἁγίου βασιλέως,
Κωνσταντίνου διαταγῆς τε καὶ ἐντολῆς τοῦτο πεποίηκεν, πολλὰ καὶ
89Be ζῶν ὠνειδίσθη ὁ προρρηθεὶς κύρις Ῥωμανός, καὶ διε|βλήθη καὶ ἐμι-
σήθη παρά τε τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς καὶ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας αὐτῆς, ὡς καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους γενέσθαι καταφανές,
29rP καὶ μετὰ θάνατον | ὁμοίως ἐξουθενεῖται καὶ διαβάλλεται καὶ ὑπὸ κατα-
γνώμην τίθεται καὶ οὗτος, ἀνάξιον πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀπρεπὲς εἰς τὴν εὐγενῆ
πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων καινοτομήσας.» Ἕκαστον γὰρ ἔθνος διάφορα ἔχον
ἔθη καὶ διαλλάττοντας νόμους τε καὶ θεσμοὺς ὀφείλει τὰ οἰκεῖα κρατύ-
νειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔθνους τὰς πρὸς ἀνάκρασιν βίου κοινωνίας ποιεῖ-
σθαι καὶ ἐνεργεῖν. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἕκαστον ζῶον μετὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν τὰς
μίξεις ἐργάζεται, οὕτω καὶ ἕκαστον ἔθνος οὐκ ἐξ ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἀλλο-
γλώσσων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὁμογενῶν τε καὶ ὁμοφώνων τὰ συνοικέσια τῶν
γάμων ποιεῖσθαι καθέστηκεν δίκαιον. Ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλή-
29vP λους ὁμοφροσύνη καὶ συνομιλία καὶ προσφιλὴς συνδιατριβὴ καὶ συμβί|ωσις
περιγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν· τὰ δὲ ἀλλότρια ἔθη καὶ διαλλάττοντα νόμιμα
ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον καὶ προσκρούσεις καὶ μίση καὶ στάσεις εἴωθεν ἀπο-
γεννᾶν, ἅπερ οὐ φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ἔχθρας καὶ διαστάσεις φιλεῖ
ἀπεργάζεσθαι. Καὶ ὅτι μὴ δεῖ τὰ κακῶς παρά τινων ἐξ ἀμαθείας ἢ
αὐθαδείας καταπραχθέντα τοὺς ἐννόμως ἄρχειν βουλομένους μιμεῖσθαί
τε καὶ ζηλοῦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐννόμως καὶ δικαίως βεβασιλευκότων τὰς
ἀοιδίμους πράξεις ἔχειν, ὡς εἰκόνας ἀγαθὰς εἰς παράδειγμα προκειμένας
μιμήσεως, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνας πειρᾶσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπευθύνειν πάντα τὰ
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργούμενα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας αὐτοβούλους
30rP 90Be | πρά|ξεις αὐτοῦ ἐπελθὸν αὐτῷ τέλος, φημὶ δὴ τῷ κυρῷ Ῥωμανῷ,

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*V* 157 στοιχεῖν Ba Be: τυχεῖν P || 158 δηλονότι edd.: δηλόθεν P || 162 καὶ *add.* Jenkins || 167 Ἐπεὶ δ' *coni.* Bekker || 168 καὶ[2] *om.* edd. ||

right and good, or to submit to the ordinances handed down by our forefathers, he dared to do this thing; offering, that is, this alone by way of specious excuse, that by this action so many Christian prisoners were ransomed, and that the Bulgarians too are Christians *and* of like faith with us, and that in any case she who was given in marriage was not daughter of the chief and lawful emperor, but of the third and most junior, who was still subordinate and had no share of authority in matters of government; but this was no different from *giving* any other of the ladies of the imperial family, whether more distantly or closely related to the imperial nobility, nor did it make any difference that she was given for some service to the commonweal, or was daughter of the most junior, who had no authority to speak of. And because he did this thing contrary to the canon and to ecclesiastical tradition and the ordinance and commandment of the great and holy emperor Constantine, the aforesaid lord Romanus was in his lifetime much abused, and was slandered and hated by the senatorial council and all the commons and the church herself, so that their hatred became abundantly clear in the end to which he came; and after his death he is in the same way vilified and slandered and condemned inasmuch as he too introduced an unworthy and unseemly innovation into the noble polity of the Romans.» For each nation has different customs and divergent laws and institutions, and should consolidate those things that are proper to it, and should form and develop out of the same nation the associations for the fusion of its life. For just as each animal mates with its own tribe, so it is right that each nation also should marry and cohabit not with those of other race and tongue but of the same tribe and speech. For hence arise naturally harmony of thought and intercourse among one another and friendly converse and living together; but alien customs and divergent laws are likely on the contrary to engender enmities and quarrels and hatreds and broils, which tend to beget not friendship and association but spite and division. Mark, too, that it is not for those who wish to govern lawfully to copy and emulate what has been ill done by some out of ignorance or arrogance, but rather to have the glorious deeds of those who have ruled lawfully and righteously as noble pictures set up for an example to be copied, and after their pattern to strive himself also to direct all that he does; since the end which came upon him, I mean, the lord Romanus, through these

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170 ὀνειδίσθη P || κῦρης P || 172 ἀπὸ: ἐπὶ edd. || 176/7 κρατύνειν *scr.* Moravcsik κρατοίνηην P: κρατεῖν edd. || 177 ἀνάκρασιν *coni.* Jenkins: ἀνάκρισην P ἀνάκρισιν edd. || 183 πέφυκεν Py πέφυκε Ba Be: πέφοικεν P V πεφίληκε Meursius || ἔθη edd.: ἤθη P || 185 φιλεῖ (*littera* ν *erasa*) Py Ba Be: φιλεῖν P V φιλῶν Meursius || 186 ἀπεργάζεσθαι (*littera* σ *inserta et littera* τ *in* ϑ *correcta*) Py Ba Be: ἀπεργάζεται P V Me || 187 ἐννόμως Meursius Ba Be: ἐννόμοις P ἐν νόμοις *coni.* Kyriakides || 192 δὴ V δῆ P: δὲ edd. ||

ἱκανόν ἐστιν πρὸς σωφρονισμὸν παράδειγμα τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κακῶς παρ' ἐκείνου πραχθέντα ζηλοῦν.

Χρεὼν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτά σε γινώσκειν, υἱὲ πολυέραστε, ἅτε τῆς τούτων γνώσεως μεγάλα σοι συμβαλέσθαι δυναμένης καὶ θαυμαστότερον ἀποδεῖξαι. Τὰ δέ ἐστιν περὶ διαφορᾶς πάλιν ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν, γενεαλογίας τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ βίου διαγωγῆς καὶ θέσεως καὶ κράσεως τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν κατοικουμένης γῆς καὶ περιηγήσεως αὐτῆς καὶ σταδιασμοῦ, καθὼς ἑξῆς πλατύτερον διηρμήνευται.

## 14. Περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας τοῦ Μουχούμετ.

30vP Γενεαλογεῖται ὁ δυσσεβὴς καὶ ἀκάθαρ|τος Μουχούμετ, ὃν λέγουσιν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ προφήτην αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἐκ φυλῆς γενικωτάτης Ἰσμαήλ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καταγόμενος. Ζιναρὸς γάρ, ὁ τοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ ἀπόγονος, πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀναγορεύεται πάντων. Οὗτος οὖν γεννᾷ υἱοὺς δύο, Μούνδαρον καὶ Ῥαβίαν, ὁ δὲ Μούνδαρος τίκτει Κούσαρον καὶ Κάϊσον καὶ Θεμίμην καὶ Ἄσανδον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνωνύμους, οἳ καὶ τὴν Μαδιανῖτιν ἔρημον κληρωσάμενοι, ἐκτηνοτρόφουν ἐν σκηναῖς κατοικοῦντες. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνδότεροι τούτων οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἰεκτάν, οἱ λεγόμε- 91Be νοι | Ὁμηρῖται, τουτέστιν Ἀμανῖται. Ἀναδείκνυται δὲ οὕτως. Ἀπόρου ὄντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μουχούμετ καὶ ὀρφανοῦ, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μισθωτεύσασθαι 31rP γυναικί τινι πλουσίᾳ καὶ συγγε|νεῖ αὐτοῦ, καλουμένῃ Χαδιγᾷ, πρὸς τὸ καμηλεύειν καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ. Εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν παρρησιασάμενος καὶ ὑπελθὼν τῇ γυναικὶ χήρᾳ οὔσῃ, λαμβάνει αὐτὴν εἰς γυναῖκα. Καὶ δὴ ἐπιχωριάζων ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ συναναστρεφόμενος Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Χριστιανοῖς, ἐθηρᾶτο λόγους καὶ γραφικὰς λύσεις τινάς. Ἔχων δὲ τὸ πάθος τῆς ἐπιληψίας, ἐλυπεῖτο σφόδρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, ὡς περιφανὴς καὶ πλουσία καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ συναφθεῖσα, οὐ μόνον ἀπόρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιληπτικῷ, ἣν καὶ τροπωσάμενος φάσκων, ὅτι· «Φοβερὰν ὀπτασίαν ἀγγέλου θεωρῶ

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*F* 14. 2 Γενεαλογεῖται — 28 Αἰθρίβου: Georg. Mon. p. 697, 13—699, 10 (cf. textum codicis P); cf. Theoph. p. 333, 14—334, 19; Leo Gramm., ed. Bonn. p. 153, 4—154, 7; Theod. Melit., ed. Tafel p. 105, 24—106, 21; Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 738, 12—739, 15; Excerpta cod. Harl. 5624. (s. XV.) fol. 418r sqq., ed. Sp. Lampros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων XV. p. 359.

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*V* 196 μεγάλας V μεγάλως edd. || 197 τάδε P || 198 γενεαλογίας edd.: γενεθλεαλογίας P || ἐθνῶν V || 200 διερμηνεύσεται Meursius Ba Be.

14. 2 Γενεαλογεῖται (*etiam* Migne): Γενεαλογῆται edd. || Μουχούμετ (*etiam* Georg. Mon.BEV)· Μουχούμεδ Georg. Mon. || 4 Ἀβραὰμ Georg. Mon. || καταγόμενος V Georg. Mon.: καταγομένου P καταγόμενον edd. || Ζηναρὸς P: Νίζαρος Meursius Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 5/6 Μούνδαρον (*etiam* Theoph.codd.):

his headstrong acts is a sufficient warning to restrain anyone who is minded to emulate his evil deeds.

But now, with the rest, you must know also what follows, my well-loved son, since knowledge of it may greatly advantage you and render you the object of greater admiration. That is, once again, knowledge 'of the difference between other nations, their origins and customs and manner of life, and the position and climate of the land they dwell in, and its geographical description and measurement', as they are more widely expounded hereafter.

## 14. Of the genealogy of Mahomet.

The blasphemous and obscene Mahomet, whom the Saracens claim for their prophet, traces his genealogy by descent from the most widespread race of Ishmael, son of Abraham. For *Nizaros*, the descendant of Ishmael, is proclaimed the father of them all. Now he begat two sons, Moundaros and Rabias, and Moundaros begat Kousaros and Kaïsos and Themimes and Asandos and various others whose names are unknown, who were allotted the Madianite desert and reared their flocks, dwelling in tents. And there are others further off in the interior who are not of the same tribe, but of Iektan, the so-called Homerites, that is, Amanites. And the story is published abroad thus. This Mahomet, being destitute and an orphan, thought fit to hire himself out to a certain wealthy woman, his relative, Chadiga by name, to tend her camels and to trade for her in Egypt among the foreigners and in Palestine. Thereafter by little and little he grew more free in converse and ingratiated himself with the woman, who was a widow, and took her to wife. Now, during his visits to Palestine and intercourse with Jews and Christians he used to follow up certain of their doctrines and interpretations of scripture. But as he had the disease of epilepsy, his wife, a noble and wealthy lady, was greatly cast down at being united to this man, who was not only destitute but an epileptic into the bargain, and so he deceived her by alleging: «I behold a dreadful vision of an angel called Gabriel, and

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Μούδαρον Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 6 Ῥαβείαν P || Μούνδαρος (*etiam* Theoph.[codd.]): Μούδαρος Georg. Mon. Theoph. || Κούσαρον (*etiam* Georg. Mon.): Κούρασον Georg. Mon.[P] Theoph. || Θεμίμην Georg. Mon. Theoph.: Θυμίμην P edd. || 7 Ἀσανδὸν Cod. Harl. Ἄσαδον Georg. Mon. Theoph. || ἀνωνύμους Meursius Be Georg. Mon.: ὁμωνύμους P ἀγνώστους Theoph. || Μαδιανίτην P || 9 Ἰεκτᾶν P || 10 Ὀμηρεῖται P || Ἀμανῖται (*etiam* Theoph.): Ἀμμανῖται Georg. Mon. || Ἀναδείκνυται δὲ οὕτως *deest in* Georg. Mon. || 11 αὐτοῦ τοῦ: τοῦ προειρημένου Georg. Mon.[P] Theoph. || Μουχούμεδ Georg. Mon. || μισθοτεύσασθαι P: μισθωτεῦσαι Georg. Mon. μισθοδοτήσεσθαι edd. || 12 Χαδιγᾷ Georg. Mon..: Χάδιγα P Χαδίγα edd. Χαδίγαν Theoph. || 13 ἀλλοφύλων: ὁμοφύλων Georg. Mon. || 16 συναναtρεφόμενος V Me Ba || 17 λύσεις: ῥήσεις Georg. Mon. ||

Γαβριὴλ ὀνόματι, καὶ μὴ ὑποφέρων αὐτοῦ τὴν θέαν ὀλιγωρῶ καὶ πίπτω»,
31vP ἐπιστεύθη, | συμψευδομαρτυροῦντος αὐτῷ Ἀρειανοῦ τινος μοναχοῦ
ψευδωνύμου δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. Καὶ οὕτως ἡ γυνὴ πλανηθεῖσα καὶ
ἄλλαις γυναιξὶν ὁμοφύλαις κηρύξασα προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, προῆλθεν
τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ εἰς ἄνδρα φύλαρχον τοὔνομα Βουβάχαρ.
Ἡ οὖν γυνὴ θανοῦσα καὶ τοῦτον διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον καταλείψασα
τῶν ἑαυτῆς, ἐγένετο περιφανὴς καὶ ἄγαν ὑπερούσιος, καὶ κατέσχεν
ἡ πονηρὰ πλάνη τε καὶ αἵρεσις αὐτοῦ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθρίβου. Καὶ ἐδίδαξεν
οὗτος ὁ παράφρων καὶ πεφενακισμένος τοὺς αὐτῷ πειθομένους, ὅτι ὁ
92Be φονεύων ἐχθρὸν | ἢ ὑπὸ ἐχθροῦ φονευόμενος εἰς τὸν παράδεισον
32rP εἰσέρχεται καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα φλυ|αρεῖ. Προσεύχονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς
Ἀφροδίτης ἄστρον, ὃ καλοῦσι Κουβάρ, καὶ ἀναφωνοῦσιν ἐν τῇ
προσευχῇ αὐτῶν οὕτως· «Ἀλλὰ οὐὰ Κουβάρ», ὅ ἐστιν 'ὁ θεὸς καὶ
Ἀφροδίτη'. Τὸν γὰρ θεὸν 'Ἀλλά' προσονομάζουσι, τὸ δὲ 'οὐά' ἀντὶ
τοῦ 'καί' συνδέσμου τιθέασιν, καὶ τὸ 'Κουβάρ' καλοῦσι τὸ ἄστρον, καὶ
λέγουσιν οὕτως· «Ἀλλὰ οὐὰ Κουβάρ.»

## 15. Περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν Φατεμιτῶν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Φατὲμ θυγάτηρ ἦν τοῦ Μουχούμετ, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης
γεννῶνται οἱ Φατεμῖται. Οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ Φατέμη ἀπὸ τῆς
Λιβύης χώρας, ἀλλὰ κατοικοῦσι πρὸς τὰ βορειότερα μέρη τοῦ Μέκε,
βαθύτερα τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Μουχούμετ. Εἰσὶ δὲ ἔθνος Ἀραβικόν, πρὸς
32vP πολέμους καὶ | μάχας ἀκριβῶς ἐξησκημένον· μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ τοιούτου
γένους ἐπολέμησεν ὁ Μουχούμετ, καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἐπόρθησεν καὶ καθυπέταξεν. Εἰσὶ γὰρ ἠνδρειωμένοι καὶ πολεμισταί, ὅτι εἰ
εὑρεθῶσι μέχρι μιᾶς χιλιάδος εἰς φοσσᾶτον, τὸ τοιοῦτον φοσσᾶτον
ἀήττητον καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον γίνεται. Οὐ καβαλλικεύουσι δὲ ἵππους,
ἀλλὰ καμήλους, ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου οὐκ ἐνδύονται θώρακας,
οὔτε κλιβάνια, ἀλλὰ περιβόλαια ῥοδωτά, καὶ ἔχουσι δόρατα μακρὰ καὶ
ἀσπίδας ἀνδρομήκεις καὶ τόξα ξύλινα παμμεγέθη, σχεδὸν μὴ δυνάμενα
τείνεσθαι παρ' ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν.

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*F* 28 Καὶ ἐδίδαξεν — 31 εἰσέρχεται: Georg. Mon. (cod. P) app. ad p. 699, 10; cf. Theoph. p. 334, 20—22. 31 Προσεύχονται — 36 Κουβάρ: cf. Georg. Mon. p. 706, 1—13; Cedr. ed. Bonn. I. p. 744, 9—21; Exc. cod. Harl. 5624. I. c. p. 362.

**15.** 10 Οὐ καβαλλικεύουσι — 14 ἀνδρῶν: cf. Leo, Tact. XVIII. 112—115., ed. Migne, P. G. 107. c. 972 D—973 B.

being unable to endure his sight, I faint and fall»; and he was believed because a certain Arian, who pretended to be a monk, testified falsely in his support for love of gain. The woman being in this manner imposed on and proclaiming to other women of her tribe that he was a prophet, the lying fraud reached also the ears of a head-man whose name was Boubachar. Well, the woman died and left her husband behind to succeed her and to be heir of her estate, and he became a notable and very wealthy man, and his wicked imposture and heresy took hold on the district of Ethribos. And the crazy and deluded fellow taught those who believed on him, that he who slays an enemy or is slain by an enemy enters into paradise, and all the rest of his nonsense. And they pray, moreover, to the star of Aphrodite, which they call Koubar, and in their supplication cry out: «Alla wa Koubar», that is, 'God and Aphrodite'. For they call God 'Alla', and 'wa' they use for the conjunction 'and', and they call the star 'Koubar', and so they say 'Alla wa Koubar'.

## 15. Of the tribe of the Fatemites.

Fatem was a daughter of Mahomet, and from her are begotten the Fatemites. But these are not from Fatemi, from the country of Libya, but dwell in the district north of Mecca, away behind the tomb of Mahomet. They are an Arab nation, carefully trained to wars and battles; for with the aid of this tribe Mahomet went to war, and took many cities and subdued many countries. For they are brave men and warriors, so that if they be found to the number of a thousand in an army, that army cannot be defeated or worsted. They ride not horses but camels, and in time of war they do not put on corselets or coats of mail but pink-coloured cloaks, and have long spears and shields as tall as a man and enormous wooden bows which few can bend, and that with difficulty.

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*V* 22 'Αριανοῦ P || 24 ὁμοφύλαις (*etiam* Theoph.[d]): ὁμοφύλοις Be Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 25 φύλαρχον Meursius Ba Be Georg. Mon.: φίλαρχον P || Βουβάχαρ: 'Αβουβάχαρ *coni.* Thunmann || 27 ἄγαν καὶ Georg. Mon.[P] || ὑπερούσιος: περιούσιος Georg. Mon. ὑπερπλούσιος *coni.* Stephanus || 28 Αἰθρίβου Be Theoph.[g] Αἰθρήβου P: 'Εθρίβου Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 31 καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα φλυαρεῖ *deest in* Georg. Mon. Theoph. || φλυαρεῖ Be: φλυαρῇ P || 33 ὅ V edd.: οὗ P || καὶ Meursius Ba Be: ἡ P || 34 Τὸν (*littera* ν *addita*) P[2] V edd.: τὸ P || 'Αλλά V: 'Αλλα (*sine acc.*) P || 34/5 ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου τιθέασιν V edd.: ἀντι καὶ συν[δ'] τιθέασιν P *accentum supra* ἀντὶ *add. itemque* τοῦ *et* μου *s. v. add.* P[2] ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου *mg. iter.* P[2].

**15.** 1 *incipit cod. Mutin. gr.* 179 [= M] || 3 Φατεμεῖται P || Φατέμη edd.: Φάτεμη P || 5 τοῦ[1] *om.* edd. || 9 φοσάτον P || φοσάτον P || 12 ῥοδωτά edd. ῥοδοτά P: ῥυτιδωτά *coni.* Meursius || 14 τείνεσθαι ⟨εἰ μή⟩ *coni.* Kyriakides.

93Be **16.** Ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος, οὗ ἐθεμάτισεν Στέφανος ὁ
33rP μαθηματικὸς περὶ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν | ἐξόδου,
ἐν ποίῳ χρόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως
ἐγένετο, καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας
Ῥωμαίων διέπων.

Ἐξῆλθον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ τρίτῃ, ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης, εἰς τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος Ἡρακλείου, ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ͵ϛρλ΄. Τὸ δὲ θεμάτιν τῶν αὐτῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐγένετο εἰς μῆνα Σεπτέμβριον τρίτην, ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ. Εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πρῶτος ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Ἀράβων Μουάμεθ, ὃν οἱ Ἄραβες καλοῦσι Μουχούμετ, ὁ καὶ προφήτης αὐτῶν χρηματίσας, ἐκράτησε δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀράβων ἔτη ἐννέα.

**17.** Ἐκ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἤγουν ͵ϛρλθ΄, ἀπεβίω Μουάμεθ, ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
33vP ἀρχηγὸς καὶ ψευδοπροφήτης, προχειρισάμενος ἀν|τ' αὐτοῦ Ἀβουβάχαρον, τὸν καὶ Βουπάκτωρα, συγγενῆ αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ πεπλανημένοι Ἑβραῖοι ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ ἐνόμισαν εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς προσδοκώμενον Χριστόν, ὡς καί τινας τῶν προυχόντων αὐτῶν προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ δέξασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ θρησκείαν, καὶ καταλιπεῖν τὴν τοῦ θεόπτου Μωσέως. Θεωρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐσθίοντα ἀπὸ καμήλου, ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃν ἐνόμισαν. Ἐδίδασκον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀθέμιτα
94Be κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, | καὶ διῆγον σὺν αὐτῷ. Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ διδάξαντες αὐτὸν παραδέχεσθαι μέρη τινὰ τοῦ νόμου, τήν τε περιτομὴν καὶ ἄλλα τινά, ἅπερ παραφυλάττονται οἱ Σαρακηνοί. Πρῶτος οὖν Ἀβουβάχαρ
34rP ἠκολούθησεν αὐτὸν καὶ προφήτην | ἐκήρυξεν, διὸ καὶ διάδοχον αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν. Ἐκράτησεν δὲ ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτοῦ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθρίβου, πρώην μὲν ἐν κρυπτῷ ἔτη δέκα, τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον διὰ πολέμου ὁμοίως ἔτη δέκα,

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*F* **16.** 1 Ἐκ τοῦ — 5 διέπων: cf. H. Usener, De Stephano Alexandrino, Index lect. Bonn. 1879. p. 3—16., 1879/80. p. 15—22, Notae Bullialdi ad Ducae Historiam, ed. Bonn. pp. 622—626. 6 Ἐξῆλθον — 9 πέμπτῃ: cf. Leo Gramm., ed. Bonn. p. 152, 20—153, 3; Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 717, 7—17; Excerpta cod. Bruxellensis II 4836. (s. XIII.) fol. 90v, ed. J. Davreux, Byzantion X. p. 99.

**17.** 2 Τούτῳ — 10 αὐτῷ: Theoph. p. 333, 1—13; cf. Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 738, 3—11; Exc. cod. Harl. 5624., l. c. p. 358—359. 10 Οὗτοι — 11 περιτομὴν: cf. Georg. Mon. p. 700, 5—6; Cedr. I. p. 739, 22. 14 Ἐκράτησεν — 23 ἀδικουμένοις: Theoph. p. 334, 17—27; cf. Cedr. I. p. 739, 15—17; Exc. cod. Harl. 5624., l. c. p. 359.

## 16. From the canon which Stephen the astrologer cast from the stars concerning the Exodus of the Saracens, in what year of the foundation of the world it took place, and who then held the sceptre of the empire of the Romans.

The Exodus of the Saracens took place on the third day of the month of September of the tenth indiction, in the twelfth year of Heraclius, in the year from the creation of the world 6130. And the horoscope of these same Saracens was cast in the month of September, on the third day of the month, the fifth day of the week. At this same time Mouameth was first chief of the Arabs, whom the Arabs call Mahomet, who was also their prophet, and he held rule over the Arabs nine years.

## 17. From the Chronicle of Theophanes, of blessed memory.

In this year 6139, died Mouameth, chief and false prophet of the Saracens, having appointed in his stead Aboubacharos, or Boupaktor, his kinsman. And the deluded Jews at his first appearance had taken him for the Christ whom they expect, so that some of their leading men approached him and received his religion and forsook that of Moses who beheld God. But when they saw him eating camel's flesh, they realized that he was not what they had thought him. But they taught him to do nefarious crimes against the Christians and continued in his company. These are they who taught him to accept some parts of the Law, both the circumcision and other matters, which the Saracens observe. The first to come after him, then, was Aboubachar, who had proclaimed him to be a prophet and was for that reason left behind to succeed him. And his heresy prevailed in the district of Ethribos, at first in secret ten years, and at last through

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*V* **16.** 1 οὗ: ὃν edd. || 4/5 καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων διέπων: καὶ τίς ἦν τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων V edd. || 7 δωδέκατον V M edd.: ιβ′ P τῷ ιβ′ ἔτει (*sc.* Ἡρακλείου) Cedr. τῷ ... δωδεκάτῳ τοῦ Μωάμεθ χρόνῳ Leo Gramm. || 8 post ͵ϛρλ′ *siglo* ./. *adhibito* νῦν δέ (ἐστιν) ͵ϛωο′ (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε′, ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότ(ε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ′ *mg. add.* $P^3$, *quae omnia in textum receperunt* V M Me, *qua de causa caput hoc insiticium esse suspicatus est* Meursius || 10/1 προφήτης $P^1$ V M edd.: προφήτην P || 11 αὐτῶν $P^1$ V M edd.: αὐτὸν P || δὲ *om.* V edd. || 12 ἐννέα edd.: ϑ′ P.

**17.** 2 ἤγουν ͵ϛρλϑ′ *deest in* Theoph. || Μουάμεδ Theoph. || 3 ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ *deest in* Theoph. || 4 τὸν καὶ Βουπάκτωρα *deest in* Theoph. || Βουτάκτωρα V edd. || 5 τοῦτον: αὐτὸν Theoph. || 7 καταλιπεῖν: ἀφῆσαι Theoph. || 8 ἀπὸ καμήλου ἐσθίοντα V edd. || 9 δὲ *deest in* Theoph. || 10 διδάσκοντες edd. || 14 δὲ *deest in* Theoph. || Αἰθρίβου $P^2$ V edd. $Theoph.^g$: Αἰθρίου P Ἐθρίβου Theoph. || 15 $δέκα^1$ edd.: ι′ P || δὲ *deest in* Theoph. || $δέκα^2$ edd.: ι′ P ||

καὶ φανερῶς ἔτη ἐννέα. Ἐδίδαξεν δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπηκόους, ὅτι ὁ ἀποκτείνας ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἀπὸ ἐχθροῦ ἀποκτεννόμενος ἀκωλύτως εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσέρχεται, τὸν δὲ παράδεισον σαρκικῆς βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως καὶ μίξεως γυναικῶν ἔλεγεν, ποταμὸν δὲ οἴνου καὶ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος καταρρεῖν, καὶ γυναικῶν τὴν ὅρασιν ἀσύγκριτον, οὐ τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ' ἄλλων, καὶ τὴν μῖξιν πολυχρόνιον ἔφασκεν καὶ διαρκῆ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀσωτίας καὶ μωρίας ἔμπλεα, συμπαθεῖν τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ
34vP βοηθεῖν | ἀδικουμένοις.

## 18. Δεύτερος ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Ἀράβων, Ἀβουβάχαρ, ἔτη τρία.

Οὗτος ὁ Ἀβουβάχαρ πρῶτος λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν Γάζαν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῆς τὴν περίχωρον. Τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀβουβάχαρ ἀμηρεύσας ἔτη τρία, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν Οὔμαρ, καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔτη δώδεκα.

## 95Be 19. Τρίτος ἀρχηγὸς Ἀράβων, Οὔμαρ.

Ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν Οὔμαρ ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, καὶ παρακαθίσας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπολιόρκησεν τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ διετῆ χρόνον, καὶ παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν δόλῳ. Σωφρόνιος γάρ, ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος, θείῳ κινούμενος ζήλῳ καὶ ἀγχινοίᾳ διαπρέπων, λόγον ἔλαβεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀσφαλέστατον, ὥστε
35rP ἀκαθαιρέτους | μεῖναι τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀπορθήτους. Τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ Σωφρόνιος ἔφη· «Ἐπ' ἀληθείας τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου ἑστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ.» Οὗτος τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησε Σολομών, πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν προσκυνητήριον τῆς αὐτοῦ βλασφημίας. Καὶ ἔστι ἕως τῆς σήμερον.

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*F* 18, 1 Δεύτερος — 6 δώδεκα: cf. Theoph. p. 336, 4—8, 14—16, 28—29; 337, 13—17; Exc. cod. Harl. 5624., l. c. p. 363.
19, 2 Ὁ αὐτὸς — 11 βλασφημίας: Theoph. p. 339, 15—24; cf. Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 746, 8—15. 8 τὸ βδέλυγμα — 9 ἁγίῳ: Matth. 24, 15; cf. Dan. 9, 27; Vita Sophronii, ed. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας V. p. 144.

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*V* 16 ἔτη *deest in* Theoph. || ἐννέα edd.: θ' P || 17 ἀπὸ (*etiam* Theoph.[cdefm]): ὑπὸ V edd. Theoph. || ἀποκτεννόμενος Theoph. ἀποκτενόμενος P: ἀποκτεινόμενος edd. || ἀκωλύτως *deest in* Theoph. || τὸν *deest in* Theoph. || 19 δὲ (*etiam* Theoph.[h]): τε Theoph. || 20 καταρρεῖν *deest in* Theoph. || τὴν ὅρασιν ἀσύγκριτον *deest in* Theoph. || παρόντων (*etiam* Theoph.[efghm]): παρουσῶν

war another ten years, and openly nine years. And he taught his subjects that he who has slain an enemy or is slain by an enemy enters unhindered into paradise, and said that it is a paradise of carnal eating and drinking and lying with women, and that a river of wine and honey and milk flows down it and the women are incomparable to look upon, not such as we know here but other, and he fabled that intercourse with them is of long duration and the pleasure continuous, and other matters replete with libertinism and folly; and they are to forgive one another and aid one another when wronged.

## 18. The second chief of the Arabs, Aboubachar, three years.

This Aboubachar first took the city of Gaza and all the territory round about it. And the same Aboubachar died after ruling as emir three years, and Oumar succeeded to the rule and governed the Arabs twelve years.

## 19. The third chief of the Arabs, Oumar.

This same Oumar marched against Palestine, and laid siege in it and blockaded Jerusalem for the space of two years, and took it by guile. For Spohronius, bishop of Jerusalem, one moved with divine zeal and excellent in sagacity, received from him a most sure undertaking concerning the churches throughout Palestine, so that the churches were neither destroyed nor sacked. When Sophronius saw him, he said: «Of a truth this is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, that standeth in the holy place.» He demanded the temple of the Jews that Solomon built, to make it the place of worship of his blasphemy. And it is so to this day.

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Theoph. || 21 ἔφασκεν: εἶναι Theoph. || διαρκῆ τὴν Be Theoph.: διαρκιτικὴν P || 22 ἔμπλεα V edd.: ἔμπλεω P μεστὰ Theoph. || τε: δὲ Theoph.

**18.** 2 τρία *scr.* Moravcsik: γ′ P Ba Be || 3 Ἀβουβάχαρ (*etiam* Theoph.[ef]): Ἀβουβάχαρος Theoph. || 5 τρία edd.: γ′ P δύο ἥμισυ *hic*, *sed alio loco* γ′ Theoph. || 5 Οὔμαρος Theoph. || 6 δώδεκα edd.: ιβ′ P.

**19.** 1 Οὔμαρ] *litteras rest.* P[2] || 2 Οὔμαρος Theoph. || ἐπεστράτευσε (*etiam* Meursius Migne Theoph.): ἀπεστράτευσε V edd. || τῆς *deest in* Theoph. || 3 ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπολιόρκησεν *deest in* Theoph. || τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ: τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν Theoph. || 4 καὶ *deest in* Theoph. || αὐτὴν δόλῳ] *litteras* ἣν δόλω *rest.* P[2] || δόλῳ: λόγῳ Theoph. || ἐπίσκοπος: ἀρχιερεύς Theoph || 5 θείῳ κινούμενος ζήλῳ καὶ ἀγχινοίᾳ διαπρέπων *deest in* Theoph. || 5/6 παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς *deest in* Theoph. || 6 ἀσφαλέστατον (*etiam* Theoph.[codd.]): ἀσφαλείας Theoph. || 6 ὥστε — 7 ἀπορθήτους *deest in* Theoph. || 7 ὁ *deest in* Theoph. || 9 ἑστῶς P ἑστὼς Theoph.[cdg] || Οὗτος: Οὔμαρος Theoph. || 10 πρὸς τὸ *deest in* Theoph.

## 20. Τέταρτος Ἀράβων ἀρχηγός, Οὐθμάν.

Οὗτος λαμβάνει τὴν Ἀφρικὴν πολέμῳ, καὶ στοιχήσας φόρους μετὰ τῶν Ἄφρων ὑπέστρεψεν. Τούτου στρατηγὸς χρηματίζει Μαυίας, ὁ παραλύσας τὸν κολοσσὸν Ῥόδου καὶ πορθήσας Κύπρον τὴν νῆσον καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς. Οὗτος παραλαμβάνει καὶ νῆσον τὴν Ἄραδον,
35rP καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς ἐνέπρησεν, | καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀοίκητον κατέστησεν ἕως τοῦ νῦν. Οὗτος τὴν νῆσον Ῥόδον καταλαβὼν καθεῖλε τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ
96Be κολοσσὸν μετὰ χίλια τξ' ἔτη τῆς αὐτοῦ | ἱδρύσεως, ὃν Ἰουδαῖός τις ἔμπορος ὠνησάμενος Ἐδεσσηνός, ϑ' καμήλους ἐφόρτωσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν χαλκόν. Οὗτος ὁ Μαυίας ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἐλυμήνατο τήν τε Ἔφεσον καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσὸν καὶ Σμύρνην καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις Ἰωνίας, ὃς καὶ γέγονεν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγὸς πέμπτος μετὰ τὴν Οὐθμὰν τελευτὴν ἔτη εἴκοσι τέσσαρα.

## 21. Ἐκ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ Θεοφάνους· ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ͵ςροα'.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ Μαυίου, τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγοῦ,
36rP εἰσῆλθον οἱ Μαρδαΐται εἰς τὸν Λίβανον, καὶ ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ | τοῦ Μαύρου ὄρους ἕως τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως, καὶ ἐχειρώσαντο τὰς τοῦ Λιβάνου περιωπάς· καὶ πολλοὶ δοῦλοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέφυγον, ὥστε δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου εἰς πολλὰς χιλιάδας γενέσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο μαθὼν Μαυίας καὶ οἱ σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα. Καὶ ἀποστέλλει πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντῖνον ζητῶν εἰρήνην. Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου, υἱοῦ τοῦ Πωγωνάτου, Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπίκλην Πιτζηκαύδης. Τούτου δὲ καταλαβόντος ἐν Συρίᾳ, Μαυίας ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν μετὰ μεγάλης τιμῆς,

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*F* 20. 2 Οὗτος — 3 ὑπέστρεψεν: cf. Theoph. p. 343, 17—20, 24—28. 3 Μαυίας — 5 αὐτῆς: cf. Theoph. p. 345, 8—9; 343, 30—31; Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 755, 1—2, 8—9. 5 Οὗτος — 7 νῦν: Theoph. p. 344, 12—15; cf. Cedr. I. p. 755, 3—5. 7 Οὗτος — 10 χαλκόν: Theoph. p. 345, 8—11; cf. Cedr. I. p. 755, 8—10; Zon. XIV. 19., ed. Bonn. III. p. 219, 7—10. 10 Οὗτος — Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: cf. Theoph. p. 345, 16—18. 11 ἐλυμήνατο — 12 Ἰωνίας: cf. Theoph. p. 353, 14—16; Cedr. I. p. 764, 18—20. 12 ὃς — 13 τέσσαρα: cf. Theoph. p. 346, 20—21, 25; 355, 1—5.

21. 4 εἰσῆλθον — 16 εὐγενεῖς ν': Theoph. p. 355, 6—25; cf. Niceph., ed. de Boor p. 32, 23—33, 6; Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 765, 19—766, 6; Zon. XIV. 20., ed. Bonn. III. p. 224, 11—225, 7.

## 20. The fourth chief of the Arabs, Outhman.

He took Africa by war, and arranged imposts with the Africans and returned. His general was Mauias, who pulled down the colossus of Rhodes and took the island of Cyprus and all its cities. He took the island of Arados also and burnt its city, and made the island desolate to this day. When he came to the island of Rhodes, he demolished the colossus in it, one thousand 360 years after it had been set up, and a Jewish merchant of Edessa bought it and loaded 900 camels with the bronze of it. This Mauias also made an expedition against Constantinople and ravaged Ephesus and Halicarnassus and Smyrna and the rest of the cities of Ionia, and after the death of Outhman was fifth chief of the Arabs for twenty-four years.

## 21. From the Chronicle of Theophanes: the year from the creation of the world 6171.

At the end of the life of Mauias, chief of the Arabs, the Mardaïtes entered the Lebanon and took possession of it from the Black mountain to the holy city, and made themselves masters of the summits of the Lebanon; and many slaves and natives ran to them for refuge, in numbers which shortly amounted to many thousands. On learning this, Mauias was greatly alarmed, and his counsellors with him. And he sent envoys to the emperor Constantine, seeking for peace. Therefore, the emperor Constantine, the orthodox, son of Pogonatus, dispatched John surnamed Pitzikaudis. And when he arrived in Syria, Mauias received him with great honour, and it

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*V* **20.** 1 ἀρχηγὸς Ἀράβων V edd. || 3 Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας $P^2$ V M || 6 καὶ τὴν$^2$ *bis* P || 7 νῆσον *deest in* Theoph. || ἐν αὐτῇ *corr.* Moravcsik: ἑαυτῇ P ἑαυτῆς V M Me Ba αὐτῆς Be ἐν αὐτῇ *deest in* Theoph. || 8 χίλια τξ′: ,ατξ′ Theoph. || 9 Ἐδεσινὸς P || ϡ′ *corr.* Moravcsik ἐννακοσίας Ba Be Theoph.: ,λ P τριάκοντα χιλιάδας *s. v. add.* $P^3$ V M Me || 10 Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας $P^2$ V M || 11 Σμύρνην *corr.* Moravcsik: Σμύρνης P M Σμύρναν $P^2$ V edd. || 12 πέμπτος V edd.: ε′ *s. v. add.* $P^1$ *in textum recepit* M || 13 Οὐθμὰν] *litteras rest.* $P^2$.

**21.** 3 Μαυίου P: Μαβίου $P^2$ V M || 3 *post* Ἀράβων *s. v. add.* πέμπτου $P^3$ *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || 4 οἱ (*habet etiam* Cedr.): *deest in* Theoph. || Μαρδαΐται P || 7 τοῦτο: ταῦτα Theoph. || Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας $P^2$ V M || 8 πρέσβεις $P^3$ V M edd.: πρέσβης P || 9/10 Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει *deest in Theoph.* || 10 πέμπεται: ἀπέστειλε Theoph. || 10/1 Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου, υἱοῦ τοῦ Πωγωνάτου *deest in* Theoph. || 11 υἱοῦ *omittendum coni.* Meursius Bandurius *secl.* Be post υἱοῦ *comma posuit* Migne || τοῦ *om.* V Me || ὁ: τὸ Theoph. || Πιτζηκαύδης: Πιτζικαύδην Cedr. Πιτζιγαῦδιν Theoph. ||

## 21

[36vP] καὶ συνεφωνήθη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἔγγραφον γενέσθαι | εἰρήνης μεθ' ὅρκου λόγον ἐπὶ συμφώνου ἐτησίου πάκτου, παρέχεσθαι τῷ τῶν Ῥω- [97Be] μαίων βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν χρυσίου | χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους ω' καὶ ἵππους εὐγενεῖς ν'. Ἐπὶ τούτου διηρέθη ἡ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχὴ εἰς μέρη δύο. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν Αἴθριβου ἐκράτησε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Ἀλή, τὴν δὲ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐκράτει ὁ Μαυίας. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν Αἴθριβον οἰκοῦντες μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ἀλὴ ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ τοῦ Μαυίου. Ὁ δὲ Μαυίας ἀνθωπλίσατο κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ συνῆψεν πόλεμον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ ἡττήθη τὸ μέρος Ἀλή, καὶ παρέλαβεν ὁ Μαυίας τὴν Αἴθριβον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῆς Συρίας. Ἐκράτησεν δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ γενεὰ ἔτη πε'. Καὶ [37rP] μετ' αὐτὸν ἐξῆλθον οἱ λεγόμε|νοι Μαυροφόροι ἀπὸ Περσίδος, | οἱ κρατοῦντες ἕως τῆς σήμερον, καὶ ἐπολέμησαν τὴν γενεὰν τοῦ Μαυίου καὶ ἠφάνισαν αὐτήν. Ἔσφαξαν δὲ καὶ Μαρουάμ, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν. Ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ ὀλίγοι τοῦ Μαυίου, καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν παρὰ τῶν Μαυροφόρων ἕως τῆς Ἀφρικῆς μετὰ καὶ ἑνὸς ἐκγόνου τοῦ Μαυίου. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἔκγονος τοῦ Μαυίου μετ' ὀλίγων τινῶν διεπέρασεν εἰς τὴν Ἱσπανίαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥινοτμήτου, οὐχὶ δὲ τοῦ Πωγωνάτου. Τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἱστορικοῖς οὐ γέγραπται. Ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ παρελήφθη ἡ μεγάλη Ῥώμη παρὰ τῶν Γότθων, ἤρξατο ἀκρωτηριάζεσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ πράγματα, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἱστορικῶν τῶν τῆς Ἱσπανίας [37vP] [98Be] μερῶν ἐποιήσατο μνείαν, οὔτε τῆς γενεᾶς | τοῦ Μαυίου. Ἔχει | δὲ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους ἡ ἱστορία οὕτως. Ἀπεβίω οὖν ὁ Μαυίας, ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγός, γεγονὼς στρατηγὸς ἔτη κς', ἀμηρεύσας δὲ ἔτη κδ'. Καὶ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀράβων Ἰζίδ, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἔτη ς'. Τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐταράχθησαν οἱ Ἄραβες τῆς Αἰθρίβου, καὶ διεγερθέντες κατέστησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχηγὸν Ἀβδελᾶν, τὸν υἱὸν Ζουβέρ. Τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες οἱ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Δαμασκὸν κατοικοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοί, ἔρχονται πρὸς Οὐσάν, ἀμηρᾶν Παλαιστίνης, καὶ προβάλλονται Μαρουάμ, καὶ ἱστῶσιν αὐτὸν ἀρχηγόν, καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς μῆνας θ'. Τούτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, Ἀβιμέλεχ, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ

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*F* 16 Ἐπὶ τούτου — 23 Συρίας: cf. Theoph. p. 346, 20—347, 4; 347, 26—28. 23 Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν — 30 Πωγωνάτου: cf. Theoph. p. 403, 12—13; 424, 12—16; 425, 13—15; 426, 1—7. 35 Ἀπεβίω — 37 ἔτη ς': Theoph. p. 356, 15—17; 360, 13—17. 38 Τούτου — 46 διάδοχον: Theoph. p. 360, 27—361, 3.

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*V* 13 καὶ *deest in* Theoph. || ἀμφοτέρους: ἑκατέρους Theoph. || 14 λόγον V edd. Theoph.: λόγων P Theoph.[dg] || 14/15 τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ: τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ πολιτείᾳ Theoph. || 15 χρυσίου (*etiam* Niceph. Cedr. Zon.):

was agreed on both sides that a convention of peace should be drawn up in writing and sworn to, on the basis of an agreed annual tribute, the Agarenes to pay to the emperor of the Romans three thousand pieces of gold and 800 prisoners and 50 thoroughbred horses. At this time the empire of the Arabs was divided in two parts. In Ethribos Ali held rule, but Mauias held Egypt and Palestine and Damascus. And the dwellers in Ethribos marched with the sons of Ali against Mauias. And Mauias armed himself against them and joined battle by the river Euphrates, and the party of Ali was defeated, and Mauias took Ethribos and all the land of Syria. And his family held rule 85 years. And after him came forth the so-called Black-robed out of Persia, who hold rule to this day, and they fought with the clan of Mauias and utterly destroyed it. And they slew Marouam also, who was its head. And few of the party of Mauias were left, and they, together with one grandson of Mauias, were pursued by the Black-robed as far as Africa. Now this same grandson of Mauias with a few followers crossed over into Spain in the days of Justinian Rhinotmetus, not of Pogonatus. But this has not been written by our historians. For from the time of the capture of old Rome by the Goths, the Roman possessions began to be lopped off, and none of the historians has made mention of the region of Spain, nor of the clan of Mauias. But the history of Theophanes, of blessed memory, has the following account: And so Mauias, chief of the Saracens, died, who had been general 26 years, and had ruled as emir 24 years. And Izid, his son, held rule over the Arabs 6 years. On his death the Arabs of Ethribos were disturbed, and they arose and set up Abdelas, son of Zouber, to be their chief. When they heard this, the Arabs who dwelt in Phoenicia and Palestine and Damascus came to Ousan, the emir of Palestine, and appointed Marouam and set him up to be chief, and he held the rule 9 months. On his death, his son Abimelech succeeded to the rule and held it 22 years and 6 months. And

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χρυσοῦ Theoph. || 16 ω′: ν′ Theoph. || τούτου Be: τούτω P || 19 Μαυίας P: Μαβίας P^y *mg.* P^7 V M || 20 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^y M || Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P^y M || ἀνθοπλήσατο P || 22 Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P^y M || 23 τῆς *om.* V edd. || πε′ P V M: ο′ (*littera* π *ex dimidia parte*, ε *autem penitus erasa*) P^y Ba Be || 24 αὐτὸν V edd.: αὐτῶν P || 25 ἐπολέμισαν P || Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^y M || 27 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^y M || 28 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^y M || 29 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^y M || 34 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^y M || 35 ἡ *inser.* P^x *in textum receperunt* V M Ba Be || οὖν ὁ *deest in* Theoph. || Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P^y M || 36 ἀρχηγός: πρωτοσύμβουλος Theoph. || κς′ (*etiam* Theoph.^efm): κ′ Theoph. || 37 Ἀράβων Ἰζίδ: *post* Ἀράβων *mg.* ἔτη, *post* ιζ *s. v.* καὶ, *post* ιδ *s. v.* ἥως λα′ *add.* P² ἔτη ιζ′ καὶ ιδ′ ἡδς λα′ *in textum recepit* M || ς′: γ′ Theoph. || 38 τῆς Ba Be: τοῦ P Theoph. || Αἰθρίβου (*etiam* Theoph.^g): Ἐθρίβου Theoph. || 39 Ἀβδελὰν P || τὸν: τινα Theoph. || 40 Τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες *deest in* Theoph. || 40/1 οἱ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Δαμασκὸν κατοικοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοί: Οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ οἱ Παλαιστίνης ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Theoph. || 41 Οὐσάν: Ἀσὰν Theoph. || ἀμηρὰν P || 42 προβάλλονται: δίδουσι χεῖρας δεξιὰς τῷ Theoph. || 42/3 κρατεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς: ἀμηρεύει Theoph. || 43 Ἀβιμέλεχ] *litteras rest.* P² ||

## 21

διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ κρατεῖ ἔτη κβ′ καὶ μῆνας ς′. Καί χειροῦται 38rP τούς | τυράννους, καὶ ἀποκτέννει τὸν Ἀβδελᾶν, υἱὸν Ζουβὲρ καὶ διάδοχον. Ἐν τούτοις τελευτᾷ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πωγωνάτου, κρατήσας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἔτη ιζ′· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἰουστινιανός, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγός, ⟨ὃς⟩ πέμπτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουάμεθ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀράβων, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν τοῦ Μουάμεθ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρας φυλῆς. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐχειροτονήθη στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος παρὰ Οὐθμάν, ἀρχηγοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων, καὶ ἀπεστάλη κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας μετὰ χειρὸς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ καταφράκτων νηῶν 99Be ,ασ′. Καὶ | εἰσῆλθεν ἕως τῆς Ῥόδου, κἀκεῖθεν ἐξοπλισάμενος ἀνῆλθεν 38vP ἕως Κωνσταντινούπολιν, καὶ διατρίψας χρόνον | ἱκανόν, λεηλατήσας τε τὰ ἔξω τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ὑπέστρεψεν ἄπρακτος. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ καθεῖλεν τὸν κολοσσὸν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ ἱστάμενον. Ἄγαλμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἡλίου χαλκοῦν, κεχρυσωμένον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν, ἔχον ὕψος πήχεις π′ καὶ πλάτος ἀναλόγως τοῦ ὕψους, καθὼς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ πρὸς τὴν βάσιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον, ἔχον οὕτως·

Τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσὸν ὀκτάκις δέκα
Λάχης ἐποίει πηχέων, ὁ Λίνδιος.

Ἔλαβεν δὲ τὸν χαλκὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ διεπέρασεν αὐτὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἀγορὰν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὠνήσατο δὲ αὐτὸν Ἑβραῖος Ἐδεσσηνός, ἐπιφορτώσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καμήλους ϡπ′. Τελευτή- 39rP σαντος οὖν τοῦ Οὐθμάν, διεδέξατο τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων | ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ὁ Μαυίας. Ἐκράτησεν δὲ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως καὶ τῶν τῆς Παλαιστίνης μερῶν, τήν τε Δαμασκὸν καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πάσας τὰς τῆς Αἰγύπτου πόλεις. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλήμ, ὃς ἦν γαμβρὸς τοῦ Μουάμεθ ἐπὶ θυγατρί, καλουμένη Φατιμέ, ἐκράτησεν τῆς Αἰθρίβου καὶ πάσης τῆς τραχείας Ἀραβίας. Ἐν ταύταις οὖν ταῖς ἡμέραις διηγέρθησαν πρὸς πόλεμον κατ' ἀλλήλων

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*F* 46 Ἐν τούτοις — 48 υἱὸς αὐτοῦ: Theoph. p. 361, 15—16; cf. Cedr. I. p. 770, 22—24. 51 Καὶ πρῶτον — 54 ,ασ′: cf. Theoph. p. 343, 30—31; Cedr. I. p. 755, 1—2. 54 Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν — Ῥόδου: cf. Theoph. p. 345, 8; Cedr. I. p. 755, 8. 54 κἀκεῖθεν — 55 Κωνσταντινούπολιν: cf. Theoph. p. 345, 16—18; Cedr. I. p. 755, 17—18. 56 Ἐλθὼν — 57 ἱστάμενον: cf. Theoph. p. 345, 8—9; Cedr. I. p. 755, 8—9. 57 Ἄγαλμα — 62 Λίνδιος: cf. Cedr. I. p. 755, 10—16. 61 Τὸν ἐν — 62 Λίνδιος: cf. Simonidis epigr. 165., ed. Diehl, A. L. Gr. II$^2$. 5. p. 143; Strabo XIV. 2, 5., p. 652; Ps.—Draco, De metris, ed. Hermann p. 99. 64 ὠνήσατο — 65 ϡπ′: Theoph. p. 345, 9—11; cf. Cedr. I. p. 755, 9—10; Zon. XIV. 19., ed. Bonn. III. p. 219, 9—10. 65 Τελευτήσαντος — 69 πόλεις: cf. Theoph. p. 346, 20—25. 71 Ἐν ταύταις — 74 ἀλλήλων: cf. Theoph. p. 346, 27—347, 4; 347, 27—28.

he overcame the rebels, and slew Abdelas, son and successor of Zouber. Meanwhile, the emperor Constantine, son of Pogonatus, died, having held rule over the Romans 17 years; and his son Justinian reigned in his stead.

The chief of the Arabs *who* was fifth after Mouameth to hold rule over the Arabs was not of the family of Mouameth, but of another tribe. And first he was appointed general and admiral by Outhman, chief of the Arabs, and was sent against the state of the Romans with a strong force and 1200 decked ships. He proceeded to Rhodes, and thence, after fitting out his expedition, came up to Constantinople, and lingered a long time, and laid waste the environs of Byzantium, but returned with his purpose unachieved. When he came to Rhodes, he pulled down the colossus that stood in it. It was a brazen statue of the sun, gilded from head to foot, 80 cubits in height and broad in proportion, as witness the inscription written on the base of its feet, running like this:

The Rhodian colossus, eight times ten
Cubits in height, Laches of Lindos made.

He took the bronze of it and carried it over into Syria, and put it up for sale to any who wanted it; and a Hebrew of Edessa bought it and brought it up from the sea laden on 980 camels. On the death of Outhman, then, this Mauias succeeded to the rule of the Arabs. And he ruled over the holy city and the regions of Palestine, over Damascus and Antioch and all the cities of Egypt. But Alim, who was son-in-law of Mouameth, having married his daughter called Fatime, ruled over Ethribos and all Arabia Tracheia. Now, in these days Alim and Mauias were roused up to war against one

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*V* 44 κρατεῖ ἔτη κβ′ καὶ μῆνας ς′: ἀμηρεύσας ἔτη κα′ ἥμισυ Theoph. || 45 ἀποκτέννει Theoph. ἀποκτενεῖ P: ἀποκτείνει V edd. || Ἀβδελὰν P || Ζουβὲρ] *litteras* ζου *rest.* P² || 45/6 διάδοχον (*etiam* Theoph.cefghm): Δάδαχον Theoph. || 46 τελευτᾷ: ἀνεπάη Theoph. || 46/7 ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πωγωνάτου *deest in* Theoph. || 47 τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς *deest in* Theoph. τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν edd. || ιζ′] *litteras rest.* P² || 47/8 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ *deest in* Theoph. || 48 Ἰουστινιανὸς V M edd.: Ἰουστιανὸς P || 49 *post* ἀρχηγός *s. v. add.* Μαβίας P³ *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || ὃς *addendum coni.* Bekker || 50 ἦν *s. v. add.* P³ *in textum receperunt* M Ba Be || 53 καταφράκτων νηῶν: σκάφη Theoph. || 54 ,ασ′: ,αψ′ Theoph. || 55 *post* ἱκανόν *s. v. add.* ἤτι ζ′ ἔτη P³ ἤτοι ἔτη ζ′ *in textum receperunt* V edd. || 61 Τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσὸν: 'τὸν Ἡλίου κ. *vel* ὃν εἰσορᾶις κ. (*sic Robert l. c.*) *fuit in statua* ' Diehl || ὀκτάκις (*etiam* Simonides Ps.-Draco): ἑπτάκις Strabo || 62 Λάχης: Χάρης Simonides Strabo Ps.-Draco || ὀλίνδιος P || 63 αὐτὸν *om.* edd. || *post* ἐν *add.* τῇ edd. || 64 ὀνήσατο P || 65 Ἐδεσσηνός *coni.* Meursius Ἐδεσηνὸς Theoph. *coni.* Bandurius: Ἐμησινὸς P ὁ Ἐμεσηνός Be || ϡ′π′ P ἐνναχοσίας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα Ba Be: ,λπ′ (*littera* ϡ′ *partim erasa*) P^x V Me τριάκοντα χιλιάδας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα *mg.* P² ἐνναχοσίας Theoph. || 66 Οὐθμάν] *litteras* θμὰν *in ras. scr.* P² || αὐτὸς *om.* edd. || 67 Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P^y M || 69 Ἀλήμ: Ἀλή Theoph. || ὃς ἦν] *litteras* ς ἦν *in ras. scr.* P² || post θυγατρὶ *add.* τῇ edd. || 70 Αἰθρίβου P² V edd.: Αἰθρίου P ||

21

ὅ τε Ἀλὴμ καὶ ὁ Μαυίας ἐρίζοντες περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, τίς αὐτῶν κυριεύσει
100Be πά|σης Συρίας. Συνήχθησαν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ συνάπτουσι πόλεμον ἰσχυρὸν μετ' ἀλλήλων. Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου κρατοῦντος, καὶ πολλῶν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πιπτόντων, ἔκραξαν τὰ πλήθη τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν
39vP ἀμφοτέρων τῶν {δύο} μερῶν· | «Τίνι τρόπῳ σφάζομεν καὶ σφαζόμεθα, καὶ ἀφανίζεται τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βιοτῆς; Ἀλλὰ χωρισθήτωσαν δύο γέροντες ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, καὶ ὃν ἂν προκρίνωσιν, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀρχήν.» Ὁ δὲ Ἀλὴμ καὶ ὁ Μαυίας ἠρέσθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν δακτυλίους, δεδώκασι τοῖς δυσὶ γέρουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σημεῖον τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, καὶ παρέσχον τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θέλησιν τῶν δύο γερόντων, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔνορκον ποιησάμενοι καὶ τοῦτο στοιχήσαντες, ἵνα ὃν ἂν προκρίνωσιν οἱ γέροντες, ἐκεῖνος ἔσται κύριος καὶ ἀρχηγὸς
40rP πάντων τῶν Σαρακηνῶν. Καὶ εἰσελθόντων τῶν δύο γερόντων | ἀναμέσον τῆς παρεμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου τῶν δύο μερῶν καὶ σταθέντων ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀντιπροσώπων, τοῦ μὲν Ἀλὴμ ὁ γέρων ὑπῆρχεν κατὰ τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνος εὐλαβής, οἵους ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι καδῆς, τουτέστιν πιστοὺς καὶ ἡγιασμένους· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Μαυίου γέρων ἐν σχήματι μόνῳ ἦν εὐλαβής, τὰ δ' ἄλλα δολερὸς καὶ αὐθάδης καὶ πονηρίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβάλλων ἀνθρώπους. Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ τοῦ Μαυίου γέρων πρὸς
101Be τὸν γέροντα τοῦ Ἀλήμ, ὅτι· «Σὺ πρῶτος εἰπέ, ὅπερ βούλῃ, | ὃς εἶ τε φρόνιμος καὶ εὐλαβὴς καὶ μακρὰ τοὺς ἐμοὺς χρόνους ὑπερβαλλόμενος.» Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ γέρων τοῦ Ἀλὴμ τοῦτο, ὅτι· «Ἐξέβαλον τὸν Ἀλὴμ
40vP ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἐξήγαγον τὸν δακτύ|λιον αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν δάκτυλον· ἐκβάλω καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ Ἀλὴμ ἐκ τοῦ δακτύλου μου, συνεκβαλὼν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.» Καὶ ἀνταπεκρίθη ὁ τοῦ Μαυίου γέρων, ὡς ὅτι· «Εἰσήγαγον τὸν Μαυίαν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ εἰσήγαγον τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν δάκτυλόν μου· εἰσαγάγω καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ Μαυίου εἰς τὸν δάκτυλον αὐτοῦ.» Καὶ τότε διεχωρίσθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. Παραλαμβάνει οὖν ὁ Μαυίας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν Συρίας, ἐπειδὴ ὀμωμόκεσαν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἀμηραῖοι πάντες, ὡς· «Ὅ τι ἂν εἴπωσιν οἱ γέροντες, ἵνα ἐπώμεθα εἰς τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν.» Ὁ γοῦν Ἀλὴμ παραλαβὼν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη
41rP Αἰθρίβου μετὰ πάσης τῆς συγγε|νείας αὐτοῦ, κἀκεῖσε τελευτᾷ

*F* 81 ὅπερ — 82 Ἀγαρηνῶν: cf. Achmet, Oneirocriticon, ed. Drexl. p. 212, 20.

*V* 72 Μαυίας P: Μαβίας Py V M || κυριεύσει V M edd.: κυριεύσῃ P || 73 Ἐφράτην P || 76 ἀμφοτέρων *om.* Me *secl.* Be || δύο *secl.* Moravcsik || 79 Ἀλείμ P || ἠρέσθησαν (*coni. etiam* Bekker): ἠρέσκησαν edd. || 80 ἐκβάλλοντες

another, disputing over the rule, which of them should be lord of all Syria. They encountered one another by the river Euphrates, and joined in fierce battle one against the other. But when the battle was at its height and many were falling on either side, the multitudes of the Agarenes of both parties cried out: «Why is this, that we slay and are slain, and our tribe perishes from among living men? But let two elders be chosen apart from both the parties, and whomsoever they prefer, let him have the rule.» Alim and Mauias were pleased at this saying of theirs, and, drawing off from their hands their rings, which are a token of rule of the Agarenes, they gave them to the two elders, and placed their authority at the disposal of the two elders, confirming the matter by an oath and settling it so that whomsoever the elders might prefer, he should be lord and chief of all the Saracens. The two elders entered into the middle of the battle array of the two parties, and took their stand face to face in the space between the armies; the elder of Alim was a man devout according to the nation of the Saracens, one such as they call 'cadi', that is, faithful and sanctified; but the elder of Mauias was devout only in appearance, but in all else deceitful and arrogant and surpassing all men in mischief. The elder of Mauias said to the elder of Alim: «Do you speak first what you will, for you are prudent and devout, and far surpassing my years.» And the elder of Alim answered thus: «I cast Alim off from the rule, as I drew his ring from his hand and drew it on to my own finger; now will I cast off the ring of Alim from my finger and therewith cast him off from his rule also.» The elder of Mauias made answer again: «I drew Mauias into the rule, as I drew his ring on to my finger; now will I draw the ring of Mauias on to his finger.» And then they parted one from the other. So Mauias took all the dominion of Syria, since all the emirs had sworn to each other, saying: «Whatever the elders say, we will be obedient to their words.» And so Alim took his army and departed to the region of Ethribos with all his kin, and there ended his life. After

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edd. || 81 τοῖς] *litteras* οι *in ras. scr.* P² || 87 ἀντιπροσώπων *coni.* Moravcsik: ἀντιπρόσωπον P ἀντιπροσώπου edd. || 92 ὃς εἶ τε *coni.* Moravcsik: ὥστε Ba Be ὥς τε (*litteris* ἔσ *erasis*) Pʸ ὥς ἔστε P V Me ὅς ς τε M ὡσεί τε Meursius || 93 τοὺς ἐμοὺς χρόνους *coni.* Jenkins: τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρόνοις P edd. || 95 δακτύλιον P² V M edd.: δάκτυλον P || 96 ἐκβάλω V: ἐκβάλλω edd. ἐκβαλὼν M ἔκβαλων P || 97 δακτύλου Meursius Ba Be: δακτυλίου P || μου P V edd.: Μαβίου (*litteris* ου *in* α *correctis et litteris* βίου *s. v. additis*) Pʸ || 99 αὐτοῦ *s. v. add.* P² *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || 100 εἰσαγάγω Meursius Ba Be: εἰσαγαγὸν P εἰσαγαγὼν V Me || 101 ἀπ'] *litteram* α *in ras. scr.* P² || Μαυίας P: Μαβίας P² V M || 102 πᾶσαν *om.* edd. ||

τὸν βίον. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἀλὴμ λῆρον ἡγησάμενοι οἱ τούτου υἱοὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν βουλήν, ἐπανέστησαν κατὰ τοῦ Μαυίου, καὶ συνῆψαν πόλεμον ἰσχυρὸν μετὰ τοῦ Μαυίου, καὶ ἡττηθέντες ἔφυγον ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποστείλας Μαυίας ἀπέκτεινεν ἅπαντας. Καὶ ἔκτοτε ἦλθε πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν Ἀράβων εἰς τὸν Μαυίαν.

Ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ Μαυίας ἔκγονος ἦν τοῦ Σοφιάμ. Ἔκγονος δὲ τοῦ Μαυίου ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Μάσαλμας, ὁ κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκστρατεύσας, οὗτινος καὶ δι' αἰτήσεως ἐκτίσθη τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
102Be | μαγίσδιον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ πραιτωρίῳ. Οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀρχηγὸς τῶν
41vP Ἀράβων, ἀλλὰ Σουλεϊμὰν ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, | ὁ δὲ Μάσαλμας ἐν τάξει στρατηγοῦ ἐχρημάτιζεν. Ἦλθεν δὲ Σουλεϊμὰν μετὰ τοῦ στόλου αὐτοῦ κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὁ δὲ Μάσαλμας διὰ ξηρᾶς, καὶ διεπέρασεν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Θράκης, ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας χιλιάδας π'. Καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας ὅ τε στόλος Σουλεϊμάν, τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς τοῦ Μάσαλμα ὑπέστρεψαν ἅπαντες μετ' αἰσχύνης, ἡττηθέντες καὶ καταπολεμηθέντες παρά τε τοῦ στόλου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. Καὶ εἰρήνευσεν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεία ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, στρατηγούσης καὶ περιεπούσης τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας
42rP τῆς Θεοτόκου τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἧς καὶ τὴν ἄχραντον καὶ ἁγίαν εἰκόνα | καὶ αὐτὸς ⟨ὁ⟩ Σουλεϊμὰν ᾐδέσθη καὶ ἐνετράπη καὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατέπεσεν.

**22.** Ἐκ τοῦ Χρονογράφου τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ Μαυίου καὶ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτοῦ, ὅπως διεπέρασεν ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ. Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥινότμητος.

Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξεβλήθη ὑπὸ Λεοντίου, καὶ πάλιν ἀντεισῆλθεν ἐκβαλὼν τὸν Λεόντιον καὶ Ἀψίμα-
103Be ρον, καὶ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἱπ|ποδρομίᾳ θριαμβεύσας καὶ ἀποκτείνας. Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀποστέλλει Ἀβιμέλεχ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν βεβαιῶσαι

*F* 106 Μετὰ — 110 Μαυίαν: cf. Theoph. p. 347, 26—27. 112 ὁ Μάσαλμας — 113 ἐκστρατεύσας: cf. Theoph. p. 386, 25—26. 115 Σουλεϊμὰν — Σαρακηνῶν: cf. Theoph. p. 386, 20—24. 116 Ἦλθεν — 125 πόλιν: cf. Theoph. p. 395, 13—396, 23; Niceph., ed. de Boor p. 53, 10—54, 1; Zon. XV. 1., ed. Bonn. III. p. 252, 9—253, 6.

22. 6 μετὰ — 9 ἀποκτείνας: cf. Theoph. p. 361, 26—28; 374, 28—375, 13. 9 Τούτῳ — 22 νῦν: Theoph. p. 363, 1—20; cf. Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 771, 4—15.

*V* 107 υἱοὶ τὴν τοῦ *s. v. add.* P[2] *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || 108 *post* ἀπὸ *add.* τοῦ edd. || 110 Μαυίαν V: Μαυία P Μαβίαν edd. || 112 Μάσαλμας

the death of Alim, his sons, regarding their father's counsel as nonsense, rebelled against Mauias, and joined fierce battle with Mauias, and being worsted fled from before his face, and Mauias sent after and put them all to death. And thereafter the rule over all the Arabs came into the hands of Mauias.

Now, this Mauias was grandson of Sophiam. And Mauias' grandson was Masalmas, who made an expedition against Constantinople, and at whose request was built the mosque of the Saracens in the imperial praetorium. He was not chief of the Arabs; Souleiman was chief of the Saracens, and Masalmas held the rank of general. Souleiman came with his fleet against Constantinople, and Masalmas came overland, and crossed over at Lampsacus into the region of Thrace, carrying with him 80 thousand troops. And through the Providence of God both the fleet of Souleiman and the infantry army of Masalmas all retired with ignominy, being worsted and utterly overthrown by the fleet and soldiers of the emperor. And our state was at peace for many a long year, for this city was guided and guarded by Our Lady the ever-virgin Mary, the Mother of God, by whose inviolate and holy image Souleiman himself was awed and put to shame, and he fell from his horse.

## 22. From the Chronicle of Theophanes, of blessed memory, concerning the same events and concerning Mauias and his clan, how it crossed over into Spain. Emperor of the Romans, Justinian Rhinotmetus.

This is the beginning of his reign; and thereafter he was expelled by Leontius, and then in his turn came back again and expelled Leontius and Apsimarus, and held his triumph over them both in the hippodrome, and put them to death. In this year Abimelech sent to Justinian to ratify the

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(*etiam* Theoph.[cdfh]): Μασαλμᾶς Theoph. || Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *corr.* Moravcsik: Κωνσταντινούπολιν P edd. || **114** μαγίσδιον: μασγίδιον *coni.* Meursius || **115** Σουλεημᾶν P || *ante* ἀρχηγὸς *add.* ὁ V edd. || **116** Σουλεημᾶν P || **117** Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *corr.* Moravcsik: Κωνσταντινούπολιν P edd. || Μάσαλμας (*etiam* Theoph.[dh]): Μασαλμᾶς Theoph. || **118** *desinit cod. Mutin. gr.* 179 [= M] || **119** χιλιάδας π′: λαὸν ἱκανὸν Theoph. || **120** Σουλεημᾶν P || τῶν: τοῦ Ba Be || **121** Μασάλμα edd. || **125** τῆς Θεοτόκου *per comp. s. v. add.* $P^2$ *in textum receperunt* V edd. || ἧς] *litteram* ς *in ras. scr.* $P^2$ || **126** ὁ *add.* V edd. || Σουλεημᾶν P || ἠδέσθη] *litteram* ἠ *in ras. scr.* $P^2$.

**22.** 2 τῶν αὐτῶν: τῶν ⟨Μαρδ⟩αϊτῶν *coni.* Bury || 4 Ἰουστινιανὸς *coni.* Laskin: Ἰουστῖνος P edd. || 9 *post* ἔτει *rubro atramento mg. add.* ͵ϛρη′ $P^1$ τῷ ͵ϛρη′ *mg. iter.* $P^2$ *in textum receperunt* V Me ͵ϛροη′ Theoph. ||

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τὴν εἰρήνην οὕτως, ἵνα ὁ βασιλεὺς παύσῃ τὸ τῶν Μαρδαϊτῶν τάγμα
42ᵛP ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου καὶ διακωλύσῃ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἀβι|μέλεχ δώσῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καθ' ἑκάστην νομίσματα χίλια καὶ ἵππον εὐγενῆ ἕνα καὶ Αἰθίοπα δοῦλον ἕνα, καὶ ἵνα ἔχωσι κοινὰ κατὰ τὸ ἶσον τοὺς φόρους τῆς Κύπρου καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας. Καὶ ἔπεμψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Παῦλον τὸν μαγιστριανὸν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχ ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ στοιχηθέντα, καὶ γέγονεν ἔγγραφος ἀσφάλεια μετὰ μαρτύρων. Καὶ φιλοτιμηθεὶς ὁ μαγιστριανὸς ὑπέστρεψεν. Καὶ πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσελάβετο τοὺς Μαρδαΐτας χιλιάδας ιβ', τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν δυναστείαν ἀκρωτηριάσας. Πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ νῦν οἰκούμεναι παρὰ τῶν Ἀράβων εἰς τὰ ἄκρα πόλεις ἀπὸ Μομψουεστίας καὶ ἕως τετάρτης Ἀρμενίας ἀνίσχυροι καὶ ἀοίκητοι
43ʳP ἐτύγχανον διὰ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Μαρδαϊτῶν, ὧν πα|ρασταλέντων, πάνδεινα κακὰ πέπονθεν ἡ Ῥωμανία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει εἰσελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, ἐκεῖ ἐδέξατο τοὺς ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ Μαρδαΐτας, χάλκεον τεῖχος διαλύσας. Παρέλυσε δὲ καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων παγιωθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, διαταράξας τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου πατρὸς ἐνορδίνους γεγονότας τύπους.

104Be Ἔτι κρατοῦντος τοῦ Ἀβιμέλεχ, ἐπεστρά|τευσαν οἱ Ἄραβες τῇ Ἀφρικῇ καὶ ταύτην παρέλαβον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ ταξατιῶνα ἐν αὐτῇ κατέστησαν. Λεόντιος δὲ ἦν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἐκβαλὼν Ἰουστινιανὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐξορίσας αὐτὸν ἐν Χερσῶνι, τῆς βασιλείας
43ᵛP ἐκράτησεν. Ἀψιμάρου δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸν Λεόντιον διαδεξα|μένου τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα κρατήσαντος, τέθνηκεν Ἀβιμέλεχ, ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγός, καὶ ἐκράτησεν Οὐαλίδ, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἔτη ἐννέα. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν Ἰουστινιανὸς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ταύτην διακυβερνῶν, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐπεκράτησαν ὁλοσχερῶς οἱ Ἀγαρηνοί. Τότε ὁ τοῦ Μαυίου ἔγγονος μετὰ ὀλιγοστοῦ τινος λαοῦ διεπέρασεν ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ, καὶ ἐπισυνάξας πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ἐκράτησεν τὴν Ἱσπανίαν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ὅθεν οἱ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν κατοικοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοὶ Μαυιᾶται κατονομάζονται. Τούτων ἀπόγονοι τυγχάνουσιν οἱ τὴν Κρήτην οἰκοῦντες
44ʳP Ἀγαρηνοί. Ὅτε γὰρ Μιχαὴλ ὁ Τραυ|λὸς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐπεκράτησεν, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἀνταρσία ἐγένετο μέχρι τριετοῦς χρόνου

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*F* 22 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ — 26 τύπους: Theoph. p. 364, 4—7; cf. Niceph., ed. de Boor p. 36, 16—17; Cedr. I. p. 771, 18—21. 27 Ἔτι — 29 κατέστησαν: Theoph. p. 370, 6—8; cf. Niceph. p. 39, 12—14. 29 Λεόντιος — 31 ἐκράτησεν: cf. Theoph. p. 368, 15; 369, 26. 31 Ἀψιμάρου — 32 κρατήσαντος: cf. Theoph. p. 371, 19. 32 τέθνηκεν — 34 ἐννέα: cf. Theoph. p. 374, 14—15, 25. 34 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ — 35 βασιλείαν: cf. Theoph. p. 374, 16, 28. 35 τῆς Ἀφρικῆς

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peace on these conditions: the emperor to withdraw the Mardaïte legion from the Lebanon and check their incursions, and Abimelech to give the Romans daily a thousand nomismata and one thoroughbred horse and one Ethiopian slave, and the taxes of Cyprus and Armenia and Iberia to be held commonly and in equal shares by both parties. The emperor dispatched Paul the imperial agent to Abimelech, to confirm the terms agreed upon, and a confirmation was drawn up in writing and attested. The imperial agent was presented with gifts, and returned. And the emperor sent and took in the Mardaïtes, 12 thousand of them, thereby crippling the Roman power. For all the frontier cities now inhabited by the Arabs from Mopsouestia and as far as Armenia Quarta were defenceless and uninhabited because of the incursion of the Mardaïtes, by whose drawing away Romania has suffered terrible damage at the hands of the Arabs, and suffers it still. And in the same year the emperor went to Armenia and there took in the Mardaïtes of the Lebanon, thus destroying his brazen wall. Moreover, he broke the pledge of peace with the Bulgarians, disturbing the treaty made by his own father.

It was also during the reign of Abimelech that the Arabs marched against Africa and took it, and placed in it a garrison of their troops. At that time Leontius had expelled Justinian from the rule over the Romans, and had exiled him to Cherson and had possessed himself of the empire. But after Apsimarus Tiberius had ousted Leontius from the throne and had possessed himself of the sceptre of the Romans, Abimelech, chief of the Arabs, died, and Oualid his son ruled nine years. In the same year Justinian returned once more to his throne, and during his slack and careless government the Agarenes obtained complete control of Africa. Then, the grandson of Mauias with a very few men crossed over into Spain, and, having collected together all of his tribe, gained control of Spain even to this day, and that is why the Agarenes who dwell in Spain are called Mauiates. Their descendants are the Agarenes who live in Crete. For when Michael the Lisper had got possession of the rule over the Romans, and the rebellion of Thomas broke out and lasted three years, then, while the emperor was

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— 36 Ἀγαρηνοί: cf. Theoph. p. 370. 6—7. 36 Τότε — 39 σήμερον: cf. Theoph. p. 403, 12—13; 426, 4—5. 40 Τούτων — 48 σήμερον: cf. Theoph. Cont. p. 73, 13—76, 7; 474, 1—7.

V 12 χίλια V edd. Theoph.: ,α P || 12/3 εὐγενῆ ἕνα *deest in* Theoph. || 13 Αἰθίοπα *deest in* Theoph. || ἕνα *deest in* Theoph. || 19 γὰρ αἱ νῦν Theoph. *coni.* Bekker νῦν γὰρ (*omisso* αἱ) Theoph.[efm] γὰρ νῦν αἱ P edd. || οἰκουμέναι P || τὰ ἄκρα πόλεις Theoph. τὰς ἀκροπόλεις P edd. || 20 ἀοίκητοι] ἀοίκητι (*litteris* τι *insertis*) P[1] || 22 *post* νῦν *aliquid excidisse susp.* Bury || 23 εἰσελθὼν: ἐλθὼν Theoph. || 26 ἐνορδίνους Theoph.: ἐνορδίνος P ἐνορδίνως V edd. || 27 Ἔτι: Ὅτι Me || 28 τῇ Ἀφρικῇ: τὴν Ἀφρικὴν Theoph. || ταξατίωνα edd. || 29 *ante* Ἰουστινιανὸν *add.* τὸν edd. || 34 ἐννέα edd.: θ′ P || 38 τῆς Ἱσπανίας edd. ||

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ἐπικρατήσασα, τότε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσχολουμένου ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι
πράγμασιν, εὑρόντες διωρίαν οἱ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν οἰκοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοί,
στόλον ἱκανὸν ἐξαρτύσαντες καὶ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Σικελίας μερῶν
πάσας τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους ἠρήμωσαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ
105B ταύτην εὔκαι|ρον καὶ ἀνειμένην εὑρόντες, μηδενὸς ἀνταίροντος ἢ μαχο-
μένου, ταύτην παρέλαβον, καὶ διακρατοῦσιν ἕως τὴν σήμερον. Τὸν δὲ
Οὐαλὶδ διαδέχεται Σουλεϊμάν, καὶ κρατεῖ ἔτη τρία. Ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπεστρά-
τευσε Μάσαλμας, ὁ στρατηγὸς Σουλεϊμάν, μετὰ στρατοῦ διὰ ξηρᾶς,
44vP Οὔμαρ δὲ διὰ θαλάττης, | καὶ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ συνεργείᾳ ἄπρακτοι μετ'
αἰσχύνης ὑπέστρεψαν. Τὸν δὲ Σουλεϊμὰν διαδέχεται Οὔμαρ, καὶ κρατεῖ
τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχῆς ἔτη δύο. Τὸν δὲ Οὔμαρ διαδέχεται Ἀζίδ, καὶ
κρατεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς τέσσαρας. Τοῦτον δὲ διαδέχεται Ἰσάμ,
καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ ἔτη ιθ'. Τούτου τελευτήσαντος, κρατεῖ τῆς
ἀρχῆς Μαρουὰμ ἔτη ἕξ. Μαρουὰμ δὲ τελευτήσαντος, Ἀβδελᾶς τῆς
τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχῆς κύριος γίνεται, καὶ κρατεῖ ἔτη κα'. Τούτου τελευτή-
σαντος, Μαδὶς ἀρχηγὸς Ἀράβων γίνεται, καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη
ἐννέα. Τούτου παρελθόντος, Ἀαρὼν τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχῆς κύριος
γίνεται, καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη κγ'.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἤγουν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς * * * Εἰρή-
45rP νης καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, ἔτους ἀπὸ κτί|σεως κόσμου ,ϛσπη'. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ
ἔτει Ἀαρών, ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγός, τέθνηκεν εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτέραν Περσίδα,
τὴν καλουμένην Χωρασάν, καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μοάμεδ, ὁ υἱὸς
αὐτοῦ, ἀφυὴς κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἀσυνάρτητος ὑπάρχων, πρὸς ὃν Ἀβδελᾶς,
106B ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, στασιάσας ἐκ | τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας τοῦ Χωρασὰν ἅμα
ταῖς πατρικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἐμφυλίου πολέμου γέγονεν αἴτιος. Κἀντεῦθεν
οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην εἰς διαφόρους κατατμηθέν-
τες ἀρχὰς τά τε δημόσια πράγματα καὶ ἀλλήλους κατέστρεψαν, σφαγαῖς
καὶ ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ παντοίαις ἀτοπίαις πρός τε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπ'
αὐτοὺς Χριστιανοὺς συγκεχυμένοι. Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ αἱ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν

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*F* 48 Τὸν δὲ — 49 τρία: cf. Theoph. p. 384, 15—19; 386, 20—24. 49 Ἐπὶ τούτου — 51 θαλάττης: cf. Theoph. p. 386, 25—27. 52 Τὸν δὲ — 53 δύο: cf. Theoph. p. 396, 23—24; 398, 5; 401, 13—14. 53 Τὸν δὲ — 54 τέσσαρας: cf. Theoph. p. 401, 4—8, 14; 403, 24—25. 54 Τοῦτον — 55 ιθ': cf. Theoph. p. 402, 19; 403, 25. 55 Τούτου — 56 ἕξ: cf. Theoph. p. 421, 7—10. 56 Μαρουὰμ — 57 κα': cf. Theoph. p. 429, 15. 57 Τούτου — 59 ἐννέα: cf. Theoph. p. 448, 28; 449, 1, 4—8. 59 Τούτου — 60 κγ': cf. Theoph. p. 461, 7, 10; 465, 27—30. 62 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ — 76 πέντε: Theoph. p. 484, 5—19.

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*V* 44 διορίαν V edd. || 47 ἀνταίροντος *coni.* Moravcsik: ἀντεροῦντος P ἀνταιρομένου Be || 48 τὴν: τῆς V edd. || Τὸν edd.: τοῦ P || 49 *ante* Σουλεϊμὰν *add.* ὁ edd. || Σουλεημᾶν P Σολεημὰν Be || τρία edd.: γ' P || τούτου *corr.*

engrossed with the troubles which had arisen, the Agarenes who lived in Spain saw their chance had come, fitted out a large fleet and started out from the region of Sicily and desolated all the islands of the Cyclades, and, coming to Crete and finding it rich and carelessly guarded, since none opposed or engaged them, they took it, and hold it to this day. Oualid was succeeded by Souleiman, who ruled three years. In his time Masalmas, the general of Souleiman, made an expedition with an army overland, and Oumar by sea, and by God's aid they returned with shame, their purpose unachieved. Souleiman was succeeded by Oumar, who held the rule over the Arabs two years. Oumar was succeeded by Azid, who held the rule for four years. He was succeeded by Isam, who held rule for 19 years. On his death Marouam held the rule six years. On the death of Marouam Abdelas became master of the rule over the Arabs, and held it 21 years. On his death Madis became chief of the Arabs, and held the rule nine years. When he had passed away Aaron became master of the rule over the Arabs, and held the rule 23 years.

In this year, that is to say, when the rule over the Romans *** Irene and Constantine, the year from the creation of the world 6288. In the same year Aaron, the chief of the Arabs, died in inner Persia, that is called Chorasan, and Moamed his son succeeded to the rule, a stupid, unbalanced man in every way, against whom his brother Abdelas came in revolt out of that same country of Chorasan together with the powers that had been his father's, and brought about a civil war. And thereafter those who dwelt in Syria and Egypt and Libya were split up under different governments, and destroyed the public weal and one another, in a welter of slaughter and rapine and outrage of every sort against themselves and their Christian subjects. Then it was that the churches in the holy city of Christ our God

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Moravcsik: τούτω P τούτῳ edd. || 50 Μάσαλμας P[x] *mg.* P[8] V edd. Theoph.[cdfh]: Μασαλμὰς P Μασαλμᾶς Theoph. || Σουλεημὰν P || 51 Οὔμαρ P: Οὔμαρος P[2] *mg.* P[8] V edd. || θαλάττης (*etiam* Theoph.[ef]): θαλάσσης Theoph. || 53 Ἀράβων] *litteras* ἀράβ *in ras. scr.* P[4] || Ἀζὴδ P: Ἁζὶδ Theoph.[efm] Ἰζὶδ Theoph. || 55 ἐπὶ *om.* V edd. || 56 Μαρούαμ edd. || Μαρούαμ edd. || Ἀβδελὰς P || τῆς: τις V Me Ba Migne || 57 Ἀράβων] *litteras* ραβ *in ras. scr.* P || 58 Μαδὶς (*etiam* Theoph.[h]): Μαδί Theoph. || 59 ἐννέα edd.: θ′ P || τῆς: τις V Me Ba Migne || 61 *ad* χρόνῳ *rubro atramento* ,ςσπη′ *mg. add.* P[1] *post* ἤγουν *s. v.* τῷ ,ςσπη′ *iter.* P[2] *in textum receperunt* V Me || *post* ἀρχῆς *lac. ind.* Bury Laskin || 61/2 Εἰρήνης P[2] V edd.: Εἰρήνη P || 62 Κωνσταντίνου *corr.* Moravcsik: Κώνσταντος P edd. || ἔτος V edd. || 64 Μουάμεδ Theoph. Μοάμεθ edd. || 65 καὶ ἀσυνάρτητος ὑπάρχων *deest in* Theoph. || ἀσυνάρτητος Be: ἀσυνάρτιστος P || Ἀβδελὰς P || 71 Ἔνθα (*etiam* Theoph.[codd.]): ἔνθεν Me Be Theoph. || κατὰ *om.* Me Be || τὴν ἁγίαν P Theoph.: τῆς ἁγίας P[1] V edd. ||

45ᵛP Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλιν | ἐκκλησίαι ἠρήμωνται, τά τε μοναστήρια τῶν δύο μεγάλων λαυρῶν, τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Χαρίτωνος καὶ Κυριακοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοινόβια τῶν ἁγίων Εὐθυμίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου. Ἐπεκράτησεν δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναρχίας ἡ κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἡμῶν μιαιφονία ἔτη πέντε.

Ἕως ὧδε ἐκανόνισεν τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀράβων ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Θεοφάνης, ὁ τὴν μονὴν συστήσας τοῦ καλουμένου μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ, μητρόθειος τυγχάνων τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ χριστιανικωτάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως, ἐγγόνου δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας κρατήσαντος.

## 46ʳP 23. Περὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ Ἱσπανίας.

107Be Ἰβηρίαι δύο· ἡ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς Ἡρακλείαις στήλαις, ἀπὸ | Ἴβηρος ποταμοῦ, οὗ μέμνηται Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Περὶ γῆς β'· «Ἐντὸς δὲ Πυρήνης Ἴβηρ τ' ἐστὶ μέγας ποταμὸς φερόμενος ἐνδοτέρω.» Ταύτης δὲ πολλά φασιν ἔθνη διαιρεῖσθαι, καθάπερ † Ἡρόδοτος † ἐν τῇ ι' Τῇ καθ' Ἡρακλέα γέγραφεν ἱστορίᾳ οὕτως· «Τὸ δὲ Ἰβηρικὸν γένος τοῦτο, ὅπερ φημὶ οἰκεῖν τὰ παράλια τοῦ διάπλου, διώρισται ὀνόμασιν ἓν γένος ἐὸν κατὰ φῦλα· πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦντες τὰ πρὸς δυσμέων Κύνητες ὀνομάζονται (ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ ἤδη πρὸς βορέαν ἰόντι Γλῆτες)· μετὰ δὲ Ταρτήσιοι· μετὰ δὲ Ἐλευσίνιοι· μετὰ δὲ Μαστινοί·
46ᵛP | μετὰ δὲ Κελκιανοί· ἔπειτα δὲ † ἡδιορόδανος †.» Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ ἐν τῇ β' τῶν Γεωγραφουμένων οὕτως διαιρεῖσθαί φησιν· «Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν ἕως τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα τόπων ἐνδοτέρω καὶ συνωνύμως Ἰβηρία τε καὶ Ἱσπανία καλεῖται. Διήρηται δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰς δύο ἐπαρχίας * * * διατείνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν ἅπασα {καὶ} μέχρι

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*F* 77 ὁ ἐν — 78 Ἀγροῦ: cf. Vita Theophanis, ed. de Boor p. 30, 11—12. **23.** 2 Ἰβηρίαι — 44 πολυτελεστάτας: cf. Steph. Byz., ed. Meineke s. v. Ἰβηρίαι. 2 Ἰβηρίαι — 4 ἐνδοτέρω: cf. Apollodori fr. 324., ed. Jacoby F. Gr. Hist. II B. p. 119. 4 Ταύτης — 11 ἡδιορόδανος: cf. Herodori fr. 2 a., ed. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. I. p. 215. 11 Ἀρτεμίδωρος — 17 Λυσιτανίας: cf. Artemidori fr. 21., ed. R. Stiehle, Philologus XI. p. 203.

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*V* 72 πόλιν Theoph.: πόλεως P edd. || 76 πέντε edd.: ε' P || 78 Θεοφάνης (*litteris* ης *s. v. additis*) P² *mg.* P³ Ba Be: Θεοφάνιος P || μεγάλου *s. v. add.* P² *in textum receperunt* V edd. || 81 *post* Βασιλείου *s. v.* τοῦ ἐκ Μακεδονίας *add.* P³ *in textum receperunt* V edd.

**23.** 3 Ἀπολλόδωρος Ba Be Ἀπολλόδορος *per comp.* P: Ἀπολλόνιος *coni.* Meursius || 4 Πυρίνης P || ἐστὶν Meineke Jacoby || ἐνδοτέρωθεν *coni.* Meineke || ταύτην Ba Berkel || 5 *post* δὲ *add.* εἰς Ba Berkel || Ἡρόδοτος

were desolated, and the monasteries of the two great Laurai, those of SS. Charito and Cyriac and of St. Sabas, and the other coenobite monasteries of SS. Euthymius and Theodosius. This anarchy, during which they murdered one another and us, lasted five years.

Up to this point the history of the Arabs is set in order chronologically by St. Theophanes, who founded the monastery of the so-called Megas Agros and was uncle on the mother's side of the great and pious and most Christian emperor Constantine, son of Leo, the most wise and virtuous emperor, and grandson of Basil, of blessed memory for his tenure of the sceptre over the empire of the Romans.

## 23. Of Iberia and Spain.

There are two Iberias: one, at the Pillars of Hercules, is *so called* from the river Iber, mentioned by Apollodorus in 'Concerning the Earth', II: «Within the Pyrenees is the Iber, a great river running towards the interior.» In this country are said to be many distinct nations, as *Herodorus* has written in the Xth book of his 'History Relating to Herakles': «This Iberian race, which, I say, lives on the shores of the strait, though one race, is distinguished by names according to its tribes: first, those who inhabit the western parts at the farthest verge are called Kynetes (and after them, if one travels northward, are the Gletes); then, Tartessians; then, *Elbusinians*; then, *Mastienoi*; then, Kelkianoi; and *then*, thereafter, *the Rhône*.» Artemidorus, in book II of the 'Geography', says that *the country* is divided thus: «The interior between the Pyrenees mountains and the district about Gadara is denominated alternatively Iberia and Spain. It has been divided by the Romans into two provinces *** the whole extending

V Me ἡ ῥόδοτος P: Ἡρόδωρος Ba Be Berkel Meineke Jacoby || ι′: δεκάτῃ Ba Be Meineke Jacoby || Τῇ: τῶν Ba Be Meineke Jacoby || 6 ἱστορίᾳ: ἱστοριῶν *coni.* Meineke ἱστορῶν Jacoby || 7 οἰκέειν Meineke || διάπλου Ba Be Meineke Jacoby:: διαπλοῦ P διαροῦ V Me ὠκεανοῦ *coni.* Bekker || οὐνόμασι *coni.* Meineke || 8 οἰκέοντες Meineke || 9 Κύνιταις P || οὐνομάζονται *coni.* Meineke || 9 ἀπ' — 10 Γλῆτες *in parenthesi posuit* Schulten || 9 βορέην Meineke || 10 Γλήτες P || Ἐλευσίνιοι: Ἐλβυσίνιοι Ba Be Berkel Meineke Jacoby || Μαστινοί: Μαστιηνοί Ba Be Berkel Meineke Jacoby || 11 Κελκιανοί: Καλπιανοί Ba Be Berkel Κέλται *coni.* Bandurius Κελτικοί *coni.* Meineke || ἡδιορόδανος P Me † ηδιοροδανος Jacoby: ἤδη ὁ Ῥοδανός Be Berkel Meineke ἤδη ὁ Ῥόδανος Ba ἤδη ὁ Σαρδόνιος Unger ἤδη ὁ πορθμός Schulten || Ἀρτεμίδωρος] *litteras* τε ί *rest.* P[2] || 13 Πυριναίων P || Γάδειρα] *litteras* ει *in ras. scr.* P[1] || καὶ ἐνδοτέρω Schubart Meineke || 14 Ἱσπανία (*etiam* Thunmann Meineke): Σπανία edd. || 15 *post* ἐπαρχίας *lac. ind.* Be Meineke πρώτη μὲν ἐπαρχία *suppl.* Ba Berkel || Πυριναίων P || καὶ *om.* Ba Be Meineke Stiehle *secl.* Moravcsik ||

τῆς Καινῆς Καρχηδόνος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Βαίτιος πηγῶν, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἐπαρχίας τὰ μέχρι Γαδείρων καὶ Λυσιτανίας.» Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἰβηρίτης. Παρθένιος ἐν Λευκαδίαις· «Ἰβηρίτῃ πλεύσει ἐν αἰγιαλῷ.» Ἡ δ' ἑτέρα
108Be Ἰβηρία | πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστίν. Τὸ ἔθνος Ἴβηρες, ὡς Πίερες, Βύζηρες.
47rP Διονύσιος· | «Ἀγχοῦ στηλάων μεγαθύμων ἔθνος Ἰβήρων.» Καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Τριφάλητι· «Μανθάνοντες τοὺς Ἴβηρας τοὺς Ἀριστάρχου πάλαι» καὶ «Τοὺς Ἴβηρας, οὓς χορηγεῖς μοι, βοηθῆσαι δρόμῳ.» Καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωγραφουμένων· «Γραμματικῇ δὲ χρῶνται τῇ τῶν Ἰταλῶν οἱ παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες τῶν Ἰβήρων.» Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴβηρος γενικῆς Ἰβηρὶς τὸ θηλυκόν. «Ἑλληνίς, οὐκ Ἰβηρίς» Μένανδρος Ἀσπίδι. Λέγεται καὶ Ἰβηρικός· «† Πρῶτος μὲν πρός τινος † Ἰβηρικὸς ἀρχομένοισι.» Διῃρεῖτο δὲ ἡ Ἰβηρία εἰς δύο, νῦν δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, ὡς Μαρκιανὸς ἐν Περίπλῳ αὐτῆς · «Πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἡ Ἰβηρία εἰς δύο διῃρεῖτο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, νυνὶ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς· Βαιτικὴν Σπανίαν καὶ Σπανίαν καὶ Ταρρα-
47vP |κωνησίαν.» Ἀπὸ τῆς γενικῆς Ἴβηρος εὐθεῖαν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς τῆς φύλακος ὁ φύλακος. Ἐν τοῖς Παρωνύμοις φησίν· «Ἀπὸ γενικῶν εὐθεῖαι παράγονται, † τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ † δύο συλλαβὰς ὁμοίως τῇ εὐθείᾳ κατὰ τὸν τόνον παροξυνόμενον, καὶ ἢ ἐν ἁπλῷ σχήματι ἢ ἐν συνθέτῳ. Ἁπλὸν μὲν οὖν ⟨μάρτυρ⟩, μάρτυρος, ὁ μάρτυς, Χάροψ, Χάροπος, ὁ Χάροπος,
109Be 'Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος', Τροίζην, Τροίζη|νος, ὁ Τροίζηνος, 'υἱὸς Τροιζήνοιο', Ἴβηρ, Ἴβηρος, ὁ Ἴβηρος», ἀφ' οὗ παρὰ Κουαδράτῳ ἐν Ῥωμαϊ-

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*F* 18 Παρθένιος — αἰγιαλῷ: cf. Parthenii fr. 10., ed. Martini, Mythographi Graeci II. 1. suppl. p. 17; Herodianus, ed. Lentz I. p. 76, 29—30. 20 Ἀγχοῦ — Ἰβήρων: Dionys. Perieg. v. 282., ed. Müller, G. G. M. II. p. 117. 20 Ἀριστοφάνης — 22 δρόμῳ: cf. Aristoph. fr. 550., 551., ed. Kock, C. A. Fr. I. p. 531. 22 Ἀρτεμίδωρος — 24 Ἰβήρων: cf. Artemidori fr. 22., ed R. Stiehle, Philologus XI. p. 203. 25 Ἑλληνίς — Ἀσπίδι: cf. Menandri fr. 79., ed. Kock, C. A. Fr. III. p. 25. 26 Πρῶτος — 27 ἀρχομένοισι: Dionys. Perieg. v. 69., ed. Müller, G. G. M. II. p. 108. 28 Πρότερον — 30 Ταρρακωνησίαν: Marcian. Peripl. II. 7., ed. Müller G. G. M. I. p. 544. 30 Ἀπολλώνιος — 36 Ἴβηρος: cf. Apollonii Dyscoli fr., ed. Schneider p. 47.; Herodianus, ed. Lentz I. p. 196, 22—29; II. p. 854, 1—9. 35 Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος: Hom. Il. II. 672. 35 υἱὸς Τροιζήνοιο: Hom. Il. II. 847. 36 παρὰ Κουαδράτῳ — 38 πολεμέοντες: cf. Asinii Quadrati fr. 2., ed. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. II A. p. 448.

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*V* 16 δευτέρας V edd. Meineke: β' P || 17 Γαδείρων] *litteras* ει *in ras. scr.* P[1] || Λουσιτανίας Ba Be Meineke || Ἰβηρίτης Ba Be Meineke: Βηρίτις P || 18 Παρθένιος Ba Be Meineke Lentz Martini: Παρθύνιος P || Λευκαδίαις Ba Be Martini: Λευκαδίας P Λευκαδίᾳ Meineke Lentz || Ἰβήριτι P || πλεύσει ἐν Meineke Lentz Martini: πλεύσειεν P edd. πλεύσῃ ἐν *coni.* Bekker || δ': δὲ

from the Pyrenees mountains as far as New Carthage and the sources of the Baetis, while the second province *comprehends* the area reaching to Gadara and Lusitania.» *The form* 'Iberite' is also found. Parthenius in 'Leucadiae': «Thou shalt coast along the 'Iberite' shore.» The other Iberia is over toward the Persians. The ethnic term is 'Iberians', like 'Pierians', 'Byzerians'. Dionysius: «Nigh unto the Pillars the nation of great-hearted 'Iberians'.» And Aristophanes, 'Triphales': «Learning that the 'Iberians', who anciently of Aristarchus», and, «The 'Iberians', whom thou lendest me, to run to my aid.» And Artemidorus in part two of 'Geography': «Those of the 'Iberians' who live on the coast use the alphabet of the Italians.» Also, from genitive 'Iberos' *is formed* the feminine 'Iberis'. «A Greek woman, not an 'Iberis'», Menander, 'Aspis'. The form 'Iberic' is also found: «The first *sea* is the 'Iberic' at the outset.» Iberia used to be divided in two, but now in three, as Marcian says in its 'Circumnavigation': «Now of old Iberia was divided in two by the Romans, but now in three: Baetic Spain and *Lusitanian* Spain and Tarragonese *Spain*.» From genitive 'Iberos' Apollonius *derives* a nominative, as 'phylakos' from genitive 'phylakos'. In 'Paronyma' he says: «Nominatives are derived from genitives *of more than* two syllables which, like the *derivative* nominative, carry the *pro*paroxytone accent, whether *these are* in simple or compound form. Simple are: martyr, martyros, nominative *martyros*; Charops, Charopos, nominative Charopos, 'of king Charopos'; Troezen, Troezenos, nominative Troezenos, 'son of Troezenos'; Iber, Iberos, nominative Iberos»; whence in Quadratus, 'Roman Millennium',

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Ba Be Epitome Steph. Byz. || 19 ἔθνος: ἐθνικὸν Meineke Epitome Steph. Byz. || Ἴβηρες] *litteras* ἴβη *rest.* $P^2$ || 20 ἔθνος] *litteras rest.* $P^2$ || Ἰβήρων] *litteras* ἰβή *rest.* $P^2$ || 21 Τριφάλιτι P || 23 *post* δευτέρῳ *add.* τῶν edd. Meineke || Γραμματικῇ Ba Be Meineke: γραμματικοὶ P || 24 θάλατταν P V edd. Meineke: θάλατται (*littera* ν *ex dimidia parte erasa*) $P^y$ || 24 Καὶ — 26/7 ἀρχομένοισι *secl.* V || 25 Ἀσπίδη P || 26 *post* Ἰβηρικός[1] *add.* Διονύσιος Ba Be Berkel Meineke || 26 Πρῶτος μὲν πρός τινος: πόντος μὲν πρώτιστος Ba Be Berkel Meineke Dionysios || 26/7 ἀρχομένοισσοι P || 27 ἡ Ἰβηρία Meineke: Ἰβηρία Ba Be ἡ Ἴβηρις P || *post* εἰς[1] *add.* ἐπαρχίας Berkel Meineke || τρεῖς Meineke γ′ P: τρία V edd. || 28 *post* δύο *add.* ἐπαρχίας Meineke || 28/9 διῄρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἐπαρχίας δύο Marcianus || 28 διῄρητο Meineke || 29 τρεῖς Meineke Marcianus γ′ P: τρία edd. || 29/30 εἰς Ἱσπανίαν Βαιτικὴν καὶ εἰς Ἱσπανίαν Λουσιτανίαν καὶ Ἱσπανίαν Ταρρακωνησίαν Marcianus || 29 Βαιτίκην Meineke || Σπανίαν[1] *om.* Be Meineke || καὶ[1] *om.* V Me Be Meineke || Σπανίαν[2] *om.* V Me Λουσιτανίαν Be Salmasius Meineke || 30 Ἀπὸ — 38 φησί *secl.* V || 30 εὐθεῖα Meineke || *post* εὐθεῖαν *add.* παράγει Ba Berkel || 30/1 ὡς τῆς φύλακος ὁ φύλακος. Ἀπολλώνιος Bastius Meineke || 30 τῆς[2] (*etiam* Meineke): τοῦ Ba Be || 32 τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ: τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ Meineke Apollonius τὸ μὲν Ἴβηρ Ba Berkel || μὲν *delendum coni.* Meineke || 33 παροξυνόμενον: προπαροξυνόμεναι Meineke Apollonius || ἁπλοῦν Meineke Apollonius || 34 μάρτυρ *add.* Ba Be Meineke || μάρτυρ μάρτυρος ὁ μάρτυρος Apollonius || ὁ μάρτυς: ὁ μάρτυρος edd. Meineke || 35 Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος Ba Be Meineke Apollonius: χαροποίοτης ἄνακτος P || Τρύζειν Τρύζηνος ὁ Τρύζηνος P || 35/6 Τρυζήνοιο P ||

κῆς χιλιάδος ⟨ε′⟩ ἔστιν Ἰβήροισιν οὕτως· «Καί τοι Λίγυσί θ' ἅμα καὶ Ἰβήροισι πολεμέοντες.» Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Ἅβρων ἐν Παρωνύμοις φησί.
48rP Καὶ «αὐτὸς Ἴβηρος τραγοπώγων» ἐν Μαλθακοῖς εἴρη|ται Κρατίνου.
Λέγονται οἱ Ἴβηρες ὑδροποτεῖν, ὡς Ἀθήναιος ἐν Δειπνοσοφιστῶν β′ οὕτως· «Φύλαρχος μὲν ἐν τῇ ζ′ καὶ τοὺς Ἴβηράς φησι ὑδροποτεῖν πάντας, καίτοι πλουσιωτάτους πάντων ἀνθρώπων τυγχάνοντας (κέκτηνται γὰρ καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν πλεῖστον), μονοσιτεῖν τε αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ λέγει διὰ μικρολογίαν, ἐσθῆτάς τε φορεῖν πολυτελεστάτας.»

## 24. Περὶ Ἱσπανίας.

Πόθεν εἴρηται Ἱσπανία; Ἀπὸ Ἱσπάνου γίγαντος οὕτω καλουμένου. Ἱσπανίαι δύο τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπαρχίαι· ἡ μὲν μεγάλη, ἡ δὲ μικρά. Ταύτης ἐμνήσθη Χάραξ ἐν ι′ Χρονικῶν· «Ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ τῇ μικρᾷ τῇ
48vP ἔξω Λουσιτανῶν πάλιν ἀποστάντων, ἐπέμφθη ὑπὸ Ῥω|μαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Κύιντος.» Ὁ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ περὶ τῶν δύο· «Κύιντος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολέμαρχος ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς Ἱσπανίαις. Ἡσσώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Οὐιριάθου σπονδὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο.» Ταύτην κεκλῆσθαί
110Be φησιν Ἰβηρίαν ἐν Ἑλληνικῶν γ′· «Τὴν δὲ Ἱσπανίαν Ἕλληνες τὰ | πρῶτα Ἰβηρίαν ἐκάλουν, οὔπω ξύμπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους τὴν προσηγορίαν μεμαθηκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς γῆς, ὅ ἐστιν πρὸς ποταμὸν Ἴβηρα, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὀνομάζεται, τὴν πᾶσαν οὕτω καλοῦντες·» Ὕστερον δέ φασιν αὐτὴν μετακεκλῆσθαι Πανωνίαν.

## 25. Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ὁσίου Θεοφάνους τῆς Σιγριανῆς.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Οὐαλεντινιανὸς οὐ μόνον Βρεττανίαν καὶ Γαλλίαν
49rP καὶ Ἱσπανίαν | ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον Λιβύην,

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*F* 38 Τὸ αὐτὸ — φησί: cf. Habronis fr., ed R. Berndt, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift XXXV. p. 1454; Herodianus, ed. Lentz I. p. 196, 29; II. p. 854, 9. 39 αὐτὸς — Κρατίνου: cf. Cratini fr. 101., ed. Kock, C. A. Fr. I. p. 46; Herodianus, ed. Lentz I. p. 196, 22—23; II. p. 854, 1—3. 40 Λέγονται — 44 πολυτελεστάτας: Athen. Dipnosoph. II. 44 b., ed. Kaibel I. p. 102, 15—19.

**24.** 2 Πόθεν — 13 Πανωνίαν: cf. Steph. Byz., ed. Meineke s. v. Ἱσπανίαι. 4 Χάραξ — 8 ἐποιήσατο: cf. Characis fr. 26., 27., ed. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. II A. p. 488. 9 ἐν Ἑλληνικῶν — 13 Πανωνίαν: cf. Characis fr. 3., ed. Jacoby. F. Gr. Hist. II A. p. 483.

**25.** 3 Τούτῳ — 55 βασιλεύσας: Theoph. p. 93, 31—95, 25; cf. Procop., De bello Vand. I. 2—4., ed. Haury I. p. 320, 18—322, 4; 311, 5—313, 1; 317, 9—20; 322, 4—326, 4.

*V*, occurs *the dative plural* 'Iberoisin', thus: «Though warring at once with the Ligurians and 'Iberoisi'.» Habro says the same in 'Paronyma'. And «the goat-bearded 'Iberos' himself» is found in the 'Effeminates' of Cratinus. The Iberians are said to drink water, as Athenaeus says in 'Deipnosophists', II: «Phylarchus in book VII says that all the Iberians too drink water, though they are the wealthiest of mankind (for they possess very great quantities of silver and gold), and he says that they never eat but once in the day out of their parsimony, and wear the most magnificent clothes.»

## 24. Of Spain.

Whence is the name Spain? From Hispanus, a giant so called. The Spains are two provinces of Italy: one is large, the other small. The country is referred to by Charax in 'Chronicles', X: «In Little, or Outer, Spain the Lusitanians again revolted, and the Romans sent against them their general Quintus». And, of the two *provinces* together, the same *author writes*: «Quintus, the Roman commander-in-chief in both the Spains. He was defeated by Viriathus and made a truce with him.» He says the country is called Iberia, in 'Greek History', III: «Spain the Greeks originally called Iberia, not yet having learnt the title of the whole nation but calling it all after that part of the country which is near the river Iber and derives its name therefrom.» Afterwards, they say, the name was changed to *Spain.*

## 25. From the history of the holy Theophanes of Sigriane.

In this year Valentinian was not merely too weak to recover Britain and Gaul and Spain, but also lost western Libya as well, the so-called land

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*V* 37 ε′ *add.* Ba Be Meineke Jacoby || ἔστιν Jacoby: ἐστὶν P edd. Meineke || Καί τοι Λίγυσί ϑ' ἅμα Ba Be Meineke Jacoby καὶ τολίγοισι τ' αμα (*sine acc.*) P || 38 'Αβρῶν P || 39 αὐτὸς: οὗτος Meineke || 40 'Αϑηναῖος P || δείπνω σοφιστῶν P || 41 Φίλαρχος P edd. || 41/2 φησὶ δὲ καὶ ⟨ἐν τῇ ζ′⟩ τοὺς Ἴβηρας πάντας ὑδροποτεῖν καίτοι πλουσιωτάτους ἀνϑρώπων ὄντας Athenaeus || 42 κέκτηνται — 43 πλεῖστον *deest apud* Athenaeum *in parenthesi posuit* Moravcsik || 43 καὶ[1] *om.* edd. Meineke || 44 τε (*etiam* Athenaeus[CE]): δὲ Athenaeus.

**24.** 2/3 καλουμένου: λεγομένου Meineke || 5 ἐπέμφϑη edd.: ἐπέμφη P || 7 Ἱσπανίαις ⟨ἠγωνίσατο⟩ *coni.* Jacoby || 8 Οὐιριάϑου Meineke Jacoby: Οὐριάϑου P edd. || 11 Ἴβηρα Müller Jacoby: 'Ιβηρίαν V edd. 'Ιβηρία P ⟨Ἴβηρα⟩ 'Ιβηρίαν Meineke || 11/2 'Ιβηρίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὠνόμαζον καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν *coni.* Meineke || 12 ὀνομάζεται Müller Jacoby: ὀνομάζονται P Meineke || 13 Πανωνίαν (*etiam* Epitome Steph. Byz.): Πα{νω}νίαν Jacoby Πανίαν Ba Be Meineke Σπανίαν *coni.* Kyriakides Ἱσπανίαν *coni.* Dujčev.

**25.** 3 Οὐαλεντινιανὸς P[2] *mg.* P[8] edd. Theoph.: Οὐαλεντιανὸς P || 4

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τὴν τῶν Ἄφρων καλουμένην χώραν προσαπώλεσε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Δύο
στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀέτιος καὶ Βονιφάτιος, οὓς Θεοδόσιος κατὰ αἴτησιν
Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν. Βονιφάτιος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς
ἑσπερίου Λιβύης λαβών, φθονήσας Ἀέτιος διαβολὴν ποιεῖται κατ'
αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀνταρσίαν μελετῶντος καὶ τῆς Λιβύης κρατῆσαι σπεύδοντος.
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς Πλακιδίαν ἔλεγε, τὴν τοῦ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ μητέρα.
Γράφει δὲ καὶ Βονιφατίῳ, ὅτι· «Ἐὰν μεταπεμφθῇς, παραγενέσθαι μὴ
θελήσῃς· διεβλήθης γάρ, καὶ δόλῳ σε οἱ βασιλεῖς βούλονται χειρώσα-
49vP σθαι.» Ταῦτα δεξάμενος Βονιφάτιος | καὶ ὡς γνησίῳ φίλῳ Ἀετίῳ πιστεύ-
σας, μεταπεμφθεὶς οὐ παρεγένετο. Τότε οἱ βασιλεῖς ὡς εὐνοοῦντα τὸν
111Be | Ἀέτιον ἀπεδέξαντο. Ἦσαν δὲ τῷ τότε Γότθοι καὶ ἔθνη πολλά τε καὶ
μέγιστα μέχρι τοῦ Δανουβίου ἐν τοῖς ὑπερβορείοις τόποις κατῳκισμένα.
Τούτων δὲ ἀξιολογώτερά εἰσι Γότθοι, Ἰσίγοτθοι, Γήπαιδες καὶ Οὐανδῆ-
λοι, ἐν ὀνόμασι μόνον καὶ οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ διαλλάττοντες, μιᾷ διαλέκτῳ
κεχρημένοι· πάντες δὲ τῆς Ἀρείου ὑπάρχουσι κακοπιστίας. Οὗτοι ἐπ'
Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου τὸν Δανούβιν διαβάντες, ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
γῇ κατῳκίσθησαν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Γήπαιδες, ἐξ ὧν ὕστερον διῃρέθησαν
50rP Λογγίβαρδοι καὶ Ἄβαρεις, τὰ περὶ Σιγγιδῶνα καὶ Σέρ|μιον χωρία
ᾤκησαν. Οἱ δὲ Ἰσίγοτθοι μετὰ Ἀλάριχον τὴν Ῥώμην πορθήσαντες,
εἰς Γαλλίας ἐχώρησαν καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐκράτησαν. Γότθοι δὲ Παννονίαν
ἔχοντες πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ιθ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου,
ἐπιτρέψαντος, τὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης χωρία ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ νη' χρόνους ἐν τῇ
Θρᾴκῃ διατρίψαντες, Θευδερίχου ἡγεμονεύοντος αὐτῶν πατρικίου καὶ
ὑπάτου, Ζήνωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαντος, τῆς ἑσπερίου βασιλείας ἐκράτη-
σαν. Οἱ δὲ Οὐανδῆλοι Ἀλανοὺς ἑταιρισάμενοι καὶ Γερμανούς, τοὺς
νῦν καλουμένους Φράγγους, διαβάντες τὸν †Νῖνον† ποταμόν, ἡγούμενον
50vP ἔχοντες Γογίδισκλον, κατῴκησαν ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ, πρώτῃ οὔσῃ χώ|ρᾳ τῆς
112Be Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ | τοῦ ἑσπερίου Ὠκεανοῦ. Βονιφάτιος δὲ φοβηθεὶς τοὺς
τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς, περάσας ἀπὸ Λιβύης, εἰς Ἱσπανίαν πρὸς τοὺς

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*V* ἴσχυσεν (*etiam* Theoph.): ἴσχυεν edd. ‖ 5 προσαπόλεσε P ‖ 7 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ edd. Theoph.: Οὐαλεντιανὸς P  Οὐαλεντινιανὸς $P^2$ ‖ Βονηφάτιος P: Βονιφατίου Ba Be Theoph. ‖ 8 λαβών (*etiam* $Theoph.^b$): λαβόντος Ba Be Theoph. ‖ *ante* Ἀέτιος *add.* ὁ Ba Be Theoph. ‖ 10 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ $P^2$ edd.: Οὐαλεντιανοῦ P ‖ 11 καὶ *deest in* Theoph. ‖ μεταπεμφθῇς Be Theoph.: παραπεμφθῇς Ba παραπεμφθεὶς P ‖ 14 εὐνοοῦντα Theoph.: εὐνοῦντα P  εὐνούνστατον (*accentu mutato, littera* σ *inserta et s. v.* τὸν *addito*) $P^2$  εὐνούστατον V edd. ‖ 15 τῷ *deest in* Theoph. ‖ Γότθοι καὶ (*etiam* $Theoph.^{codd.}$): Γοτθικὰ Theoph. ‖ 16 μέχρι: πέραν Theoph. ‖ 17 Ἰσίγοτθοι *mg. add.* $P^1$: *om.* V edd.  Ἰσι *mg. iter.* $P^2$ ‖ Γήπεδες P ‖ 20 Δανούβιν P V: Δάνουβιν $P^x$ $Theoph.^g$ Δανοῦβιν Theoph. Δανούβιον edd. ‖ 22 Ἄβαρεις (*etiam* Theoph.): Ἀβάρεις edd. ‖ Σιγγιδώνα P ‖ Σέρμιον Theoph.: Σερμίων P  Σερμίω $Theoph.^{gh}$  Σερμείω

of the Africans; it happened like this. There were two generals, Aëtius and Boniface, whom Theodosius had sent to Rome at the request of Valentinian. Boniface was given the command over western Libya, and Aëtius out of jealousy slanderously accused him of meditating rebellion and working to seize Libya. This he communicated to Placidia, the mother of Valentinian. But he wrote also to Boniface, saying: «If you are sent for, do not come, for you have been slanderously accused, and the emperor and empress are trying to get you into their hands by a trick.» This message Boniface received and, trusting in Aëtius as in a true friend, did not go when he was sent for. Then the emperor and empress accepted Aëtius as a loyal servant. At that time the Goths and many very large nations were settled in the regions of the far north down as far as the Danube. Of these the most notable are the Goths, Visigoths, Gepedes and Vandals, who differ from one another in name only and in nothing else, and speak one and the same tongue; and all are of the misbelief of Arius. These in the time of Arcadius and Honorius crossed the Danube and settled in the territory of the Romans. The Gepedes, from whom were later divided off the Lombards and Avars, lived in the territories about Singidunum and Sirmium. The Visigoths, under Alaric, after taking Rome, went off to the Gallic provinces and possessed themselves of those regions. The Goths first held Pannonia, but afterwards were permitted by Theodosius the younger, in the 19th year of his reign, to dwell in the territories of Thrace, and after remaining 58 years in Thrace they obtained permission of Zeno to possess themselves of the western kingdom, with their leader the patrician and consul Theodoric. The Vandals, joining up with the Alans and Germans, who are now called Franks, crossed the river *Rhine*, and, under the leadership of Gogidisclus, settled in Spain, the first country of Europe from the side of the western Ocean. Now, Boniface, fearing the emperor and empress of the Romans, crossed over from

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Theoph.$^{cefm}$ Σερμεῖον Ba Be || 23 Ἡσίγοτθοι P || Ἀλάριχον P V Me Theoph.: Ἀλαρίχου (*littera ν ex dimidia parte erasa accentuque correcto*) P$^{y}$ Meursius Ba Be || 24 Πανωνίαν P edd.: Πανονίαν Theoph. || 25 ἔχοντες: ἔσχον Theoph. || *post* ἔπειτα *add.* τῷ Theoph.: *om.* Theoph.$^{efm}$ || ἔτη P || 27 διατρίψαντες Meursius Ba Be Theoph.: διατρίψαντος P || 28 αὐτοῖς Ba Be Theoph.: αὐτὰρ P || ἐπιτρέψαντος F Ba Be Theoph.: ἐπιστρέψαντος P || *post* ἑσπερίου *add.* Λιβύης edd.: *deest in* Theoph. || 29 Οὐανδῆλοι P V: Οὐανδήλοι P$^{y}$ *mg.* P$^{8}$ || 30 Νῖνον (*etiam* Theoph.$^{bcg}$) Νεῖνον Theoph.$^{efm}$ νῖνος *mg.* P$^{8}$: Ῥῆνον Ba Be Theoph. || 31 Γογίδισκλον (*litteris* γί *in ras. scriptis*) P$^{2}$ V edd. Γοδιγίσκλον Theoph. || 33 εἰς (*habet etiam* Theoph.) *s. v. add.* P$^{3}$ *in textum receperunt* V edd. ||

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Οὐανδήλους ἦλθεν, καὶ εὑρὼν τὸν μὲν Γογίδισκλον τελευτήσαντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνου παῖδας, Γότθαρόν τε καὶ Γηζέριχον τὴν ἀρχὴν διέποντας, τούτους προτρεψάμενος τὴν ἑσπέριον Λιβύην εἰς τρία μέρη διελεῖν ὑπέσχετο, ἐφ' ᾧ ἕκαστον τοῦ τρίτου μέρους ἄρχειν σὺν αὐτῷ, κοινῇ δὲ ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν οἱονδήποτε πολέμιον. Ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὁμολογίαις Οὐανδῆλοι τὸν πορθμὸν διαβάντες, τὴν Λιβύην κατῴκησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ 51rP Ὠκεανοῦ μέχρι Τριπόλεως τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην. Οἱ δὲ Ἰσί|γοτθοι ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ Γαλλίας, ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν. Τινὲς δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου Ῥωμαίων, φίλοι Βονιφατίου, τὴν Ἀετίου ψευδοκατηγορίαν ἀνήγγειλαν τῇ Πλακιδίᾳ, ἐμφανῆ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὴν πρὸς Βονιφάτιον Ἀετίου ἐπιστολήν, τοῦ Βονιφατίου ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἀποστείλαντος. Ἡ δὲ Πλακιδία ἐκπλαγεῖσα τὸν μὲν Ἀέτιον οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, Βονιφατίῳ δὲ λόγον προτρεπτικὸν μεθ' ὅρκων ἀπέστειλεν. Τοῦ δὲ Γοτθαρίου τελευτήσαντος, Γηζέριχος τῶν Οὐανδήλων γέγονεν αὐτοκράτωρ. Βονιφάτιος δὲ τὸν λόγον δεξάμενος τῶν Οὐανδήλων κατεστράτευσεν, στρατοῦ μεγάλου 51vP ἐλθόντος αὐτῷ ἀπό τε Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ Βυ|ζαντίου, στρατηγοῦντος Ἄσπαρος. Πολέμου δὲ κροτηθέντος πρὸς Γηζέριχον, ἡττήθη ὁ τῶν 113Be Ῥωμαίων στρατός. Καὶ οὕτω | Βονιφάτιος μετὰ Ἄσπαρος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθών, τὴν ὑποψίαν διέλυσεν, ἀποδείξας τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ἡ δὲ Ἀφρικὴ ὑπὸ Οὐανδήλοις γέγονεν. Τότε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς στρατιώτης ὢν καὶ δουλεύων Ἄσπαρα ζῶν συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Γηζερίχου, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσας.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι τρεῖς ἀμερμουμνεῖς εἰσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Συρίᾳ, ἤγουν ⟨ἐν⟩ τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχῇ, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος καθέζεται ἐν τῷ Βαγδάδ, ἔστιν δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μουάμεθ γενεᾶς, ἤτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος 52rP καθέζεται ἐν Ἀφρικῇ, καὶ ἔστι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλὴμ γενεᾶς καὶ Φα|τιμέ, τῆς θυγατρὸς Μουάμεθ, ἤτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Φατεμῖται ὀνομάζονται· ὁ δὲ τρίτος καθέζεται ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ, ἔστιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ Μαυίου.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν τῷ κατακυριεῦσαι τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς πάσης τῆς Συρίας ἐκαθέσθη ἀμερμουμνῆς εἰς τὸ Βαγδάδ. Ἐδέσποζεν δὲ πάσης τῆς Περσίας καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας. Καὶ εἶχεν ἀμηραδίας μεγάλας, ἤτοι στρατηγίδας ταύτας· πρώτην ἀμηραδίαν τὴν Περσίαν, ἤγουν τὸ Χωρασάν, δευτέραν ἀμηραδίαν τὴν Ἀφρικήν, τρίτην ἀμηραδίαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τετάρτην

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*V* 34 Γογίδισκλον: Γοδιγίσκλον Theoph. || 35 Γότθαρον: Γότθαριν Theoph.[c] Γόνθαριν Theoph. || Γηζέριχον (*etiam* Theoph.[c]): Γιζέριχον Theoph. || 36 τρία edd. Theoph.: γ' P || 39 Οὐανδῆλοι edd. Theoph.: Οὐάνδηλοι P || 40 Κυρήνην Ba Be Theoph.: Κυρίνης P || 42 *ante* Ἀετίου *add.* τοῦ edd.: *deest in Theoph.* || 46 μεθόρκον P || Γοτθαρίου (*etiam* Theoph.[c]): Γονθαρίου

Libya into Spain and came to the Vandals, and finding that Gogidisclus was dead and that his sons Gottharus and Gezerichus held the rule, he incited them by a promise to divide western Libya in three parts, so that each of them, with himself, should rule over a third part, but should unite to repel any enemy whoever he might be. These terms being agreed upon, the Vandals crossed the strait and settled in Libya, from the Ocean as far as Tripolis by Cyrene. The Visigoths, advancing from Gaul, took possession of Spain also. Now, some Roman senators who were friends to Boniface exposed to Placidia the falsity of Aëtius' accusation, and showed her also the letter of Aëtius to Boniface, which Boniface had sent them. Placidia, much amazed, forbore to injure Aëtius, but dispatched to Boniface a message recalling him to his duty, together with promises on oath. Now, on the death of Gottharius Gezerichus had become sole chief of the Vandals. Boniface, then, on receipt of the message, marched against the Vandals, with a large force which had come to him from Rome and Byzantium under the command of Aspar. Battle was joined with Gezerichus and the army of the Romans was defeated. So Boniface, accompanied by Aspar, came to Rome and dispelled suspicion by exposing the truth. But Africa fell beneath the Vandals. It was then that Marcian, the future emperor, who was a soldier in the service of Aspar, was taken alive by Gezerichus.

There are three commanders of the faithful in the whole of Syria, that is, *in* the empire of the Arabs, the first of whom has his seat at Bagdad and is of the family of Mouameth, or Mahomet; the second has his seat in Africa, and is of the family of Alim and Fatime, daughter of Mouameth, or Mahomet, whence the Fatemites are so called; the third has his seat in Spain, and he is of the family of Mauias.

Originally, when the Saracens made themselves masters over all Syria, the commander of the faithful had his seat at Bagdad. He was absolute ruler over Persia and Africa and Egypt and Arabia Felix. He had beneath him mighty emirates, or military provinces, as follows: first, the emirate of Persia, or Chorasan; second, the emirate of Africa; third, the emirate

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Theoph. || 47 Γηζέριχος (*etiam* Theoph.$^{c}$): Γιζέριχος Theoph. || δὲ: οὖν Theoph. || 50 Γηζέριχον (*etiam* Theoph.$^{c}$): Γιζέριχον Theoph. || 52 Ἀφρικὴ P$^{x}$ V *mg.* P$^{8}$: Ἀφρικῇ P || 54 Ἄσπαρα: τὸν Ἄσπαρα Theoph.$^{befm}$ Ἄσπαρον P τῷ Ἄσπαρι Ba Be Theoph. || Γηζερίχου F edd. Theoph.$^{c}$: Γιζερίχου Theoph. Γεζερίχου P || 56 ἀμερμουμνεῖς Meursius: ἀμερουμνεῖς P edd. || 57 ἐν *add. edd.* || Βαγδάδ (*littera* β *in ras. scripta*) P$^{y}$ Ba Be: Γαγδάδ P *mg.* P$^{8}$ || 58 δεύτερος *scr.* Moravcsik: β' P Ba Be || 60 Φατεμῖται V: Φατιμῖται Be Φατουμῖται P || 61 τρίτος V edd.: γ' P || 63 *post* ὅτι *add.* ἐν τῷ edd. || κατακυριεῦσαι: κυριεῦσαι V edd. || 64 Συρίας] *litteras* υρίας *rest.* P$^{2}$ || ἀμερμουμνεῖς P: ἀμερουμνῆς Be || εἰς (*litteris restitutis*) P$^{2}$: ἐν Be || τὸ *scr.* Moravcsik: τῶ (*litteris restitutis*) P$^{2}$ τῷ Ba Be || Βαγδάδ ] *litteras rest.* P$^{2}$ || 67 Χωρασάν *scr.* Moravcsik: Χωρασσάν *mg.* P$^{8}$ Χωροσσάν P Χωροσάν Be || δευτέραν edd.: β' P ||

52vP ἀμηραδίαν τὴν Φιλιστίημ, ἤτοι | τὸ Ῥάμβλε, πέμπτην ἀμηραδίαν τὴν
Δαμασκόν, ἕκτην ἀμηραδίαν τὸ Χέμψ, ἤτοι τὸ Ἔμεσα, ἑβδόμην ἀμη-
114Be ραδίαν τὸ Χάλεπ, ὀγδόην ἀμηραδίαν τὴν Ἀν|τιόχειαν, ἐνάτην ἀμηρα-
δίαν τὸ Χαράν, δεκάτην ἀμηραδίαν τὸ Ἔμετ, ἑνδεκάτην ἀμηραδίαν
τὴν Ἐσιβή, δωδεκάτην ἀμηραδίαν τὸ Μούσελ, τρισκαιδεκάτην ἀμηραδίαν
τὸ Τικρίτ. Τῆς δὲ Ἀφρικῆς ἀποσπασθείσης ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀμερμουμνῆ
ἐν τῷ Βαγδὰδ ἐξουσίας καὶ ἰδιοκρατησάσης καὶ ἀμηρᾶν ἴδιον ἀναγορευ-
σάσης, γέγονεν, καθὼς καὶ προϋπῆρχεν, πρώτη ἀμηραδία ἡ Περσία,
δευτέρα ἡ Αἴγυπτος καὶ καθεξῆς αἱ λοιπαί, καθὼς προείρηται. Ἀρτίως
δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἀμερμουμνῆ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Βαγδὰδ ἀδυνατήσαντος, γέγονεν
53rP ἰδιόρρυθμος | ὁ τῆς Περσίας ἀμηρᾶς, ἤγουν τοῦ Χωρασάν· καὶ ἀπεκάλε-
σεν ἑαυτὸν ἀμερμουμνῆν, φορῶν καὶ τὸ κουρὰν διὰ πινακιδίων εἰς τὸν
τράχηλον αὐτοῦ δίκην μανιακίου. Λέγει δὲ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ⟨ἐκ⟩ τῆς γενεᾶς
τοῦ Ἀλήμ. Ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ὑπῆρχεν ἀεὶ καὶ
πάντοτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ Αἰγύπτου. Γέγονεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἰδιόρρυθμος, καὶ ἀπεκάλεσεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀμερμουμνῆν· λέγει δὲ
καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλὴμ γενεᾶς.

## 26. Ἡ γενεαλογία τοῦ περιβλέπτου ῥηγὸς Οὔγωνος.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ ῥὴξ Ἰταλίας, ὁ μέγας Λωθάριος, ὁ πάππος τοῦ
53vP περιβλέπτου ῥηγὸς Οὔγωνος, ἀπὸ | τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ μεγάλου Καρούλου
κατήγετο, περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἔπαινος, ἐγκώμιά τε καὶ διηγήματα καὶ περὶ
115Be πολέμους ἀνδραγαθήματα. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κάρουλος | ἦν μονοκράτωρ
πάντων τῶν ῥηγάτων, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Φραγγίαν. Ἐν δὲ
ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς τῶν ὑπολοίπων ῥηγῶν ἐτόλμησε ῥῆγα ἑαυτὸν
καλέσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὑπῆρχον ὑπόσπονδοι αὐτοῦ, ὅστις χρήματα ἱκανὰ
καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀποστείλας, ἐδείματο μοναστήρια
πάμπολλα. Ὁ τοίνυν Λωθάριος οὗτος ἀναλαβόμενος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύ-
54rP ματα, κατὰ Ῥώμης ἐκστρατεύσας, ἀπὸ πολέμου | ταύτην ἐκράτησεν,
καὶ ἐστέφθη παρὰ τοῦ τότε πάπα. Καὶ ἡνίκα ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
ἐξουσίαν, ἤγουν εἰς Πάπιαν, κατήντησεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον Πλαζέντα,
τὸ ὂν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα μιλίων τῆς Παπίας. Κἀκεῖσε μὲν οὗτος τελευτᾷ,
ἔτεκεν δὲ υἱόν, ὀνόματι Ἀδέλβερτον, ὃς ἔγημεν γυναῖκα τὴν μεγάλην
Βέρταν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν προρρηθέντα ῥῆγα, τὸν Οὔγωνα ἔτεκεν. Μετὰ
δὲ τὸ τελευτῆσαι τὸν μέγαν Λωθάριον Λοδόϊκος, ὁ ἴδιος τοῦ Λοδοΐκου,

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*V* 69 Φιλιστιήμ V edd. || πέμπτην edd.: ε′ P || 70 ἕκτην V edd.: ς′ P || Ἔμεσσα P edd. || ἑβδόμην edd.: ζ′ P || 71 ὀγδόην edd.: η′ P || ἐνάτην Be: θ′ P || 72 δεκάτην edd.: ι′ P || ἑνδεκάτην edd.: ια′ P || 73 δωδεκάτην edd.: ιβ′ P || τρισκαιδεκάτην Moravcsik: ιγ′ P τρισδεκάτην edd. || 75 *ante* ἐν *adden-*

of Egypt; fourth, the emirate of Philistiem, or Rambleh; fifth, the emirate of Damascus; sixth, the emirate of Homs, or Emesa; seventh, the emirate of Aleppo; eighth, the emirate of Antioch; ninth, the emirate of Harran; tenth, the emirate of Emet; eleventh, the emirate of Esibe; twelfth, the emirate of Mosul; thirteenth, the emirate of Tikrit. But after Africa was torn away from the dominion of the commander of the faithful at Bagdad and had become self-governing and had proclaimed an emir of its own, then Persia was the first emirate, as it had been before, and Egypt became the second, and the rest thereafter in the order given above. But now, again, owing to the impotence of the commander of the faithful at Bagdad, the emir of Persia, or Chorasan, has become independent; and he has usurped the style of commander of the faithful, wearing the koran on tablets about his neck like a necklace. And he says he is *from* the family of Alim. Moreover the emir of Arabia Felix used always invariably to be beneath the dominion of the emir of Egypt. But he too has become independent, and he too has usurped the style of commander of the faithful; and he too says he is of the family of Alim.

## 26. The genealogy of the illustrious king Hugh.

The elder Lothair, king of Italy, grandfather of the illustrious king Hugh, was by descent of the family of the elder Charles, a man much celebrated in song and story and author of heroic deeds in war. This Charles was sole ruler over all the kingdoms, and reigned as emperor in great Francia. And in his days none of the other kings dared call himself a king, but all were his vassals; and he sent much money and abundant treasure to Palestine and built a very large number of monasteries. Well, this Lothair took his forces and marched against Rome and assaulted and got possession of it, and was crowned by the pope of that time. And when he was on his way back to his domain, that is, to Papia, he got as far as the city of Piacenza, thirty miles distant from Papia, and there he died; he begat a son called Adalbert, who took to wife the elder Bertha, and begat on her the aforesaid king Hugh. Now, after the death of the elder Lothair, Lewis, kinsman

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*dum* τοῦ *coni.* Bekker || ἀμηρὰν P || 75/6 ἀναγορευσάσης Meursius Ba Be: ἀναγορεύσασα P || 76 πρώτη edd.: α′ P || 77 δευτέρα edd.: β′ P || 79 ἀμηράς P || τοῦ Be: τὸ P || Χορασάν edd. || 80 ἀμερμουμνὴν P || 81 ἑαυτὸν *coni.* Moravcsik: αὑτὸν F edd. αὐτὸν P || ἐκ *add.* Moravcsik: ἀπὸ *add.* edd. || 82 ἀμηρὰς P || 83 ἀμηρὰ P || 84 ἀμερμουμνὴν P.

**26.** 1 ῥηγῶς P || 2 ῥὶξ P || 3 ῥιγὼς P || Καρούλλου P || 5 ὁ *om.* edd. || Κάρουλλος P || 6 ῥηγατῶν P || 7 ῥιγῶν P || ῥίγα P || 9 ἐν: ἐμ P || 13 Παπίαν edd. || 16 ῥήγα P || 17 μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || Λοδοΐκου: Λωθαρίου *coni.* Ohnsorge ||

26

ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης Φραγγίας ἐλθών, ἐκράτησεν τὴν Πάπιαν. Καὶ ἦν μὲν
54ᵛP ἄστεπτος. Ὕστερον δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Βερῶναν, εἰς τὸ κάστρον, τὸ ὂν | ἀπὸ ρκ'
μιλίων τῆς Παπίας, καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖσε, ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ οἱ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου, καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐτύφλωσαν. Καὶ τότε ἐκράτησεν
Βεριγγέριος, ὁ πάππος τοῦ νυνὶ Βεριγγέρη, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
ἐστέφθη. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδηλοποίησεν λαὸς πολὺς τῷ Ῥοδούλφῳ
εἰς Βεργώνιαν ὄντι, λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Ἐλθὲ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ παραδίδομέν σοι
116Be τὸ ῥηγᾶτον καὶ ἀποκτενοῦμεν τὸν Βεριγγέ|ριον.» Ὁ δὲ ἦλθεν ἀπὸ
Βεργώνιαν πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Παπίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἥμισυς λαὸς ἦν μετὰ
τοῦ Βεριγγέρη, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς μετὰ τοῦ Ῥοδούλφου. Καὶ πολεμήσαντες,
ἐνίκησεν ὁ Βεριγγέρης τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον, καὶ πάλιν πολεμήσαντες,
55ʳP ἐνίκη|σεν ὁ Ῥοδοῦλφος. Καὶ ἔφυγεν ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Βεριγγέρη, καὶ μόνος
καταλειφθεὶς ὁ Βεριγγέρης ἐποίησεν ἑαυτὸν ὡς τεθνεῶτα, καὶ ἔπεσεν
μέσον τῶν τεθνεώτων, σκεπάσας αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς δόρκας αὐτοῦ, τὸν
δὲ πόδα αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἔξω. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἷς ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῦ Ῥο-
δούλφου, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ μετὰ μεναύλου εἰς τὸν πόδα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ σύνολον
οὐκ ἐσαλεύθη· τοῦ δὲ μὴ σαλευθέντος, ἀφίησεν αὐτὸν ὡς δῆθεν νεκρὸν
ὄντα. Ἠγνόει δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ῥοδούλφου λαός, ὅτι ὁ Βεριγγέρης ἐστίν. Καὶ
παύσαντος τοῦ πολέμου, ἠγέρθη ὁ Βεριγγέρης καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ παλά-
τιον αὐτοῦ μόνος, καὶ πάλιν ἐκράτησεν τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ἐπολέμησεν
55ᵛP τὸν Ῥοδοῦλφον καὶ ἐνίκησεν αὐτόν. Μετὰ δὲ | τοῦτο συνεβιβάσθησαν
εἰς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐμερίσθησαν τὴν χώραν εἰς δύο· καὶ ὁ μὲν εἷς ἀνελά-
βετο τὸ ἓν μέρος τῆς χώρας, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τὸ ἕτερον. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ῥοδοῦλφος
ὑπὸ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τοῦ Βεριγγέρη. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον
ἀπὸ Βεργώνιαν τρεῖς μαρκήσιοι πρὸς Πάπιαν τοῦ ἐκδιῶξαι τοὺς κρατοῦν-
τας καὶ κρατῆσαι αὐτοί· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι· Οὔγων ὁ Ταλιαφέρνου καὶ
Βόζος καὶ Οὔγων, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Βόζου, ὁ προρρηθεὶς εὐγενέστατος
117Be ῥήξ. Ἦλθεν δὲ μετὰ λαοῦ ἱκανοῦ. Καὶ | μαθὼν ὁ Βεριγγέρης ἡτοιμάσθη,
καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς πόλεμον, καὶ παρακαθίσας
ἐστενοχώρησεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ λιμοῦ, καὶ ὥρισεν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ
56ʳP μὴ φονεύειν | τινά, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν κρατήσωσί τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν, κόπτωσιν
τὴν ῥῖνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δύο ὠτία καὶ ἀπολύωσιν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐποίουν. Θεασά-
μενοι οὖν τοῦτο αἱ προρρηθεῖσαι τρεῖς κεφαλαί, ἄραντες ἀνυπόδετοι
τὰ θεῖα εὐαγγέλια εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν, ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Βεριγγέρην,
αἰτούμενοι συγχώρησιν καὶ ὀμνύοντες τοῦ μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν ἐνθάδε μέχρι
τέλους ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε εἴασεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν.

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V 18 Παπίαν F edd. || 22 Βεριγγέρι V edd. || 25 ῥιγάτον P || 26 Παπίας V edd.: Πάπιας P || ἥμισυς Be: ἥμισυ P || 27 Βεριγγέρι Be || Ῥοδούλφου edd.: Ῥοδόλφου P || πολεμίσαντες P || 28 Βεριγγέρις Be || πρῶτον V edd.: α' P ||

of Lewis, came from great Francia and took possession of Papia. He was not crowned. And afterwards he came to Verona, a city 120 miles from Papia, and on his arrival there the folk of that same city rose up against him and seized and blinded him. Then the rule was seized by Berengar, grandfather of the present Berengar, and he entered Rome and was crowned. After this, a large body of the folk made a declaration to Rodolf, who was in Burgundy, saying: «Come here, and we will give the kingdom over to you and will kill Berengar.» So he came from Burgundy to the region of Papia, and one half of the folk sided with Berengar, and the rest with Rodolf. They fought and Berengar was victorious in the first battle, and they fought again and Rodolf gained the victory. And the army of Berengar fled, and Berengar, left alone by himself, made as though he were dead, and fell down among the dead and covered himself with his shield, but left his leg protruding. One of Rodolf's soldiers came up and stabbed him in the leg with a spear, but he never stirred a muscle; and when he did not stir, he let him alone, supposing him in truth to be a corpse. And the army of Rodolf did not know that he was Berengar. When the battle was over, Berengar got up and came to his palace alone, and again got possession of his throne and fought with Rodolf and gained the victory over him. Thereafter they came to terms with one another and divided the country in two; and one of them took one part of the country, and the other the other. But Rodolf was subject to the counsel and authority of Berengar. After this, again, three marquises came from Burgundy to Papia with intent to expel its possessors and possess it themselves; they were Hugh Tagliaferro, and Boso, and Boso's brother Hugh, the most noble king aforesaid. And he came with a large army. When Berengar heard of it, he made ready and advanced to meet him in battle, and began to blockade and to reduce them by hunger, and gave orders to his army not to kill any, but if they should take any of them prisoner, to cut off his nose and his two ears and let him go; and so they did. When they saw this, the three chiefs aforesaid took the holy gospels in their hands and came barefoot to Berengar and begged his pardon and swore that they would never more come there so long as he should live; and then he let them depart to their

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πολεμίσαντες P || 29 Ῥοδοῦλφος V edd.: Ῥουδοῦλφος P || Βεριγγέρι Be || 30 Βεριγγέρις Be || 31 αὐτὸν V edd.: αὑτὸν P || δόρκας *scr.* Moravcsik: δορκὰς P δορκᾶς edd. || αὐτοῦ (*etiam* Bandurius): αὑτοῦ edd. || 32 αὑτοῦ edd. || 32/3 Ῥοδούλφου $P^y$: Ῥοδοῦλφου P V || 34 ἀφίησιν V edd. || 35 Ῥοδούλφου $P^y$: Ῥοδοῦλφου P V || Βεριγγέρις Be || 36 Βεριγγέρις Be || 37 ἐπολέμισεν P || 41 Βεριγγέρι Be || 42 Βεργώνια edd. || μαρκέσιοι Meursius || Παπίαν F edd. || 44 Βόζος *mg.* $P^s$: Βόζον P Βόζων V edd. || Οὔγων V edd. Οὔγον P || 45 ῥίξ P || Βεριγγέρις Be || 47 ὅρισεν P || τοῦ *om.* edd. || 49 ῥῖνα Be: ῥίναν P || ἀπολύωσιν edd.: ἀπολύουσιν P || 51 Βεριγγέριν P ||

Ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Βεριγγέρη ἀπελθόντος εἰς Βερῶναν, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν Φαλεμβέρτος, ὁ σύντεκνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε ἐκράτησεν ὅλον τὸ ῥηγᾶτον 56vP ὁ Ῥοδοῦλφος. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐμήνυσεν ὁ λαὸς τῆς χώρας ὅλης | εἰς Βεργώνιαν τῷ Οὔγωνι, τῷ προρρηθέντι ῥηγί, λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Ἐλθέ, καὶ παραδίδομέν σοι τὴν χώραν.» Καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν ὁ λαός, καὶ ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ παλάτιον, καὶ ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτὸν ῥῆγα. Τὸν δὲ Ῥοδοῦλφον εἶπον, ὅτι· «Ἄπελθε μετὰ τοῦ πλούτου σου, θέλῃς, εἰς τὴν χώραν σου, θέλῃς, ἀλλαχοῦ.» Ὁ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Βεργώνιαν, εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατεῖχεν ἐκεῖσε λαὸν ἱκανόν. Καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθεν Οὔγων, ὁ προρρηθεὶς ῥήξ, εἰς Βεργώνιαν, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ῥοδούλφου, ἥτις καὶ Βέρτα ὠνομάζετο, ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα. 118Be Τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα αὐτῆς, ὀνόματι Ἀδέλεσαν, δέ|δωκεν Λωθαρίῳ, τῷ 57rP υἱῷ αὐ|τοῦ, τῷ νυνὶ ὄντι Ἰταλίας ῥηγί. Ἡ δὲ ἀνελθοῦσα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ συναφθεῖσα Ῥωμανῷ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ, υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ἤτοι ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιβλέπτου ῥηγὸς Οὔγωνος, ἡ ὠνομάζετο Βέρτα κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μάμμης αὐτῆς, ἤγουν τῆς μεγάλης Βέρτας, ἥτις μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ Ἀδελβέρτου, ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη * * *, μετωνομάσθη δὲ Εὐδοκία κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς τε μάμμης καὶ ἀδελφῆς Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου.

## 27. Περὶ τοῦ θέματος Λαγουβαρδίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πριγκιπάτων καὶ ἀρχοντιῶν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις κατεκρατεῖτο ἡ πᾶσα ἐξουσία 57vP Ἰταλίας, ἥ τε Νεά|πολις καὶ Κάπυα καὶ ἡ Βενεβενδός, τό τε Σαλερινὸν καὶ ἡ Ἀμάλφη καὶ Γαῖτὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Λαγουβαρδία παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, δηλονότι βασιλευομένης τῆς Ῥώμης. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀνελθεῖν τὸ βασίλειον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διεμερίσθησαν ταῦτα πάντα εἰς ἀρχὰς δύο, ἐξ οὗ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀπεστέλλοντο πατρίκιοι δύο· καὶ ὁ μὲν εἷς πατρίκιος ἐκράτει τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Καλαβρίαν καὶ τὴν Νεάπολιν καὶ Ἀμάλφην, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πατρίκιος ἐκαθέζετο εἰς Βενεβενδόν, καὶ ἐκράτει τὴν Πάπιαν καὶ τὴν Κάπυαν καὶ 58rP τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα. Καὶ ἐτέλουν κατ' ἔτος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ νενομισμένα | τῷ

*F* 66 Ἡ δὲ — 72 δεσπότου: cf. Georg. Mon. (cont.), ed. Bonn. p. 917, 11—18; Georg. Mon. (cont.), ed. Istrin II. p. 62, 15—21; Theoph. Cont., ed. Bonn. p. 431, 11—19.

*V* 54 Βεριγγέρι Be || Βερώναν P || 55 Φαλαμβέρτος V *mg.* P[8] Φαλάμβερτος edd. || ῥιγάτον P || 56 ὁ[1] *om.* edd. || 57 Βεργωνίαν edd. || ῥιγί P || 58 ἐπεῖρεν P: ἐπῆρον Be ἐπῆραν Migne || 59 ἀπεκατέστησαν Be || ῥίγα P || 61 Βεργώνειαν P:

own country. But afterwards, when Berengar had gone to Verona, he was slain by Flambert, whose child he had held at the font, and then Rodolf became possessed of the whole kingdom. And after that the folk of the whole country sent a message to Burgundy, to the aforesaid king Hugh, saying: «Come, and we will give the country over to you.» And when he came, the folk raised him up, and brought him away to the palace and made him king again. But to Rodolf they said: «Depart with your treasure, either to your country or elsewhere, as you will.» So he went off to Burgundy, to his country, and there ruled over a large folk. And when he died, the aforesaid king Hugh went off to Burgundy and took to wife the widow of Rodolf, who was also called Bertha. And her daughter, Adelesa by name, he gave to Lothair his son, who is now king of Italy. Now, she who came up to Constantinople and was joined in marriage to Romanus, the son born in the purple of Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign, *was* the daughter of the same illustrious king Hugh, and she was called Bertha after the name of her grandmother, I mean the elder Bertha, who after the death of Adalbert her husband reigned *ten* years; but she, *the young Bertha*, changed her name to Eudocia, after that of the grandmother and sister of Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign.

## 27. Of the province of Lombardy and of the principalities and governorships therein.

In ancient times the whole domain of Italy, both Naples and Capua and Beneventum, Salerno and Amalfi and Gaëta and all of Lombardy, was in the possession of the Romans, I mean, when Rome was the imperial capital. But after the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, all these territories were divided into two governments, and therefore two patricians used to be dispatched by the emperor in Constantinople; one patrician would govern Sicily and Calabria and Naples and Amalfi, and the other, with his seat at Beneventum, would govern Papia and Capua and all the rest. They used to remit annually to the emperor the sums due to the treasury.

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Βεργωνίαν edd. || 63 ῥίξ P || Βεργωνίαν edd. || 64 Ῥοδούλφου Py Ῥοδοῦλφου P V || ὀνομάζετο P || 65 θυγατέρα edd.: θυγατέραν P || 66 ῥιγί P || 68 ἤτοι: ἦτον *coni.* Bekker ἦτο *coni.* Jenkins εἶτουν *coni.* Kukules || 69 ῥιγὸς P || ὀνομάζετο P || 70 ἤγουν *om.* V edd. || 71 *post* ἔτη *lac.* 4 *litt. ind.* P *lac ind.* edd. αὐτῆς *** ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ⟨πέντε⟩ *vel* αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ⟨δέκα⟩ *coni.* Jenkins || μετονομάσθη P || 72 μάμης P.

**27.** 1 Λογουβαρδίας edd. || 2 πριγκηπάτων P || 4 *ante* Ἰταλίας *add.* τῆς edd. || Κάπυα *scr.* Moravcsik: Καπύα P Καπύη V edd. || Σαλερινὸν Be: Σαλερῆνον P || 5 Γαϊτὴ Ba Be: Γαϊπῆ P Γαΐτη *sive* Γαιήτη Meursius || Λογουβαρδία edd. || 6 βασιλευομένων Me Ba || 10 Καλαυρίαν P || Ἀμάλφην Be: Ἀμαλφὴν P || 11 Παπίαν edd. ||

**27**

119Be δημοσίῳ. Αὗται δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ προρρηθεῖσαι χῶραι κατῳ|κοῦντο παρὰ
τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς Εἰρήνης τῆς βασιλίδος ἀποσταλεὶς
ὁ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς ἐκράτει τὴν Βενεβενδὸν καὶ τὴν Πάπιαν· καὶ Ζαχα-
ρίας, ὁ πάπας Ἀθηναῖος, ἐκράτει τὴν Ῥώμην. Συνέβη δὲ πολέμους
γενέσθαι εἰς τὰ τῆς Παπίας μέρη, καὶ ἐξωδίασεν ὁ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς
εἰς τὸν στρατὸν τὰ εἰσκομιζόμενα πάκτα τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεστάλη
ἡ κατὰ τύπον εἰσκομιδὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς ἀντεμήνυσεν, ὅτι·
«Ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι μᾶλλον ἐλπίζω ἀποσταλῆναί μοι χρήματα, ἐπειδὴ
58vP πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὧδε εἰσκομιζομένην εἰσκο|μιδὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀνακύψαντας
πολέμους κατηνάλωσα, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ὧδε ἐπιζητεῖτε εἰσκομι-
δάς.» Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ βασίλισσα Εἰρήνη καὶ ὀργισθεῖσα, ἀπέστειλεν
αὐτῷ ἄτρακτον καὶ ἠλακάτην, γράψασα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι· «Λάβε ταῦτα,
ἃ καὶ ἁρμόζει σοι· νήθειν σε γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκρίναμεν δίκαιον, ἢ μετὰ
ὅπλων ὡς ἄνδρα διεκδικεῖν καὶ διευθύνειν καὶ ὑπερπολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίων.»
Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς ἀντέγραψε πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδα, ὅτι·
«Ἐπεὶ οὕτως παρ' ὑμῖν ἐνομίσθην νήθειν καὶ κλώθειν, καθάπερ γυνή,
59rP κλῶσαι ἔχω νήματα μετὰ τῆς ἀτράκτου καὶ ἠλακάτης, ἵνα, μέχρις ἂν |ζῶ-
σιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, μὴ δυνηθῶσιν ἐξυφᾶναι ταῦτα.» Οἱ δὲ Λαγούβαρδοι τῷ
τότε καιρῷ κατῴκουν εἰς Παννονίαν, ἔνθα ἀρτίως οἰκοῦσιν οἱ Τοῦρκοι.
Καὶ ἀποστείλας ὁ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀπώρας παντοίας,
120Be ἐδηλοποίησεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι· «Δεῦτε ἐνταῦθα καὶ θεάσασθε | γῆν ῥέουσαν
κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον μέλι καὶ γάλα, ἧς, ὡς οἶμαι, ὁ Θεὸς κρείττονα οὐκ
ἔχει· καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἀρεστόν, κατοικήσατε ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅπως εἰς αἰῶνας
αἰώνων μακαρίζητέ με». Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λαγούβαρδοι καὶ
πεισθέντες, ἀναλαβόμενοι τὰς φαμιλίας αὐτῶν, ἦλθον εἰς Βενεβενδόν.
59vP Οἱ δὲ τοῦ κάστρου Βενεβενδοῦ οὐκ εἴασαν αὐτοὺς | ἔνδον τοῦ κάστρου
εἰσελθεῖν, ᾤκησαν δὲ ἔξωθεν τοῦ κάστρου πλησίον τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὸν
ποταμόν, οἰκοδομήσαντες ἐκεῖσε κάστρον μικρόν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὀνομάζεται
Τζιβιτανόβα, τουτέστιν νεόκαστρον, ὃ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον συνίσταται.
Εἰσήρχοντο δὲ καὶ ἔνδοθεν τοῦ κάστρου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ διὰ
μηχανῆς κυριεύσαντες τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ κάστρου Βενεβενδοῦ, ἀνεῖλον
πάντας καὶ κατέσχον τὸ κάστρον. Ἔσωθεν γὰρ τῶν ῥάβδων αὐτῶν
σπαθία βαστάζοντες καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπότροπον ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ
αὐτὸ μάχην, πάντας, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀπέκτειναν. Καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐκστρατεύσαν-

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*F* 33 γῆν — 34 γάλα: Exod. 3, 8; Lev. 20, 24; Num. 13, 28; Deut. 6, 3 etc.; cf. Theoph. cont. p. 74, 21—22.

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*V* 13 κατῳκοῦντο Ba Be: κατοικοῦντο P || 15 Ναρσῆς edd.: Νάρσης P || Πάπιαν *scr.* Moravcsik: Παπίαν P edd. || 17 ἐξοδίασεν P || 19 *post* παρ' αὐτοῦ *lac. ind.* Kyriakides || 20 μοι ἀποσταλῆναι edd. || 22 ἐπιζητεῖτε: ζητεῖτε F Be ||

## 27

All these countries aforesaid used to be inhabited by the Romans. But in the time of the empress Irene the patrician Narses was sent out and was governing Beneventum and Papia; and pope Zacharias, the Athenian, was governing Rome. It happened that fighting had been going on in the region of Papia, and the patrician Narses had expended on the army the tribute collected for the treasury, and the regular revenue was not remitted by him. Narses sent back a reply, saying: «I expect, rather, that money should be sent to me from your side, since I have exhausted all the revenues incoming from here upon the fighting that has broken out; but, on the contrary, it is you who are demanding revenues from here.» When the empress Irene heard this she was angry and sent him a spindle and distaff, and wrote to him: «Take these, your proper instruments; for we have judged it fit that you should spin, rather than that as a man at arms you should defend and guide and do battle for the Romans.» On hearing this the patrician Narses wrote in reply to the empress: «Since I am thus judged by you fit to spin and twist like a woman, I will twist you hanks with spindle and distaff such as the Romans shall never be able to unravel so long as they endure». Now, at that time the Lombards were dwelling in Pannonia, where now the Turks live. And the patrician Narses sent to them fruits of all kinds and made them this declaration: «Come hither and behold a land flowing with honey and milk, as the saying is, which, I think, God has none to surpass; and if it please you, settle in it, that you may call me blessed for the ages of ages.» The Lombards heard and obeyed and took their families and came to Beneventum. The inhabitants of the city of Beneventum did not allow them to come inside the city, and they settled outside the city, near the wall and by the river, where they built a small city, which for that reason is called Civita Nova, that is, New City, and it stands to this day. But they began to come inside the city also and into the church, and having by a stratagem gained the upper hand of the inhabitants of the city of Beneventum, they made away with them all and took possession of the city. For they carried swords inside their staves, and in the church they wheeled round and attacked all together and, as has been said, killed everyone. And thereafter they marched out and sub-

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28 ἐνομίσθην Be: ἐνομίσθη P || 30 ταῦτα P[2] V edd.: τοῦτα P || Λογουβάρδοι edd. || 31 κατῴκουν edd.: κατοίκουν P || Πανωνείαν P Πανωνίαν V edd. || Τούρκοι P || 34 ἧς ὡς (*littera* ἧ *in ras. scripta et* ο *in* ω *correcta*) P[1] V edd.: ισος (?) P || 35 ὑμῖν F Ba Be: ἡμῖν P || 35/6 αἰῶνα αἰῶνος V edd. || 36 μακαρίζητέ *coni.* Bekker: μακαρίζεταί P μακαρίζετέ F Ba Be || Λογούβαρδοι edd. || 40 οὗ V edd.: ο[ὗ] P || 41 Τζιβιτανόβα: Τζιτανόβα V Τζιτὰ νόβα F Me || 43 κυριεύσαντες V edd.: κυριεύσαντ[ες] P || 44 κατέσχον Ba Be: κατέχουν P || *ante* τῶν *add.* διὰ edd. || 45 ὑπὸ τρόπον P || ποιήσαντες V edd.: πο[ι]ήσαντες P || 46 ἔκτοτε V edd.: ἔκτοτ[ε] P ||

60rP τες πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ὑπέταξαν τοῦ τε θέματος Λαγου|βαρδίας
καὶ Καλαβρίας καὶ ἕως Παπίας ἄνευ τῆς Ὑδρεντοῦ καὶ Καλλιπόλεως
καὶ τοῦ Ῥουσιάνου καὶ τῆς Νεαπόλεως καὶ τῆς Γαϊτῆς καὶ Συρεντοῦ
καὶ Ἀμάλφης. Πρῶτον δὲ κάστρον ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχαῖον καὶ μέγα ἡ Κάπυα,
δεύτερον ἡ Νεάπολις, τρίτον ἡ Βενεβενδός, τέταρτον ἡ Γαϊτή, πέμπτον
ἡ Ἀμάλφη. Τὸ δὲ Σαλερινὸν ᾠκίσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ Σικάρδου, ὅτε διεμέρισαν
οἱ Λαγούβαρδοι τὰ πριγκιπᾶτα. Εἰσὶ δὲ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἐστὶν
121Be ἰνδικτιὼν ζ', ἔτη ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ͵ςυνζ', ἀφ' | οὗ ἐμερίσθη ἡ Λαγου-
βαρδία, ἔτη σ'. Ὑπῆρχον δὲ ἀδελφοὶ δύο, ὁ Σίκων καὶ ὁ Σίκαρδος. Καὶ
ὁ μὲν Σίκων ἐκράτησε τὴν Βενεβενδὸν καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Βάρεως καὶ τῆς
60vP Σιπενδοῦ, ὁ δὲ Σί|καρδος τὸ Σαλερινὸν καὶ τὴν Κάπυαν καὶ τὰ μέρη
τῆς Καλαβρίας. Ἡ δὲ Νεάπολις ἦν ἀρχαῖον πραιτώριον τῶν κατερχομέ-
νων πατρικίων, καὶ ὁ κρατῶν τὴν Νεάπολιν κατεῖχεν καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν,
καὶ ἡνίκα κατέλαβεν ὁ πατρίκιος ἐν Νεαπόλει, ἀπήρχετο ὁ δοὺξ Νεαπό-
λεως ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Ἡ δὲ Κάπυα ἦν πόλις ὑπερμεγέθης, καὶ ἑάλω ὑπὸ
τῶν Οὐανδήλων, ἤτοι τῶν Ἀφρικῶν, καὶ κατέλυσαν αὐτήν. Ἐρημοκά-
στρου δὲ οὔσης, ᾤκουν ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ Λαγούβαρδοι. Καὶ πάλιν τῶν Ἀφρικῶν
ἐπερχομένων κατ' αὐτῶν, ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Λανδοῦλφος κάστρον
61rP εἰς τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὸ | Κάπυαν νέαν,
τὴν καὶ νῦν οὖσαν. Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐκτίσθη ἡ αὐτὴ Κάπυα, εἰσὶν ἔτη ογ'.
Ἡ δὲ Νεάπολις καὶ ἡ Ἀμάλφη καὶ ἡ Συρεντὸς ὑπῆρχον ἀεὶ ὑπὸ τὸν
βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι μαστρομίλης ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ʻκατεπάνω τοῦ στρατοῦʼ.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ περᾶσαι τοὺς Βενετίκους καὶ οἰκῆσαι εἰς τὰ νησία, εἰς ἃ νῦν οἰκοῦσιν, ἐκαλοῦντο Ἑνετικοί, καὶ κατῴκουν εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ κάστρα· κάστρον Κόγκορδα, κάστρον Ἰουστινιάνα, κάστρον τοῦ Νούνου καὶ ἕτερα πλεῖστα κάστρα.

122Be Ἰστέον, ὅτι περασάντων τῶν νῦν καλουμένων Βενετίκων, πρῶτον
61vP δὲ Ἑνετικῶν, ἔκτισαν ἐν πρώτοις κάστρον ὀχυρόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ σή|μερον
καθέζεται ὁ δοὺξ Βενετίας, ἔχον κυκλόθεν θάλασσαν ὡσεὶ μιλίων ἕξ,
εἰς ἣν καὶ εἰσέρχονται ποταμοὶ κζ'. Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ νῆσοι κατὰ
ἀνατολὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου. Ἔκτισαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς νήσοις οἱ
νῦν Βενέτικοι καλούμενοι κάστρα· κάστρον Κογράδον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μητρό-

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*F* 69 Ἰστέον — 70 στρατοῦ: cf. De cerim., ed. Bonn. scholion ad p. 690, 23.

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*V* 47 Λογουβαρδίας edd. || 51 δεύτερον Moravcsik: β' P δευτέρα edd. || τρίτον Moravcsik: γ' P τρίτη edd. || τέταρτον Moravcsik: δ' P τετάρτη edd. ||

dued all that land, both the province of Lombardy and Calabria and as far as Papia, except for Otranto and Gallipoli and Rossano and Naples and Gaëta and Sorrento and Amalfi. The first city, ancient and mighty, was Capua, the second, Naples, the third, Beneventum, the fourth, Gaëta, the fifth, Amalfi. Salerno was settled in the time of Sicardus, when the Lombards divided the principalities. From the division of Lombardy until to-day, the 7th indiction, the year 6457 from the creation of the world, it is 200 years. There were two brothers, Sicon and Sicardus. Sicon governed Beneventum and the districts of Bari and Sipontum, and Sicardus governed Salerno and Capua and the district of Calabria. Naples was anciently the praetorium of the patricians who came out, and the governor of Naples had Sicily beneath him as well, and when the patrician arrived in Naples, the duke of Naples would go off to Sicily. Capua was a very large city indeed, and was captured by the Vandals, or Africans, who demolished it. When it was lying a deserted city, the Lombards settled in it. When the Africans came against them once more, bishop Landulf built a city at the bridge over the river and called it New Capua, and it still survives. From the foundation of this Capua, it is 73 years. Naples and Amalfi and Sorrento have always been subject to the emperor of the Romans.

'Mastromilis' means in the Roman tongue captain-general of the army.

Before the Venetians crossed over and settled in the islands in which they live now, they were called Enetikoi, and used to dwell on the mainland in these cities: the city of Concordia, the city of Justiniana, the city of Nonum and very many other cities.

When those who are now called Venetians, but were originally called Enetikoi, crossed over, they began by constructing a strongly fortified city, in which the doge of Venice still has his seat to-day, a city surrounded by some six miles of sea, into which 27 rivers also debouch. There are other islands also to the east of this same city. And upon these same islands also they who are now called Venetians built cities: the city of Cogradon, in

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Γαϊτή Ba Be: Γαΐτης P || πέμπτον Moravcsik: ε' P πέμπτη edd. || 53 Λογούβαρδοι edd. || πριγκηπάτα P || 54 ζ': ἑβδόμη edd. || 54/5 Λογουβαρδία edd. || 55 σ': ρ' *coni.* Bury || 61 Καπύη *mg.* V² || 62 'Αφρίκων P || 63 οἱ *om.* edd. || Λογούβαρδοι edd. || 63/4 τῶν 'Αφρικῶν ἐπερχομένων Meursius Ba Be: τὴν 'Αφρικὴν ἐπερχομένην (*ultima littera* η *in ras. scripta*) P¹ V || 65 ἐπονόμασεν P || 65/6 Κάπυαν νέαν τὴν *coni.* Be: Κάπυαν νέαν *coni.* Bandurius Καπαντὴν P Καπάντην F *mg.* V² || 67 'Αμαλφή *mg.* V² || 69 μαστρομήλης P || 72 Ἑνετικοί Meursius Ba Be: Αἰτίκιοι P || 73 αὐτὰ: ταῦτα *coni.* Bekker || Κόνκορδα P Κονκόρδια *mg.* V² || 76 Ἑνετικῶν Meursius Ba Be: Αἰτικίων P || ἔκτισαν Meursius Ba Be: ἔκτησεν P || ἐν¹: ἐμ P || 77 κυκλῶθεν P: κύκλωθεν edd. || 78 εἰς ἣν] *litteras* ς *et* η *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 79 κάστρου *om.* edd. || 80 Βενετίκοι P || Κογράδον (*etiam* V): Γράδον V² *mg.* V² κ' (= κάστρον) Γράδον *coni.* Skok || 80/1 μητρόπολις: ἀκρόπολις *coni.* Meursius ||

πολις ἔστιν μεγάλη καὶ πολλὰ λείψανα ἁγίων ἐν ταύτῃ ἀπόκεινται· κάστρον Ῥιβαλενσῆς, κάστρον Λουλιανόν, κάστρον Ἄψανον, κάστρον Ῥωματινά, κάστρον Λικεντζία, κάστρον Πίνεται, ὅπερ λέγεται Στρόβιλος, κάστρον Βινίολα, κάστρον Βόες, ἐν ᾧ ὑπάρχει ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, κάστρον Ἠλιτούαλβα, κάστρον Λιτουμαγκέρσης,
62rP |κάστρον Βρόνιον, κάστρον Μαδαῦκον, κάστρον Ἡβόλα, κάστρον Πριστῆναι, κάστρον Κλουγία, κάστρον Βροῦνδον, κάστρον Φοσαῶν, κάστρον Λαυριτῶν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι εἰσὶ καὶ ἕτεραι νῆσοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ Βενετίας.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ στερεᾷ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπάρχουσι κάστρα τῶν Βενετίκων, ἅτινά εἰσιν ταῦτα· κάστρον Κάπρε, κάστρον Νεόκαστρον, κάστρον Φινές, κάστρον Αἴκυλον, κάστρον Ἀειμάνας, ἐμπόριον μέγα τὸ Τορτζελῶν, κάστρον Μουράν, κάστρον Ῥίβαλτον, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'τόπος ὑψηλότατος', ἐν ᾧ καθέζεται ὁ δοὺξ Βενετίας, κάστρον Καβερτζέντζης.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ ἐμπόρια εἰσὶ καὶ καστέλλια.

## 123Be 28. Διήγησις, πῶς κατῳκίσθη ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Βενετία.

62vP Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Βενετία τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἦν τόπος ἔρημός τις ἀοίκητος καὶ βαλτώδης. Οἱ δὲ νῦν καλούμενοι Βενέτικοι ὑπῆρχον Φράγγοι ἀπὸ Ἀκουϊλεγίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων τόπων τῆς Φραγγίας, καὶ κατῴκουν εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν ἄντικρυ τῆς Βενετίας. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀττίλα, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀβάρων, ἐλθόντος καὶ πάσας τὰς Φραγγίας καταληϊσαμένου καὶ ἀφανίσαντος, ἤρξαντο φεύγειν μὲν πάντες οἱ Φράγγοι ἀπὸ Ἀκουϊλεγίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων τῆς Φραγγίας κάστρων, ἔρχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀοικήτους νήσους τῆς Βενετίας καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκεῖσε καλύβια διὰ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττίλα φόβον. Αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττίλα ληϊσαμένου
63rP πᾶ|σαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ξηρᾶς καὶ μέχρι Ῥώμης καὶ Καλαβρίας ἐλθόντος καὶ τὴν Βενετίαν μακρόθεν καταλιπόντος, ἄδειαν εὑρόντες οἱ προσπεφευγότες ἐν ταῖς νήσοις τῆς Βενετίας καὶ οἷον τὴν δειλίαν ἀποσεισάμενοι, ἅπαντες ἐβουλεύσαντο τοῦ κατοικῆσαι ἐκεῖσε, ὅπερ καὶ ἐποίησαν, κατοικήσαντες ἐκεῖσε μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸν Ἀττίλαν, μετὰ χρόνους πολλοὺς παρεγένετο πάλιν Πιπῖνος ὁ ῥήξ, ὃς ἦρχε τότε τῆς τε Παπίας καὶ ἑτέρων ῥηγάτων. Εἶχεν γὰρ οὗτος ὁ Πιπῖνος

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*V* 82 Ῥιβαλενσῆς V edd. Ῥιβαλένσης *mg.* V² ‖ 83 Ῥωμαντινά *mg.* P⁸ ‖ Λικέντζιά *mg.* V² ‖ 85 Ἠλιτουάλβα edd. ‖ Λιτουμανκέρσης P *mg.* P⁸: Λιτουμανκέρσες edd. ‖ 86 Μαδαῦκος *mg.* P⁸ Μαδοῦκον *mg.* V² ‖ 86/7 Πριστῆνα

which is a great metropolitan church with many relics of saints laid up in it; the city of Rivalensis, the city of Lulianon, the city of Apsanon, the city of Romatina, the city of Licenzia, the city of Pinetai, which is called Strobilos, the city of Biniola, the city of Boes, in which is a church of the holy apostle Peter, the city of Ilitoualba, the city of Litoumangersis, the city of Bronion, the city of Madaucon, the city of Ebola, the city of Pristinai, the city of Clugia, the city of Brundon, the city of Phosaon, the city of Lauriton.

There are other islands also in the same country of Venice.

On the mainland, also, in the land of Italy, there are cities of the Venetians, as follows: the city of Capre, the city of Neokastron, the city of Phines, the city of Aikylon, the city of Aeimanas, the great trading station of Torcello, the city of Mouran, the city of Rivalto, which means 'highest point', where the doge of Venice has his seat; the city of Caverzenzis.

There are also trading stations and forts.

## 28. Story of the settlement of what is now called Venice.

Of old, Venice was a desert place, uninhabited and swampy. Those who are now called Venetians were Franks from Aquileia and from the other places in Francia, and they used to dwell on the mainland opposite Venice. But when Attila, the king of the Avars, came and utterly devastated and depopulated all the parts of Francia, all the Franks from Aquileia and from the other cities of Francia began to take to flight, and to go to the uninhabited islands of Venice and to built huts there, out of their dread of king Attila. Now when this king Attila had devastated all the country of the mainland and had advanced as far as Rome and Calabria and had left Venice far behind, those who had fled for refuge to the islands of Venice, having obtained a breathing-space and, as it were, shaken off their faintness of heart, took counsel jointly to settle there, which they did, and have been settled there till this day. But again, many years after the withdrawal of Attila, king Pippin arrived, who at that time was ruling over

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edd. || 87 Βροῦδον V Βρουνδουλον (*sine acc.*) *mg.* V² || 88 Λαύριτον *mg.* V² || 89 καὶ εἰσὶν edd. || αὐτῇ *corr.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. || Βενετίᾳ *coni.* Kukules || 92 Ἄκουλον *mg.* P³ || 93 ἐμπορίον P || τὸ *om.* edd. || Ῥίβαλτον *mg.* V²: Ῥιβαντόν P V Ῥίβαντον Ba Be || 96 ἐμπορία P.

28. 5 Ἀκουηλεγίας P || 6 ἀντικρὺ edd. || Ἀτίλα P || 8 Ἀκουηλεγίας P || 10 ἀοικήτους V edd.: ἀοίκους P || 11 Ἀτίλα P || Ἀτίλα P || 14 ἀποσεισάμενοι] *litteras* ει *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 17 Ἀτίλαν P || πάλιν παρεγένετο edd. ||

## 28

ἀδελφοὺς τρεῖς, οἵτινες ἦρχον πασῶν τῶν Φραγγιῶν καὶ Σκλαβηνιῶν.
124Be Τοῦ δὲ ῥηγὸς | Πιπίνου ἐλθόντος κατὰ τῶν Βενετίκων μετὰ δυνάμεως
63ᵛP | καὶ λαοῦ πολλοῦ, παρεκάθισεν διὰ τῆς ξηρᾶς ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ περάματος
τῶν νήσων τῆς Βενετίας εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Ἀειβόλας. Οἱ οὖν Βενέτικοι
ἰδόντες τὸν ῥῆγα Πιπῖνον μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπερχό-
μενον καὶ μέλλοντα μετὰ τῶν ἵππων ἀποπλεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν νῆσον τοῦ
Μαδαμαύκου (ἔστιν γὰρ αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλησίον τῆς ξηρᾶς), βαλόντες
κερατάρια, ἅπαν τὸ πέραμα ἐναπέφραξαν. Εἰς ἀμηχανίαν οὖν ἐλθὼν ὁ
τοῦ ῥηγὸς Πιπίνου λαὸς (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν αὐτοὺς ἀλλαχοῦ περᾶσαι),
παρεκάθισαν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς ξηρᾶς μῆνας ἕξ, πολεμοῦντες καθ᾽ ἑκάστην
64ʳP ἡμέραν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. Καὶ | οἱ μὲν Βενέτικοι εἰσήρχοντο εἰς τὰ πλοῖα
αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵσταντο ὄπισθεν τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ῥιφέντων κεραταρίων,
ὁ δὲ ῥὴξ Πιπῖνος ἵστατο μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ. Καὶ οἱ
μὲν Βενέτικοι μετὰ τοξείας καὶ ῥιπταρίων ἐπολέμουν, μὴ ἐῶντες αὐτοὺς
πρὸς τὴν νῆσον διαπεράσαι. Ἀπορήσας οὖν ὁ ῥὴξ Πιπῖνος, εἶπεν πρὸς
τοὺς Βενετίκους, ὅτι· «Ὑπὸ τὴν ἐμὴν χεῖρα καὶ πρόνοιαν γίνεσθε, ἐπειδὴ
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χώρας καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐστέ». Οἱ δὲ Βενέτικοι ἀντέλεγον
αὐτῷ, ὅτι· «Ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι θέλομεν εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ
οὐχὶ σοῦ.» Ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ βιασθέντες οἱ Βενέτικοι ἀπὸ τῆς γεγονυίας
64ᵛP ὀχλήσεως πρὸς αὐτούς, | ἐποιήσαντο εἰρηνικὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα
Πιπῖνον τοῦ παρέχειν αὐτῷ πλεῖστα πάκτα. Ἔκτοτε δὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον
125Be χρόνον ἠλαττοῦτο τὸ πάκτον, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον δια|σώζεται.
Τελοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Βενέτικοι τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ ῥηγᾶτον Ἰταλίας, ἤτοι Παπίας,
διβάρια ἀσήμιν λίτρας λϛ´ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον χρόνον. Καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ
ἔπαυσεν ὁ μεταξὺ Φράγγων καὶ Βενετίκων πόλεμος. Ὅτε δὲ ἤρξατο
ἀποφεύγειν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Βενετίαν καὶ ἀποσυνάγεσθαι, ὥστε πολλοὺς
γίνεσθαι, ἀνηγόρευσαν ἑαυτοὺς δοῦκα τὸν εὐγενείᾳ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντα.
Ἐγεγόνει δὲ ὁ πρῶτος δοὺξ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πρὶν ἢ ἐλθεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ ῥὴξ
65ʳP Πιπῖ|νος. Ἦν δὲ τῷ τότε καιρῷ τὸ δουκᾶτον εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Τζιβιτά-
νουβα, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται ʽνεόκαστρονʼ. Διὰ δὲ τὸ εἶναι τὸ προειρημένον
νησίον πλησίον τῆς ξηρᾶς κοινῇ βουλῇ μετέθηκαν τὸ δουκᾶτον εἰς ἕτερον
νησίον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν σήμερον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι μήκοθεν τῆς ξηρᾶς,
ὅσον βλέπει τις ἄνδρα ἵππῳ ἐφεζόμενον.

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*V* ῥίξ P ‖ 19 Φραγγιῶν P V edd.: Φραγγῶν (*littera* ι *erasa*) Pʸ ‖ Σκλαβινίων P ‖ 20 ῥιγὸς P ‖ δυνάμεως V edd.: δυνάμεω[ς] P ‖ 22 νησσῶν P ‖ Ἀείβολας *mg.* V² ‖ 23 ῥίγα P ‖ 27 ῥιγὸς P ‖ 33 ῥίξ P ‖ 36 θέλομεν V edd.:

28

Papia and other kingdoms. For this Pippin had three brothers, and they were ruling over all the Frank and Slavonic regions. Now when king Pippin came against the Venetians with power and a large army, he blockaded them along the mainland, on the far side of the crossing between it and the islands of Venice, at a place called Aeibolas. Well, when the Venetians saw king Pippin coming against them with his power and preparing to take ship with the horses to the island of Madamaucon (for this is an island near the mainland), they laid down spars and fenced off the whole crossing. The army of king Pippin, being brought to a stand (for it was not possible for them to cross at any other point), blockaded them along the mainland six months, fighting with them daily. The Venetians would man their ships and take up position behind the spars they had laid down, and king Pippin would take up position with his army along the shore. The Venetians assailed them with arrows and javelins, and stopped them from crossing over to the island. So then king Pippin, at a loss, said to the Venetians: «You are beneath my hand and my providence, since you are of my country and domain.» But the Venetians answered him: «We want to be servants of the emperor of the Romans, and not of you.» When, however, they had for long been straitened by the trouble that had come upon them, the Venetians made a treaty of peace with king Pippin, agreeing to pay him a very considerable tribute. But since that time the tribute has gone on diminishing year by year, though it is paid even to this day. For the Venetians pay to him who rules over the kingdom of Italy, that is, Papia, a twopenny fee of 36 pounds of uncoined silver annually. So ended the war between Franks and Venetians. When the folk began to flee away to Venice and to collect there in numbers, they proclaimed as their doge him who surpassed the rest in nobility. The first doge among them had been appointed before king Pippin came against them. At that time the doge's residence was at a place called Civitanova, which means 'new city'. But because this island aforesaid is close to the mainland, by common consent they moved the doge's residence to another island, where it now is at this present, because it is at a distance from the mainland, as far off as one may see a man on horseback.

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θέλωμεν P || 37 σοῦ Be: σοί P || 38 ῥήγα P || 40 ἠλάττωτο edd. || 41 ῥιγάτον P || Παπιας (*sine acc.*) P || 42 ἀσίμιν P edd. || 43 Φραγγῶν P || 45 ἑαυτοῖς V edd. || 46 ῥίξ P || 47 δουκάτον P || 47/8 Τζιβιτᾶ νούβα V Τζιβιτὰ νόβα Ba Be || 49 δουκάτον] *litteras* δουκ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 50 μηκόθεν edd.

## 29. Περὶ τῆς Δελματίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ παρακειμένων ἐθνῶν.

Ὅτι Διοκλητιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάνυ τῆς χώρας Δελματίας ἠράσθη,
διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης λαὸν ἀγαγὼν μετὰ τὰς φαμιλίας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇ
αὐτῇ τῆς Δελματίας χώρᾳ τούτους κατεσκήνωσεν, οἳ καὶ Ῥωμᾶνοι
προσηγορεύθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετοικισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτην μέχρι
65vP τῆς σήμερον | τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐναποφέρονται. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς
126Be Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον ᾠκοδόμησεν, καὶ | ἐν αὐτῷ
παλάτια ἐδείματο λόγου καὶ γραφῆς ἁπάσης ἐπέκεινα, ὧν καὶ μέχρι
τῆς σήμερον τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας λείψανα φέρονται, κἂν ὁ πολὺς
χρόνος αὐτὰ κατηνάλωσεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια, τὸ νῦν παρὰ
τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ᾠκοδό-
μησεν, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ‘Διοκλητιανοί’ καλεῖσθαι οἱ τῆς χώρας
ἐκείνης εναπειλήφασιν. Ἡ δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Ῥωμάνων διακράτησις
66rP ἦν μέχρι τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ, οἳ καί ποτε θελή|σαντες τὸν ποταμὸν
διαπεράσαι καὶ καταμαθεῖν, τίνες κατοικοῦσιν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ,
διαπεράσαντες εὗρον ἔθνη Σκλαβήνικα ἄοπλα ὄντα, ἅτινα καὶ Ἄβαροι
ἐκαλοῦντο. Καὶ οὔτε οὗτοι ἤλπιζον ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατοικεῖν
τινας, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἔνθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Διὰ οὖν τὸ ἀόπλους εὑρεῖν αὐτοὺς
τοὺς Ἀβάρους οἱ Ῥωμᾶνοι καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀπαρασκευάστους
καταπολεμήσαντες, ἀνελάβοντο πραῖδαν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ ἀνεχώρη-
σαν. Καὶ ἔκτοτε ποιήσαντες ἀλλάγια δύο οἱ Ῥωμᾶνοι ἀπὸ πάσχα ἕως
πάσχα τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν ἐνήλλασσον, ὥστε τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ σαββάτῳ
66vP ἀλλήλοις συναντᾶν, | τοὺς μὲν ἀποστρεφομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ παραμονίμου,
τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην δουλείαν ἀπερχομένους. Καὶ γὰρ πλησίον τῆς
θαλάσσης ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον κάστρον ἔστιν, τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Σαλῶνα,
μέγεθος ἔχον τὸ ἥμισυ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐν ᾧ πάντες οἱ Ῥωμᾶνοι
127Be συνήγοντο καὶ καθωπλίζοντο καὶ | προσαπεχίνουν ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε, καὶ
πρὸς τὴν κλεισοῦραν ἀπήρχοντο, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου ὑπάρχουσαν
μίλια τέσσαρα, ἥτις καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καλεῖται Κλεῖσα διὰ τὸ συγκλείειν
τοὺς διερχομένους ἐκεῖθεν. Καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀπήρχοντο πρὸς τὸν
67rP ποταμόν. Τὸ οὖν τοιοῦτον ἀλλάγιον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους γινόμε|νον,
οἱ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Σκλάβοι, οἱ καὶ Ἄβαροι καλούμενοι, καθ’
ἑαυτοὺς ἐσκόπησαν λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Οὗτοι οἱ Ῥωμᾶνοι, ἐπεὶ ἐπέρασαν
καὶ εὗρον πραῖδαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καθ’ ἡμῶν οὐ μὴ παύσονται διαπερῶντες,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηχανησόμεθα κατ’ αὐτῶν.» Οὕτως οὖν οἱ Σκλάβοι, οἱ
⟨καὶ⟩ Ἄβαροι, βουλευσάμενοι, καὶ διαπερασάντων ποτὲ τῶν Ῥωμάνων,

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*V* 29. 4 φαμηλίας P ‖ 5 Ῥωμάνοι P ‖ 8 τοῦ *om.* Bury ‖ 9 παλάτια

## 29. Of Dalmatia and of the adjacent nations in it.

The emperor Diocletian was much enamoured of the country of Dalmatia, and so he brought folk with their families from Rome and settled them in this same country of Dalmatia, and they were called 'Romani' from their having been removed from Rome, and this title attaches to them until this day. Now this emperor Diocletian founded the city of Spalato and built therein a palace beyond the power of any tongue or pen to describe, and remains of its ancient luxury are still preserved to-day, though the long lapse of time has played havoc with them. Moreover, the city of Diocleia, now occupied by the Diocletians, was built by the same emperor Diocletian, for which reason those of that country have come to be called by the name of 'Diocletians'. The territory possessed by these Romani used to extend as far as the river Danube, and once on a time, being minded to cross the river and discover who dwelt beyond the river, they crossed it and came upon unarmed Slavonic nations, who were also called Avars. The former had not expected that any dwelt beyond the river, nor the latter that any dwelt on the hither side. And so, finding these Avars unarmed and unprepared for war, the Romani overcame them and took booty and prisoners and returned. And from that time the Romani formed two alternating garrisons, serving from Easter to Easter, and used to change their men about so that on Great and Holy Saturday they who were coming back from the station and they who were going out to that service would meet one another. For near the sea, beneath that same city, lies a city called Salona, which is half as large as Constantinople, and here all the Romani would muster and be equipped and thence start out and come to the frontier pass, which is four miles from this same city, and is called Kleisa to this day, from its closing in those who pass that way. And from there they would advance to the river. This exchange of garrisons went on for a number of years and the Slavs on the far side of the river, who were also called Avars, thought it over among themselves, and said: «These Romani, now that they have crossed over and found booty, will in future not cease coming over against us, and so we will devise a plan against them.» And so, therefore, the Slavs, *or* Avars, took counsel, and on one occasion when the Romani had crossed over, they laid ambushes

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F edd.: πλάτεια P παλάτεια P[1] V || 13/4 ἐκείνης χώρης edd. || 17 Σκλαβίνικα P: Σκλαβινικὰ edd. || 20 Ῥωμάνοι P || *post* ἀπαρασκευάστους *add.* καὶ V edd. || 21 καταπολεμίσαντες P || 22 Ῥωμάνοι P || 26 κάστρον [2] *om.* Be || 27 Ῥωμάνοι P || 28 καθοπλήζοντο P || 29 κλησοῦραν P || 30 τέσσαρα edd.: δ' P || 32 πολλοὺς *corr.* Moravcsik πολλὺς P: πολλοῖς V edd. || χρόνους *corr.* Moravcsik: χρόνοις P edd. || γινόμενον χρόνοις V edd. || 34 Ῥωμάνοι P || 35 μὴ *om.* edd. || 36 μηχανησώμεθα Migne || 37 καὶ *add.* Bury || 37 διαπερασάντων — 38 ἐγκρύμματα:

# 29

ποιήσαντες οὗτοι ἐγκρύμματα καὶ πολεμήσαντες, ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. Καὶ ἀναλαβόμενοι τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φλάμμουλα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολεμικὰ σημεῖα, διαπεράσαντες οἱ προειρημένοι Σκλάβοι τὸν ποταμόν, ἦλθον
67vP εἰς τὴν | κλεισοῦραν, οὓς καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ ἐκεῖσε ὄντες Ῥωμᾶνοι, θεασάμενοι δὲ τὰ φλάμμουλα καὶ τὴν ἐξόπλισιν τῶν ὁμοφύλων αὐτῶν, τοὺς αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλους εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἡνίκα κατέλαβον οἱ Σκλάβοι οἱ προρρηθέντες εἰς τὴν κλεισοῦραν, παρεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς διελθεῖν. Διελθόντων δέ, εὐθὺς τοὺς Ῥωμάνους οὗτοι ἐξήλασαν, καὶ τὴν Σαλῶνα, τὸ προειρημένον κάστρον ἐκράτησαν. Καὶ κατοικήσαντες ἐκεῖσε, ἔκτοτε κατὰ μικρὸν ἀρξάμενοι πραιδεύειν τοὺς Ῥωμάνους, τοὺς εἰς τοὺς κάμπους καὶ εἰς
128Be ὑψηλότερα μέρη | κατοικοῦντας, ἠφάνισαν καὶ τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν κατεκράτησαν. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Ῥωμᾶνοι εἰς τὰ τῆς παραλίας κάστρα διεσώθη-
68rP |σαν, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κρατοῦσιν αὐτά, ἅτινά εἰσιν τὰ Δεκάτερα, τὸ Ῥαούσιν, τὸ Ἀσπάλαθον, τὸ Τετραγγούριν, τὰ Διάδωρα, ἡ Ἄρβη, ἡ Βέκλα καὶ τὰ Ὄψαρα, ὧντινων καὶ οἰκήτορες μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Ῥωμᾶνοι κολοῦνται.

Ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, καθ' ὃν μέλλει τρόπον ῥηθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Χρωβάτων καὶ Σέρβλων συγγραφῇ, πᾶσα ἡ Δελματία καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἔθνη, οἷον Χρωβάτοι, Σέρβλοι, Ζαχλοῦμοι, Τερβουνιῶται, Καναλῖται, Διοκλητιανοὶ καὶ Ἀρεντανοί, οἱ καὶ Παγανοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι, * * *. Τῆς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας διὰ τὴν τῶν τότε κρατούντων νωθρότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν εἰς τὸ
68vP μηδὲν πα|ράπαν μικροῦ δεῖν ἐναπονευσάσης, καὶ μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμορίου, τοῦ Τραυλοῦ, οἱ τὰ τῆς Δελματίας κάστρα οἰκοῦντες γεγόνασιν αὐτοκέφαλοι, μήτε τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, μήτε ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ὑποκείμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἔθνη, οἵ τε Χρωβάτοι καὶ Σέρβλοι καὶ Ζαχλοῦμοι καὶ Τερβουνιῶται τε καὶ Καναλῖται καὶ Διοκλητιανοὶ καὶ οἱ Παγανοί, τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἀφηνιάσαντες γεγόνασιν ἰδιόρρυθμοι καὶ αὐτοκέφαλοι, τινὶ μὴ ὑποκείμενοι. Ἄρχοντας δέ, ὥς φασι, ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη μὴ ἔχειν, πλὴν ζουπάνους γέροντας, καθὼς καὶ αἱ
129Be λοιπαὶ Σκλαβηνίαι ἔχουσι τύπον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ | πλείονες τῶν τοιούτων
69rP Σκλάβων οὐ|δὲ ἐβαπτίζοντο, ἀλλὰ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἔμενον ἀβάπτιστοι.

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*F* 56 πᾶσα — 69 ἀβάπτιστοι: cf. Theoph. Cont. p. 288, 18—289, 2; Cedr., ed. Bonn. II. p. 218, 22—219, 3.

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*V* διαπεράσαντες ποτὲ οἱ Ῥωμάνοι ἐποίησαν οὗτοι ἔγκρυμμα (ἔγκρυμα V) V Me || 39 φλάμουλα P || 41 κλεισούραν P || Ῥωμάνοι P || 42 φλάμουλα P || ἐξόπλησιν P || 43 αὐτῶν: αὑτῶν *coni.* Bury || 44 κλεισούραν P || διελθόντες V edd. || 47 Ῥωμάνους V² edd.: Κομάνους P V¹ F || *post* εἰς² *add.* τὰ edd. || 49 Ῥωμάνοι P || 50 τὰ Δεκάτερα *coni.* Moravcsik: τάδε κάστρα P Ba Be τὰ ι' κάστρα F || 51 Ῥαοῦσιν P || Τετραγγούρην P || 52 *ante* Ῥωμᾶνοι *add.*

and attacked and defeated them. The aforesaid Slavs took the *Roman* arms and standards and the rest of their military insignia and crossed the river and came to the frontier pass, and when the Romani who were there saw them and beheld the standards and accoutrements of their own men they thought they were their own men, and so, when the aforesaid Slavs reached the pass, they let them through. Once through, they instantly expelled the Romani and took possession of the aforesaid city of Salona. There they settled and thereafter began gradually to make plundering raids and destroyed the Romani who dwelt in the plains and on the higher ground and took possession of their lands. The remnant of the Romani escaped to the cities of the coast and possess them still, namely, Decatera, Ragusa, Spalato, Tetrangourin, Diadora, Arbe, Vekla and Opsara, the inhabitants of which are called Romani to this day.

Since the reign of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, as will be related in the narrative concerning the Croats and Serbs, the whole of Dalmatia and the nations about it, such as Croats, Serbs, Zachlumi, Terbouniotes, Kanalites, Diocletians and Arentani, who are also called Pagani ***. But when the Roman empire, through the sloth and inexperience of those who then governed it and especially in the time of Michael from Amorion, the Lisper, had declined to the verge of total extinction, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia became independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else, and, what is more, the nations of those parts, the Croats and Serbs and Zachlumites, Terbuniotes and Kanalites and Diocletians and the Pagani, shook off the reins of the empire of the Romans and became self-governing and independent, subject to none. Princes, as they say, these nations had none, but only 'zupans', elders, as is the rule in the other Slavonic regions. Moreover, the majority of these Slavs were not even baptized, and remained unbaptized for long enough. But

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οἱ edd. || Ῥωμάνοι P || 55 καθ' ὃν — 56 συγγραφῇ *expunxit* Rački || 55 περὶ *om.* V edd. || 56 *post* συγγραφῇ *inserenda* ὑπήκοα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο *coni.* Tomašić || Δαλματίᾳ Theoph. Cont. || Κρωβάτοι Theoph. Cont. Χρωβάτων Cedr. || 57 Ζαχλούμοι P Ζαχλουμοὶ Theoph. Cont. || Καναλεῖται P || Διοκλειτιανοὶ P || 57/8 Ἀρεντανοί: Ῥεντανοί Theoph. Cont. || 58 οἱ καὶ Παγανοὶ *coni.* Bury: καὶ οἱ Παγανοὶ Meursius Ba Be καὶ Ὑπαγανοὶ P || οἱ καὶ Παγανοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι *deest in* Theoph. Cont. || *post* προσαγορευόμενοι *lac. ind.* δουλικῶς εἰσιν ὑποτεταγμένοι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων *excidisse coniciens* Grot *lac. ind.* δουλικῶς ἦσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ὑποτεταγμένοι *vel talia excidisse coniciens* Bury || 59 ἀφελείαν P || 60 ἐναποπνευσάσης *coni.* Bury || 61 Δελματείας P || 63 Κρωβάτοι Theoph. Cont. Χρωβάτων Cedr. || 64 Ζαχλοῦμοι καὶ Be: Ζαχλουμεῖται P Ζαχλουμοὶ Theoph. Cont. || τε (*habet etiam* Theoph. Cont.): *om.* edd. || Καναλεῖται P || Διοκλειτιανοὶ P || 65 Παγανοὶ Be: Παγάνοι P || ἀφηνιάσαντες (*littera σ erasa, spiritu addito primaque littera ι in η correcta*) P^y *mg.* P^a Meursius Ba Be Theoph. Cont.: σαφινιάσαντες P σαφηνιάσαντες V || 66 ἰδιόρρυθμοι καὶ αὐτοκέφαλοι: αὐτόνομοί τε καὶ αὐτοδέσποτοι Theoph. Cont. || 67 ἔχει edd. εἶχεν *coni.* Gedeonov || 68 Σκλαβινίαι P: Σκλαβίνιαι edd. || καὶ *om.* edd. ||

## 29

'Επὶ δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως, ἀπέστειλαν ἀποκρισιαρίους,
ἐξαιτούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀβαπτίστους
βαπτισθῆναι καὶ εἶναι, ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὑποτεταγμένους τῇ βασιλείᾳ
τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, ὧντινων εἰσακούσας ὁ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀοίδιμος
βασιλεύς, ἐξαπέστειλεν βασιλικὸν μετὰ καὶ ἱερέων, καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτοὺς
πάντας τοὺς τῶν προρρηθέντων ἐθνῶν ἀβαπτίστους τυγχάνοντας, καὶ
μετὰ τὸ βαπτίσαι αὐτοὺς τότε προεβάλετο εἰς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας, οὓς
ἐκεῖνοι ἤθελον καὶ προέκριναν, ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς, ἧς ἐκεῖνοι ἠγάπων καὶ
69ᵛP ἔστεργον. Καὶ ἔκτοτε | μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γενεῶν γίνονται
ἄρχοντες εἰς αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἑτέρας. Οἱ δὲ Παγανοί, οἱ καὶ τῇ 'Ρω-
μαίων διαλέκτῳ 'Αρεντανοὶ καλούμενοι, εἰς δυσβάτους τόπους καὶ
κρημνώδεις κατελείφθησαν ἀβάπτιστοι. Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ κατὰ τὴν
τῶν Σκλάβων γλῶσσαν 'ἀβάπτιστοι' ἑρμηνεύεται. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἀποστείλαντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀοίδιμον βασιλέα, ἐξητήσαντο βαπτισθῆ-
ναι καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ ἀποστείλας ἐβάπτισεν καὶ αὐτούς. 'Επεὶ δέ, ὡς προέ-
φημεν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων νωθρότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν εἰς κατόπιν
τὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἦλθον πράγματα, καὶ οἱ τὰ τῆς Δελματίας κάστρα
70ʳP οἰκοῦντες γεγόνασιν αὐτο|κέφαλοι, μήτε τῷ βασιλεῖ 'Ρωμαίων, μήτε
130Be ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὑποκείμενοι. Μετὰ δὲ χρό|νον τινὰ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Βασι-
λείου, τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ ἀειμνήστου βασιλέως, ἐλθόντων Σαρακηνῶν
ἀπὸ 'Αφρικῆς, τοῦ τε Σολδανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σάβα καὶ τοῦ Καλφοῦς, μετὰ
καραβίων λς', κατέλαβον ἐν Δελματίᾳ, καὶ ἐπόρθησαν τὸ κάστρον τὰ
Βούτοβα καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὴν 'Ρῶσσαν καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὰ Δεκάτερα, τὸ
κάτω. Καὶ ἦλθον καὶ εἰς τὸ κάστρον 'Ραουσίου, καὶ παρεκάθισαν αὐτῷ
μῆνας δεκαπέντε. Τότε βιασθέντες οἱ 'Ραουσαῖοι ἐδηλοποίησαν Βασι-
λείῳ, τῷ ἀειμνήστῳ βασιλεῖ 'Ρωμαίων, λέγοντες αὐτῷ οὕτως· «'Ελέησον
70ᵛP ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ ἐάσῃς ἀπολέσθαι πα|ρὰ τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.» 'Ο δὲ
βασιλεὺς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἀπέστειλεν τὸν πατρίκιον Νικήτα, δρουγγάριον
τοῦ πλωΐμου, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην 'Ωορύφας, μετὰ χελανδίων ἑκατόν. Οἱ δὲ
Σαρακηνοὶ μαθόντες τὴν μετὰ τοῦ στόλου ἄφιξιν τοῦ πατρικίου δρουγγα-

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*F* 70 'Επὶ δὲ — 79 ἑτέρας: cf. Theoph. Cont. 291, 1—292, 13; Cedr. II. p. 220, 9—15; Zon. XVI. 9., ed. Bonn. III. p. 425, 9—426, 2. 82 Μετὰ δὲ — 84 αὐτούς: cf. Leo, Tact. XVIII. 101., ed. Migne, P. G. 107. c. 969 A—B. 88 Μετὰ δὲ — 116 'Ρωμαίων: cf. Theoph. Cont. p. 289, 2—290, 23; 292, 14—294, 2; De Them. p. 61, 11—62, 18 (= ed. Pertusi 97, 18—98, 42); Cedr., ed. Bonn. II. p. 219, 4—220, 8; 220, 15—221, 7; Zon. XVI. 9., ed. Bonn. III. p. 425, 1—9.

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*V* 70 ἀποκρισιαρίους: πρέσβεις Theoph. Cont. || 72 ὡς τὸ: ὥστε edd. || 73 εἰσακούσας: ἐπακούσας Theoph. Cont. || 76 βαπτίσαι: βαπτισθῆναι V edd. || 77 προέκρινον V edd. || τῆς *om.* edd. || 81 κρημνώδεις ⟨κατοικοῦντες⟩ *coni.* Kyriakides || *ante* Παγανοὶ *addendum* τὸ *coni.* Bury || 82 ἑρμηνεύεται (*etiam* Bury): ἑρμηνεύονται Ba Be || 83 εἰς *bis* P || 85 ὅτι *om.* V edd. || εἰς ⟨μηδὲν⟩

in the time of Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, they sent diplomatic agents, begging and praying him that those of them who were unbaptized might receive baptism and that they might be, as they had originally been, subject to the empire of the Romans; and that glorious emperor, of blessed memory, gave ear to them and sent out an imperial agent and priests with him and baptized all of them that were unbaptized of the aforesaid nations, and after baptizing them he then appointed for them princes whom they themselves approved and chose, from the family which they themselves loved and favoured. And from that day to this their princes come from these same families, and from no other. But the Pagani, who are called Arentani in the Roman tongue, were left unbaptized, in an inaccessible and precipitous part of the country. For 'Pagani' means 'unbaptized' in the Slavonic tongue. But later, they too sent to the same glorious emperor and begged that they too might be baptized, and he sent and baptized them too. And since, as we said above, owing to the sloth and inexperience of those in power things had gone the wrong way for the Romans, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia also had become independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else. But after some time, in the reign of Basil the glorious and ever-memorable emperor, Saracens from Africa, Soldan and Saba and Kalphus, came with 36 ships and reached Dalmatia and took the city of Butova and the city of Rossa and the lower city of Decatera. And they came also to the city of Ragusa and blockaded it fifteen months. Then in their strait the Ragusans made a declaration to Basil, the ever-memorable emperor of the Romans, saying this to him: «Have pity on us and do not allow us to be destroyed by them that deny Christ.» The emperor was moved with compassion and sent the patrician Nicetas, admiral of the fleet, surnamed Ooryphas, with one hundred ships of war. When the Saracens learnt of the arrival of the patrician admiral of the fleet with

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κατόπιν *coni.* Kyriakides || 88/9: ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Βασιλείου: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου De Them. || 89/90 Σαρακηνῶν ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς: οἱ ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος Ἀγαρηνοὶ Theoph. Cont. || 90 Σολδανοῦ: Σολδανὸν De Them. Σολδάνον Theoph. Cont. || Σάβα (*littera* μ *partim erasa*) P[x] V edd. Σάβαν Cedr.: Σάμα P Σάμβαν Theoph. Cont. || Καλφοῦς De Them. Καλφούς Theoph. Cont.: Κλαφούς P Κλαφοῦς V edd. || 91 καραβίων: κομπαρίων De Them. πλοίων πολεμικῶν Theoph. Cont. || Δελματίᾳ: Δαλματίας De Them. Theoph. Cont. || 91/2 τὰ Βούτοβα Ba Be τὴν Βούτοβαν De Them.: τὰ Βούγοβα P Βούγοβα *mg.* P[7] ἡ Βούτομα Theoph. Cont. || 92 Ῥῶσαν De Them. Ῥῶσα Theoph. Cont. || 92/3 τὰ Δεκάτερα, τὸ κάτω: τὰ κάτω Δεκάτερα De Them. Theoph Cont.[V] τὰ κάτω Δεκάτορα Theoph. Cont. || 93 κάστρον: μητρόπολιν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || παρεκάθισαν: ἐπολιόρκουν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || 94 δεκαπέντε Be: ιε′ P ἐπὶ χρόνον... ἱκανόν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || Ῥαουσαίοι P || 97 σπλαχνησθεῖς P || Νικήτα: Νικήταν Theoph. Cont. || 98 τὸ ἐπίκλην: κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν Theoph. Cont. || Ὠρύφας Be Theoph. Cont.: Ὁορύφας P || χελανδίων: νεῶν Theoph. Cont. || ἑκατόν edd. Theoph. Cont.: ρ′ P De Them. || 99 Σαρακηνοὶ:

ρίου τοῦ πλωΐμου, ἔφυγον καταλιπόντες τὸ κάστρον Ῥαουσίου, καὶ ἀντεπέρασαν ἐν Λαγουβαρδίᾳ, καὶ πολιορκήσαντες τὸ κάστρον Βάρεως, τοῦτο ἐπόρθησαν. Τότε ὁ Σολδανὸς κτίσας ἐκεῖσε παλάτια, κατεκράτησεν τὴν πᾶσαν Λαγουβαρδίαν μέχρι Ῥώμης ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. Ὁ οὖν βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἀπέστειλεν πρός τε τὸν Λοδόϊχον, τὸν 71rP ῥῆγα Φραγγίας καὶ τὸν πάπα Ῥώμης, ἵνα συνεπαμύνηται τῷ πα|ρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντι στρατῷ. Οἱ δὲ ὑπείξαντες τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτήσει, ὅ τε ῥὴξ καὶ ὁ πάπας, ἦλθον ἀμφότεροι μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, 131Be καὶ ἑνωθέν|τες τῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντι στρατῷ ἅμα τῷ Χρωβάτῳ καὶ Σέρβλῳ καὶ Ζαχλούμῳ καὶ Τερβουνιώταις καὶ Καναλίταις καὶ Ῥαουσαίοις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Δελματίας κάστρων (οὗτοι γὰρ πάντες βασιλικῇ κελεύσει παρῆσαν), καὶ περασάντων ἐν Λαγουβαρδίᾳ, παρεκάθισαν τὸ κάστρον Βάρεως καὶ ἐπόρθησαν αὐτό.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι τοὺς Χρωβάτους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Σκλαβάρχοντας 71vP οἱ τοῦ κάστρου Ῥαουσίου οἰκήτορες μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν καρα|βίων διεπέρασαν ἐν Λαγουβαρδίᾳ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν κάστρον Βάρεως καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν πᾶσαν ἀνελάβετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὸν δὲ Σολδανὸν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἀνελάβετο Λοδόϊχος, ὁ ῥὴξ Φραγγίας, καὶ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Καπύης καὶ ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Βενεβενδοῦ. Καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν εἶδεν γελῶντα. Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ῥήξ, ὅτι· «Εἴ τίς μοι τὸν Σολδανὸν μετὰ ἀληθείας ἀναγγείλῃ ἢ ὑποδείξῃ γελῶντα, δώσω αὐτῷ χρήματα πολλά.» Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδέν τις αὐτὸν γελῶντα, καὶ τῷ ῥηγὶ Λοδοΐχῳ ἀπήγγειλεν. Ὁ δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Σολδανὸν 72rP ἠρώτησεν αὐτόν, ποίῳ τρόπῳ ἐγέλασεν. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· «Ἄμαξαν εἶδον | καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τροχοὺς κυλιομένους, καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐγέλασα, ὅτι καὶ ἐγώ ποτε κεφαλὴ ἐγενόμην, καὶ ἀρτίως εἰμὶ ὑποκάτω πάντων, καὶ πάλιν δύναται ὁ Θεὸς ὑψῶσαί με.» Καὶ ἀπὸ τότε προσεκαλεῖτο αὐτὸν ὁ Λοδόϊχος

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*F* 116 τὸν δὲ — 216 εὐεργεσίαν.: cf. Theoph. Cont. p. 294, 3—297, 23; Cedr., ed. Bonn. II. p. 221, 8—225, 8; Zon. XVI. 9., ed. Bonn. III. p. 426, 2—429, 6; (Ps.—) Symeon, ed. Bonn. p. 695, 3—697, 2. 123 Ἄμαξαν — 126 ὑψῶσαί με: cf. Menandri fr. 3., Exc. de leg., ed. de Boor p. 177, 12—34; Theoph. Simoc., ed. de Boor p. 243, 10—244, 17; Theoph. p. 273, 14—27; Basilius, Paraen., ed. Migne, P. G. 107. c. XL D. Cf. V. Grecu, *Byzantinoslavica* 13 (1952—3). p. 259.

*V* ἐξ Ἀφρικῆς Σαρακηνοὶ Theoph. Cont. Ἄφροι De Them. || 101 ἀντεπέρασαν: ἀνεπέρασαν De Them. διαπεράσαντες Theoph. Cont. || Λογουβαρδίᾳ edd. Λαγοβαρδία Theoph. Cont. De Them.[C] || Βάρεως: Βάρης De Them. || 102 ἐπόρθησαν: ἐξεπόρθησαν Theoph. Cont. || 103 τὴν *om.* edd. || τὴν πᾶσαν (*etiam*

his squadron, they quitted the city of Ragusa and took to flight and crossed over into Lombardy and laid siege to the city of Bari and took it. Then Soldan built a palace there and was for forty years master of all Lombardy as far as Rome. On this account, therefore, the emperor sent to Lewis, king of Francia, and to the pope of Rome, asking their cooperation with the army which he, the emperor, had sent. The king and the pope acceded to the emperor's request, and both of them came with a large force and joined up with the army sent by the emperor and with the Croat and Serb and Zachlumian chiefs and the Terbouniotes and Kanalites and the men of Ragusa and all the cities of Dalmatia (for all these were present by imperial mandate); and they crossed over into Lombardy, and laid siege to the city of Bari and took it.

The Croats and the other chiefs of the Slavs were carried over into Lombardy by the inhabitants of the city of Ragusa in their own vessels. The city of Bari and the country and all the prisoners were taken by the emperor of the Romans, but Soldan and the rest of the Saracens were taken by Lewis, the king of Francia, who carried them off to the city of Capua and the city of Beneventum. And no one saw *Soldan* laughing. And the king said: «If anybody truly reports to me or shows me Soldan laughing, I will give him much money.» Later, someone saw him laughing and reported it to king Lewis. He summoned Soldan and asked him, how he had come to laugh? And he said: «I saw a cart and the wheels on it turning round and therefore I laughed because I too was once at the top and am now lowest of all, but God may raise me up again.» And thereafter Lewis would summon

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De Them.): πᾶσαν τὴν Theoph. Cont. || Λογουβαρδίαν edd. Λαγοβαρδίαν Theoph. Cont. Λογγιβαρδίαν De Them. || ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα *deest in* Theoph. Cont. De Them. || τεσσαράκοντα V edd.: σαράκοντα P τέσσαρα *coni.* Kyriakides || 104 Λοδόηχον P Λοδοΐχον Theoph. Cont. Λοδοῦχον De Them. Δολόϊχον Theoph. Cont.$^{V}$ || 105 ῥῆγα Meursius Ba Be Theoph. Cont. De Them.: δοῦκα P || πάπα (*etiam* De Them.): πάπαν Theoph. Cont. || συνεπαμύνεται Me Ba συνεπαμῦναι De Them. συνεπικουρῆσαι Theoph. Cont. || 107 αἰτήσει: ἐντεύξει De Them. || ῥίξ P || 108 ἅμα τῷ — 110 κάστρων: τὰς ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν μνημονευθείσας χώρας τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν Theoph. Cont. *deest in* De Them. || 108/9 τοῖς Χρωβάτοις καὶ Σέρβλοις καὶ Ζαχλούμοις *coni.* Bury || 109 καὶ[1]: τῷ edd. || Τερβουνιῶτες P || Καναλῖταις P || 110 Ῥαουσαίοις Moravcsik: Ῥαουσίοις P edd. || 111/2 Λογουβαρδίᾳ edd. || 112 παρεκάθισαν *coni.* Bekker παρεκάθησαν P: ἐκάθησαν edd. ἐκάθισαν Migne || Βάρεως: Βάρης De Them. || 114 Ῥαουσίου V edd.: Ῥαουσαίου P || οἰκήτορες V edd.: οἰκηταὶ P || 115 Λογουβαρδίᾳ edd. || 116 τῶν *om.* edd. || 117 Σολδανὸν edd. De Them.: Σολδάνον P Theoph. Cont. || Λοδόϊχος Be Λοδοίχος Bury Λοδοῦχος De Them.: Δολοήχος P Δοδοῦχος De Them.$^{C}$ || ῥίξ P || 119 ῥίξ P || 120 Σολδάνον Theoph. Cont. || 121 αὐτὸν V[1] edd.: αὐτῷ P V || 122 ῥιγὶ P || Λοδοΐχῳ Be: Δολοήχω P || 125 ἐγενόμην: ἤμην V edd. || 126 Λοδόϊχος Be: Δολοήχος P ||

## 29

132Be εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συν|ήσθιεν αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῆς Καπύης
καὶ Βενεβενδοῦ ἤρχοντο πρὸς τὸν Σολδανὸν ἐρωτῶντες αὐτὸν περὶ
ἰατρειῶν καὶ θεραπείας ἀλόγων καὶ λοιπῶν ὑποθέσεων, ὡς γέροντα καὶ
πεπειραμένον. Ὁ δὲ Σολδανὸς πανοῦργος ὢν καὶ σκολιὸς εἶπεν πρὸς
αὐτούς, ὅτι· «Πρᾶγμα θέλω εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ δέδοικα τοῦ μὴ παρ'
72ᵛP ὑμῶν κατάδηλον γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα, καὶ ἀπολέσω τὴν | ἐμαυτοῦ
ζωήν.» Οἱ δὲ ὤμοσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ θαρρήσας εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι· «Ὁ ῥὴξ
ἐξορίσαι θέλει πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φραγγίᾳ, καὶ ἐὰν ἀπιστῆτε,
ἐκδέξασθε μικρόν, κἀγὼ πληροφορῶ ὑμᾶς.» Καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἶπεν πρὸς
τὸν Λοδόϊχον, ὅτι· «Οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ τόπου τούτου κακοί εἰσιν, καὶ σὺ
οὐ δύνασαι κυριεῦσαι τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφανίσῃς τοὺς δυνατούς,
τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντάς σε· ἀλλὰ δέσμευσον τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ κάστρου,
καὶ ἀπόστειλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν χώραν σου, καὶ τότε, ὡς θέλεις, οἱ λοιποὶ
ὑποταγήσονταί σοι.» Καὶ ὅτε παρέπεισεν αὐτόν, ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὴν βουλὴν
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὥρισεν γενέσθαι ἁλύσεις σιδηρᾶς εἰς τὸ ἐξορίσαι αὐτούς,
73ʳP ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Σολδανὸς καὶ | εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅτι· «Ἀκμὴν οὐ
πιστεύετε, ὅτι ὁ ῥὴξ ἐξορίστους ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ, καὶ παντελῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
γίνεται τὸ μνημόσυνον ὑμῶν; Ὅμως εἰ θέλετε τελείως πληροφορηθῆναι,
ἀπελθόντες θεάσασθε, τί ἄρα ἐργάζονται πάντες οἱ χαλκεῖς τῇ προστάξει
133Be τοῦ ῥηγός. | Καὶ εἰ οὐχ εὕρητε αὐτοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰς ἁλύσεις καὶ τὰ
δεσμά, γινώσκετε, ὅτι πάντα τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ λαλούμενα ὑμῖν ἐστιν ψευδῆ·
εἰ δὲ ἀληθεύω, φροντίσατε τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐμὲ εὐεργετήσατε,
τὸν τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ σωτήρια ὑμῖν βουλευσάμενον.» Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες πεισθέν-
τες τῷ τοῦ Σολδανοῦ λόγῳ, θεασάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἁλύσεις καὶ τὰ δεσμά,
73ᵛP τελείαν πληροφορίαν ἔλαβον, καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐμελέτων | τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ
ῥηγὸς Λοδοΐχου. Ὁ δὲ ῥὴξ ταῦτα πάντα ἀγνοῶν ἐξῆλθε πρὸς τὸ κυνηγῆ-
σαι. Ὑποστρέψαντος δέ, οἱ τούτου ἄρχοντες ἐκράτησαν τὸ κάστρον, μὴ
ἐάσαντες αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ ῥὴξ Λοδόϊχος τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἔνστα-
σιν θεασάμενος, εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ὑπέστρεψεν. Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες εἶπον
πρὸς τὸν Σολδανόν· «Τί ἄρα θέλεις ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαί σοι περὶ τῆς γενομένης
εἰς ἡμᾶς παρὰ σοῦ σωτηρίας;» Ὁ δὲ ᾐτήσατο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ ἀπολῦσαι
αὐτόν, καὶ τούτου γενομένου, ἀπῆλθεν ἐν Ἀφρικῇ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ
χώραν. Μὴ ἐπιλαθόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας αὐτοῦ κακίας ἐστρατοπέδευσεν,
καὶ ἦλθεν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐν Καπύῃ καὶ ἐν Βενεβενδῷ πρὸς τὸ πολιορκῆ-
74ʳP σαι | καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτούς. Οἱ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα κάστρα κρατοῦντες ἀπέ-
στειλαν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα Λοδόϊχον ἐν Φραγγίᾳ, ἵνα ἐλθὼν συνε-
παμύνηται αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ Σολδανοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀφρικῶν. Ὁ δὲ ῥὴξ

*F* 143 καὶ παντελῶς — 144 μνημόσυνον ἡμῶν: cf. Psalm. 9, 7; 108, 15; Job 9, 2.

*V* 127 αὐτοῦ Migne || 128 αὐτὸν V¹ edd.: αὐτῷ P V || 130 Σολδανὸς V Ba Be: Σουλδανὸς P || σκολιός: δόλων Φοινικικῶν οὐκ ἀμέτοχος Theoph. Cont. δόλιος Cedr. ||

him to his table and would eat with him. And the nobles of Capua and Beneventum used to go to Soldan and ask him questions about the treatment and care of cattle and other matters, because of his age and experience. And Soldan, who was cunning and crooked, said to them: «I would like to say a thing to you, but I fear to be betrayed by you to the king and I shall lose my life.» But they swore to him, and he took heart and said to them: «The king is minded to banish all of you to great Francia, and if you disbelieve it, wait a little, and I will satisfy you.» And he went off and said to Lewis: «The nobles of this place are evil, and you cannot be master of this country unless you destroy the powerful men who oppose you; but do you bind the first men of the city and send them off to your country, and then the rest will be submissive to you, as you desire.» When he had won him to carrying out his advice, and *the king* had instructed that chains of iron should be made for their banishment, Soldan went off and said to the nobles: «Do you still not believe that the king is sending you into banishment, and that all remembrance of you will vanish from among men? Yet, if you will be perfectly satisfied, go and see what all the smiths are making by order of the king. And if you do not find them making the chains and fetters, know that all I have told you is lies; but if I speak truth, look to your safety and reward me for my valuable and salutary advice to you.» The nobles obeyed the word of Soldan, and when they had seen the chains and fetters, they were completely satisfied, and thereafter began to devise the destruction of king Lewis. The king, in ignorance of all this, went out hunting. But when he came back, his nobles had taken possession of the city and did not allow him to enter. King Lewis, seeing himself thus opposed by the nobles, went back to his own country. The nobles said to Soldan: «What, then, would you have us do for you, in return for the salvation wrought for us by you?» And he requested them to dismiss him to his own country, which they did, and he went off to Africa, to his own country. But, mindful of his ancient malice, he made an expedition and came with a force to Capua and to Beneventum, to lay siege to and subdue them. The rulers of these cities sent envoys to king Lewis in Francia, asking him to come and help them fight against Soldan and the Africans. But king Lewis, when he heard of it, having learnt

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**132** ῥῆγα Meursius Ba Be: δοῦκα P || **133** ὄμωσαν P || ῥίξ P || **134** θέλει V edd.: θέλη P || **136** Λοδόϊχον Be: Δολόηχον P || τόπου *om.* V Me || τούτου *coni.* Moravcsik: τού P *om.* edd. || **139** θέλεις Be: θέλης P || **140** σοι V edd.; σε P || πληρώση edd.: πληρώσει P || **141** ὄρησεν P || **142** Σολδάνος Theoph. Cont. || **143** ῥίξ P || **149** σωτηρία P || **150** Σολδανοῦ V Ba Be: Σουλδανοῦ P || **152** ῥιγὸς P || Λοδοήχου P || ῥίξ P || **154** ῥίξ P || Λοδόηχος P || **155** ὑπέστρεψεν: ἀνθυπενόστησε Theoph. Cont. || **156** Σολδάνος Theoph. Cont. || θέλεις V edd.: θέλης P || ἡμᾶς V edd.: ὑμῖν P || **158** ἐν Ἀφρικῇ: κατὰ Καρχηδόνα Theoph. Cont. || **162** ῥίγα P || Λοδόηχον P || **163** ῥίξ P ||

29

Λοδόϊχος ταῦτα μαθὼν καί, ὅνπερ ἐποίησεν τρόπον ὁ Σολδανός, πείσας
καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅτι· «Δεσμίους μέλλει ὑμᾶς ὁ ῥὴξ ἐν Φραγγίᾳ ἐξορί-
134Be σαι», ἀντεδήλωσεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι· | «Καὶ ἅπερ ἐποίησα πρότερον εἰς ὑμᾶς,
μεταμέλημαι, ὅτι ἔσωσα ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀνταπεδώ-
κατέ μοι πονηρὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν, καὶ καθὼς ἐδιώχθην παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀρτίως
χαίρω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ ὑμῶν.» Τότε ἀπορήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥηγὸς Λοδοΐχου,
74ᵛP ἀπέστειλαν πρέσβεις πρὸς | τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς
βοήθειαν καὶ λυτρώσασθαι τοῦ τοιούτου κινδύνου. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ὑπέσχετο βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς. Τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρισιαρίου ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως
ὑποστρέψαντος καὶ ἀγαθὰς ἀγγελίας τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὸν ἀποκομίζον-
τος περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως συμμαχίας, μήπω τούτου ἀποσωθέντος ἐν
τῷ κάστρῳ, ἐκρατήθη παρὰ τῶν βιγλῶν τοῦ Σολδανοῦ. Προεγνώκει
γὰρ ὁ Σολδανὸς τὴν γεγονυίαν ἀποστολὴν πρὸς ἱκεσίαν τοῦ βασιλέως
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐπύκτευσεν τοῦ τὸν ἀποκρισιάριον αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι,
75ʳP ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν. Κρατηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἔμαθεν τὴν ἀποτελεσθεῖ|σαν
παρ' αὐτοῦ δουλείαν, καὶ ὅτι δι' ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν καταλαμβάνει ἡ τοῦ
βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων βοήθεια. Ὁ δὲ Σολδανὸς εἶπεν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀποκρισιαρίῳ,
ὅτι· «Εἰ ποιήσεις, ὅπερ σοι εἴπω, ἐλευθερίας καὶ δωρεῶν μεγίστων
ἀξιωθήσῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, πονηρῷ θανάτῳ τὴν ζωὴν ἀπολέσεις.» Τοῦ δὲ
ὑποσχομένου ἐκπληρῶσαι τὰ κελευόμενα αὐτῷ, εἶπεν ὁ Σολδανὸς πρὸς
αὐτόν, ὅτι· «Κελεύω στῆναί σε πλησίον τοῦ τείχους καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι
τοὺς ἀποστείλαντάς σε καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς· "Ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν δουλείαν,
135Be ἣν ὤφειλον ποιῆ|σαι, πεποίηκα, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων περὶ ὑμῶν
75ᵛP ἐδυσώπησα· πλὴν οὖν γινώσκετε, ὅτι | εἰς κενὸν ἐγένετο ἡ ὁδός μου, καὶ
ὁ βασιλεὺς πάμφαυλον ἔθετο τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν γεγονυίαν ἱκεσίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ
τοῦ βασιλέως μὴ ἐλπίζετε βοήθειαν".» Τοῦ δὲ ὑποσχομένου ταῦτα μετὰ
χαρᾶς ἐκπληρῶσαι, ἤγαγον αὐτὸν πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου, καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ
θέμενος τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σολδανοῦ ῥηθέντα πάντα, μήτε τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ
φοβηθείς, μήτε ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν αὐτοῦ πεισθείς, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ
φόβον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ θέμενος, διελογίσατο ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι· «Συμφέρον
ἐστὶν ἐμὲ μόνον ἀποθανεῖν καὶ μὴ τοσαύτας ψυχὰς διὰ λόγου παγιδεῦσαι
καὶ προδοῦναι εἰς θάνατον.» Καὶ δὴ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους αὐτοῦ γενομένου
76ʳP καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄρχον|τας προσκαλεσαμένου, εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξουσιάζον-
τας τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου· «Ἐγὼ μέν, κύριοί μου, τὴν διακονίαν μου
ἐξεπλήρωσα, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων δηλωθέντα ὑμῖν
ἀπαγγελῶ, πλὴν ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν
παντὸς τοῦ κάστρου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ εὐεργετή-

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*F* 167 ἀνταπεδώκατε — 168 ἀγαθῶν: cf. I Reg. 25, 21; Prov. 17, 13.

*V* 164 Λοδόηχος] *litteras* λο *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 167 μεταμεμέλημαι Ba Be || 168 ἐδιώχθην Meursius Ba Be: ἐδιώχθη P || 169 Λοδοήχου P || 172 ἀπο-

how Soldan had acted in persuading the nobles that, «the king purposes to send you in chains to banishment in Francia», declared in answer to them: «I repent my former conduct towards you, when I saved you from your enemies, and you returned me evil for good; and as I was cast out by you, now I rejoice at your destruction.» Then, having failed with king Lewis, they sent envoys to the emperor of the Romans, asking that he should give them aid and deliver them out of this danger. The emperor promised to aid them. But when the diplomatic agent had left Constantinople on his homeward way, bringing back to them who had sent him fair tidings of the alliance with the emperor, he was still short of the city when he was captured by the scouts of Soldan. For Soldan had obtained previous intelligence of the sending of a mission of supplication to the emperor of the Romans and had made efforts to capture their diplomatic agent, which he did. From his captive he learnt of the service he had performed, and that in a few days the succours of the emperor of the Romans would arrive. So Soldan said to this same diplomatic agent: «If you do what I tell you, you shall be awarded freedom and very great gifts; but if not, you shall lose your life and your death shall be cruel.» The man promised to carry out his orders, and Soldan said to him: «I order you to stand close to the wall and to summon those who sent you and say to them: 'For my part, I have carried out the service laid upon me, and have importuned the emperor of the Romans on your behalf; however, know that my journey was vain, and that the emperor has altogether spurned the supplication you made, and do not expect succour from the emperor'.» When he had promised to perform this gladly, they conducted him close to the city, where, disregarding all that Soldan had said, neither fearing his threats nor seduced by his promises, but setting the fear of God in his heart, he communed thus with himself: «It is expedient that I alone should die, and not by my word entrap and betray so many souls to their death.» So, when he was near the wall and had summoned the nobles, he thus addressed those who were in authority over that city: «I, my lords, have discharged my office and will announce to you what was declared by the emperor of the Romans; but I adjure you by the Son of God and the salvation of all the city and of your very souls, to reward, instead of me, my children

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κρισιαρίου: τῆς ἀγγελίας διάκονος Theoph. Cont. πρεσβευτὴς Cedr. || 177 τοῦ τὸν V Me Be: τοῦτον P || 180 βοήθεια V edd.: β[ο]ήθεια P || αὐτῷ V edd.: α[ὐ]τὸ P || 181 ποιήσεις F edd.: ποιήσης P || δωρεῶν V edd.: δ[ω]ρεῶν P || 182 ἀπολέσεις F edd.: ἀπολ[έ]σης P ἀπολέσης V || 183 ἐκπληρῶσαι V edd.: ἐκπλ[η]ρῶσαι P || εἶπεν V edd.: ε[ἶ]πεν P || 184 ὅτι V edd.: ὅτ[ι] P || τείχους V edd.: τεῖχ[ους] P || 185 ἀποστείλαντάς V edd.: ἀποστ[εί]λαντάς P || αὐτούς V edd.: αὐτού[ς] P || 186 ὤφειλον V edd.: ὄφειλο[ν] P || 187 ὅτι V edd.: ὅτ[ι] P || κενὸν F Meursius Ba Be: καινὸν P || 188 πάμφαυλον Migne: παμφαῦλον P edd. παρὰ φαῦλον *coni.* Bekker || ἔθετο: ἔθηκε edd. || 193 αὐτοῦ edd. || 196/7 ἐξουσιάσαντας edd. || 199 ὑμᾶς V edd. Theoph. Cont.: ὑμῖν P ||

29

σητε τὰ τέκνα μου καὶ τὴν ἐλπίζουσαν ἀπολαβεῖν με σύμβιόν μου· ὡς
γὰρ ποιήσητε μετὰ αὐτῶν, παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μισθαποδότου ἀγαθοῦ
Θεοῦ, μέλλοντος κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθε.»
76vP Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· «Ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπὸ | τοῦ
136Be | Σολδανοῦ ἀπολοῦμαι καὶ περὶ τὴν ζωὴν κινδυνεύω, ὑμεῖς δὲ στῆτε
ἑδραῖοι καὶ μὴ δειλανδρήσητε, ἀλλ' ὑπομείνατε μικρόν, καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον
ἡμερῶν φθάζει ἡ ἀποσταλεῖσα ὑμῖν σωτηρία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥω-
μαίων». Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, οἱ κατέχοντες αὐτὸν οἰκεῖοι τοῦ
Σολδανοῦ παρὰ προσδοκίαν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαληθέντα ἀκούσαντες,
ἔβρυξαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀδόντας, καὶ εἷς τοῦ ἑτέρου προέτρεχον, τίς ἄρα
τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν αὐτουργός. Τοῦ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθέν-
τος, πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σολδανὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κατερχομένην δυναστείαν,
ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν. Καὶ ἔκτοτε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καὶ οἱ
77rP τῆς Καπύης | καὶ οἱ τῆς Βενεβενδοῦ εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
εἰς τελείαν δούλωσιν καὶ ὑποταγὴν διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς γενομένην μεγάλην
ταύτην εὐεργεσίαν.

Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ῥαουσίου οὐ καλεῖται Ῥαούσι τῇ Ῥωμαίων
διαλέκτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐπάνω τῶν κρημνῶν ἵσταται, λέγεται ῥωμαϊστὶ 'ὁ
κρημνὸς λαῦ'· ἐκλήθησαν δὲ ἐκ τούτου Λαυσαῖοι, ἤγουν 'οἱ καθεζόμενοι
εἰς τὸν κρημνόν'. Ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια, ἡ πολλάκις μεταφθείρουσα
τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ ἐναλλαγῇ τῶν γραμμάτων, μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν κλῆσιν
Ῥαουσαίους τούτους ἐκάλεσεν. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ῥαουσαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν
ἐκράτουν τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα, καὶ ἐπειδή, ἡνίκα τὰ
77vP 137Be λοιπὰ ἐκρατήθησαν | κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλάβων τῶν ὄντων | ἐν τῷ θέ-
ματι, ἐκρατήθη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ
ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δυνηθέντες ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ διασωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς
ὑποκρήμνους τόπους κατῴκησαν, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἀρτίως τὸ κάστρον, οἰκοδο-
μήσαντες αὐτὸ πρότερον μικρόν, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα μεῖζον, καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῦ αὐξήσαντες μέχρι † δ' ἔχειν † τὸ
κάστρον διὰ τὸ πλατύνεσθαι αὐτοὺς κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ πληθύνεσθαι. Ἐκ
δὲ τῶν μετοικησάντων εἰς τὸ Ῥαούσιον εἰσὶν οὗτοι· Γρηγόριος, Ἀρσά-
φιος, Βικτωρῖνος, Βιτάλιος, Βαλεντῖνος, ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων, Βαλεντῖνος, ὁ
πατὴρ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Στεφάνου. Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαλῶνα μετῴκη-
78rP σαν εἰς τὸ Ῥαούσι|ον, εἰσὶν ἔτη φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἰνδικτιὼν ζ'
ἔτους ͵ςυνζ'. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος Παγκράτιος ἐν τῷ
ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου, τῷ ὄντι μέσον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου.

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*F* 203 μέλλοντος — νεκρούς: II Timoth. 4, 1. 203 τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθε: cf. II Ioh. 8. 210 ἔβρυξαν — ὀδόντας: cf. Acta 7, 54.

*V* 201 σύμβιόν: σύνευνον Theoph. Cont. ‖ 203 *ante* μέλλοντος *add.* τοῦ V ‖

and her who is hoping to receive me back, my wife; for as you deal with them, so shall your reward be from God, the just and righteous rewarder, who shall judge the quick and the dead.» When he had so spoken, he fortified them with these words: «For my part I shall be destroyed by Soldan and the threat of death is upon me; but do you stand fast and be not fainthearted, but endure a little while, and in a few days shall arrive the salvation which has been sent to you by the emperor of the Romans». When he had so spoken, the servants of Soldan who had charge of him, hearing his unexpected message, gnashed with their teeth upon him, and each outran the other to be the author of his murder. But after he was made away by them, Soldan, dreading the powers of the emperor that were coming upon him, withdrew to his own country. And from that time until this day the men of Capua and the men of Beneventum have been under the authority of the Romans in perfect servitude and subjection, for that great benefit which was done to them.

The city of Ragusa is not called Ragusa in the tongue of the Romans but, because it stands on cliffs, it is called in Roman speech 'the cliff, lau'; whence they are called 'Lausaioi', i. e. 'those who have their seat on the cliff'. But vulgar usage, which frequently corrupts names by altering their letters, has changed the denomination and called them Rausaioi. These same Rausaioi used of old to possess the city that is called Pitaura; and since, when the other cities were captured by the Slavs that were in the province, this city too was captured, and some were slaughtered and others taken prisoner, those who were able to escape and reach safety settled in the almost precipitous spot where the city now is; they built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached *its present size*, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase in population. Among those who migrated to Ragusa are: Gregory, Arsaphius, Victorinus, Vitalius, Valentine the archdeacon, Valentine the father of Stephen the protospatharius. From their migration from Salona to Ragusa, it is 500 years till this day, which is the 7th indiction, the year 6457. In this same city lies St. Pancratius, in the church of St. Stephen, which is in the middle of this same city.

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206 ὀλίγον Ba Be: ὀλίγων P || 207 φθάσει edd. ἔρχεται Theoph. Cont. || 208 οἰκεῖοι: ὑπηρέται Theoph. Cont. || 211 αὐτοῦ σφαγῆς edd. || γέγονεν: γένειεν V edd. || 212 κατερχομένην: ἐρχομένην edd. || 217 ῾Ραούση P || 218 *post* λέγεται *add.* δὲ Be || 219 λαῦ: λαοῦ Migne || δὲ *om.* Be || 222 ῾Ραουσαίοι P || 223 Πίταυρα: 'Επίδαυρον *coni.* Bandurius || 226 δὲ *secl.* Jenkins || 229 δ' ἔχειν: δ' ἔχει Me δ' ἔχειν Ba Be ⟨τοῦ⟩ ὧδ' ἔχειν *coni.* Bekker τοῦ ἔχειν ⟨τὸ μέγεθος ὃ ἀρτίως ἔχει⟩ *coni.* Bury || 232 Βικτωρῆνος P || Βαλεντῖνος$^2$ Bandurius Be: Βανεντῖνος P *mg.* P || 233/4 μετοίκησαν P || 234 τὸ *om.* edd. || φ': τ' *coni.* Mikoczi Šišić χ' *coni.* Labuda || ἰνδικτιῶνος edd. || ζ': ἑβδόμης edd. || 235 τῷ αὐτῷ V edd.: τὸ αὐτὸ P ||

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον, ὅπερ ʻπαλάτιον μικρόνʼ ἑρμηνεύεται, ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς τοῦτο ἔκτισεν· εἶχεν δὲ αὐτὸ ὡς ἴδιον οἶκον, καὶ αὐλὴν οἰκοδομήσας ἔνδοθεν καὶ παλάτια, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείονα κατελύθησαν. Σώζεται δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὀλίγα, ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον τοῦ κάστρου καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Δόμνου, ἐν ᾧ κατάκειται ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Δόμνος, ὅπερ ἦν κοιτὼν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ. Ὑποκάτω
78ᵛP 138Be δὲ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν εἰλληματικαὶ καμάραι, αἵτινες | ὑπῆρχον | φυλακαί, ἐν αἷς τοὺς παρʼ αὐτοῦ βασανιζομένους ἁγίους ἐναπέκλειεν ἀπηνῶς. Ἀπόκειται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάστρῳ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἀναστάσιος.

Ὅτι τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου οὔτε ἀπὸ βησσάλων ἐστὶν ἐκτισμένον, οὔτε ἀπὸ ἐγχορήγου, ἀλλʼ ἀπὸ λίθων τετραπεδίκων, ἐχόντων εἰς μῆκος ἀνὰ ὀργυιᾶς μιᾶς, πολλάκις καὶ ἀνὰ δύο, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἀνὰ ὀργυιᾶς μιᾶς, οἵτινές εἰσιν συνηρμοσμένοι καὶ συνδεδεμένοι εἰς ἀλλήλους μετὰ σιδήρων ἐν μολύβδῳ ἐγχυλιασμένων. Ἵστανται δὲ εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον καὶ κίονες πυκνοί, ἔχοντες ἐπάνω κοσμήτας, ἐν οἷς ἔμελλεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς εἰλληματικὰς ἐγεῖραι καμάρας, καὶ
79ʳP σκεπάσαι τὸ κάστρον ὅλον, καὶ ποιῆ|σαι τὰ παλάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ κάστρου ἐπάνω τῶν εἰλημάτων ἐκείνων διώροφα καὶ τριώροφα, ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου ἐσκέπασεν. Τοῦ δὲ τοιούτου κάστρου τὸ τεῖχος οὔτε περίπατον ἔχει, οὔτε προμαχῶνας, ἀλλὰ τοίχους μόνους ὑψηλοὺς καὶ τοξικὰς φωταγωγούς.

Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Τετραγγούριν νησίον ἐστὶν μικρὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἔχον καὶ τράχηλον ἕως τῆς γῆς στενώτατον δίκην γεφυρίου, ἐν ᾧ διέρχονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον. Τετραγγούριν δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ μικρὸν δίκην ἀγγουρίου. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ ἀπόκειται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς Λαυρέντιος, ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων.

139Be Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τῶν Δεκατέρων ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ Ῥωμαίων
79ᵛP διαλέκτῳ ʻἐστε|νωμένον καὶ πεπνιγμένονʼ, διότι εἰσέρχεται ἡ θάλασσα ὥσπερ γλῶσσα ἐστενωμένη μέχρι τῶν ιεʹ ⟨ἢ⟩ καὶ κʹ μιλίων, καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης συμπλήρωμά ἐστιν τὸ κάστρον. Ἔχει δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ὄρη ὑψηλά, ὥστε μόνῳ τῷ καλοκαιρίῳ βλέπειν τὸν ἥλιον διὰ τὸ μεσουρανεῖν, τῷ δὲ χειμῶνι οὐδαμῶς. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος Τρύφων ἀκέραιος πᾶσαν νόσον ἰώμενος, μάλιστα τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων τυραννουμένους· ὁ δὲ ναὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν εἰλληματικός.

Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τῶν Διαδώρων καλεῖται τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ʻἰὰμ ἔραʼ, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται ʻἀπάρτι ἦτονʼ· δηλονότι ὅτε ἡ Ῥώμη ἐκτίσθη,

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*V* 237 τοῦ: τὸ Be ⟨τὸ⟩ τοῦ Bury ‖ 243 ἠλιματικαὶ P εἰλληματικαὶ Meursius Ba Be ‖ 245 *post* δὲ *add.* καὶ edd. ‖ αὐτῷ V edd.: αὐτὸ P ‖

29

The city of Spalato, which means 'little palace', was founded by the emperor Diocletian; he made it his own dwelling-place, and built within it a court and a palace, most part of which has been destroyed. But a few things remain to this day, e. g. the episcopal residence of the city and the church of St. Domnus, in which lies St. Domnus himself, and which was the resting-place of the same emperor Diocletian. Beneath it are arching vaults, which used to be prisons, in which he cruelly confined the saints whom he tormented. St. Anastasius also lies in this city.

The defence-wall of this city is constructed neither of bricks nor of concrete, but of ashlar blocks, one and often two fathoms in length by a fathom across, and these are fitted and joined to one another by iron cramps puddled into molten lead. In this city also stand close rows of columns, with entablatures above, on which this same emperor Diocletian proposed to erect arching vaults and to cover over the city throughout, and to build his palace and all the living-quarters of the city on the top of those vaults, to a height of two and three stories, so that they covered little *ground-space* in the same city. The defence-wall of this city has neither rampart nor bulwarks, but only lofty walls and arrow-slits.

The city of Tetrangourin is a little island in the sea, with a very narrow neck reaching to the land like a bridge, along which the inhabitants pass to the same city; and it is called Tetrangourin because it is *long-shaped* like a cucumber. In this same city lies the holy martyr Lawrence the archdeacon.

The city of Decatera means in the language of the Romans 'contracted and strangled', because the sea enters like a contracted tongue for 15 *or* 20 miles, and the city is on this marine appendix. This city has high mountains in a circle about it, so that the sun can be seen only in summer, because it is then in mid-heaven, and in winter it cannot be seen at all. In the same city lies St. Tryphon entire, who heals every disease, especially those who are tormented by unclean spirits; his church is domed.

The city of Diadora is called in the language of the Romans 'iam era', which means, 'it was already': that is to say, when Rome was founded,

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246 βισάλων P || 247 ἐγχωρήγου P: ἐγχωρύγου *coni.* Kukules || τετραπεδίκων: τετραπέδων *coni.* Laskin || 248 ὀργῦας P || μιᾶς: α′ V edd. || 249 ὀργῦας P || 250 μολίβδω P || ἐγχυλιασμένων edd.: ἐγχυλιασμένα P || *post* δὲ *add.* καὶ edd. || 251 κοσμίτας P || 252 εἰληματικὰς Meursius Ba Be || 254 εἰλημάτων V edd. || διόροφα P || 255 τριόροφα P || καὶ: μὴ edd. || ὀλίγον edd.: ὀλίγων P || 258 Τετραγγούριν: τε Τραγγουρίον *coni.* Šafarik Τραγούριον *mg.* P[1] Τράγουρις *mg.* V[2] || μικρόν ἐστι νησίον V edd. || 261 μικρὸν: μακρὸν *coni.* Jenkins || τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ V edd.: τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον P || 262 μάρτυρ edd. || 263 Δεκατέρων: Κάτερα *mg.* V[3] || 264 πεπνιγμένον *coni.* Jenkins: πεπληγμένον P edd. || 265 ιε′: δεκαπέντε edd. || ἢ *addendum coni.* Bury || κ′: εἴκοσι edd. || 267 κύκλον V edd. || 268 τῷ αὐτῷ V edd.: τὸ αὐτὸ P || 269 ἀκέραιος *corr.* Kukules Kyriakides: ἀκεραίως Meursius Ba Be: ἀκαίρεως P || 271 ἡλιματικῶς P: εἰληματικὸς V edd. || 272 ‘Ρωμαίων V edd.: ῥῶ′ P || 273 ἰὰμ ἔρα V Me ἡαμερά P: ἰὰμ ἔρατ Meursius Ba Be ||

80rP προεκτισμένον ἦν τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον· ἔστιν δὲ τὸ κά|στρον μέγα. Ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια καλεῖ αὐτὸ Διάδωρα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ κεῖται ἐν σαρκὶ ἡ ἁγία Ἀναστασία, ἡ παρθένος, θυγάτηρ γεγονυῖα Εὐσταθίου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον βασιλεύσαντος, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Χρυσόγονος μοναχὸς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ ἡ ἁγία ἅλυσις αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ναὸς τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας ἐστὶν δρομικός, ὅμοιος ⟨τῷ⟩ τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων ναῷ, μετὰ κιόνων πρασίνων καὶ λευκῶν, ὅλος εἰκονισμένος ἐξ ὑλογραφίας ἀρχαίας· ὁ δὲ πάτος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἀπὸ συγκοπῆς θαυμαστῆς. Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἕτερος ναὸς πλησίον αὐτοῦ εἰληματικός, ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς, καὶ
140Be ἐπάνω τοῦ ναοῦ αὐ|τοῦ πάλιν ἕτερος ναὸς δίκην κατηχουμένων, καὶ
80vP αὐτὸς εἰληματικός, εἰς ὃν | καὶ ἀνέρχονται διὰ κοχλίου.

Ὅτι εἰσὶν νησία ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τῆς Δελματίας μέχρι Βενεβενδοῦ πυκνὰ καὶ πάμπολλα, ὥστε μηδέποτε φοβεῖσθαι ἐκεῖσε κλύδωνα τὰ πλοῖα. Ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νησίων ἐστὶν τὸ κάστρον ἡ Βέκλα, καὶ εἰς ἕτερον νησίον ἡ Ἄρβη, καὶ εἰς ἕτερον νησίον τὰ Ὄψαρα, καὶ εἰς ἕτερον νησίον τὸ Λουμβρικάτον, ἅτινα κατοικοῦνται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. Τὰ δὲ λοιπά εἰσιν ἀοίκητα, ἔχοντα ἐρημόκαστρα, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματά εἰσιν οὕτως· Καταυτρεβενώ, Πιζούχ, Σελβώ, Σκερδά, Ἀλωήπ, Σκηρδάκισσα, Πυρότιμα, Μελετᾶ, Ἐστιουνὴζ καὶ ἕτερα πάμπολλα, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐ νοοῦν-
81rP ται. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κάστρα, τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν τοῦ θέματος | καὶ κρατηθέντα παρὰ τῶν εἰρημένων Σκλάβων, ἀοίκητα καὶ ἔρημα ἵστανται, μηδενὸς κατοικοῦντος ἐν αὐτοῖς.

## 30. Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ θέματος Δελματίας.

Εἰ πᾶσιν ἡ γνῶσις καλόν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρα τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν γνῶσιν καταλαμβάνοντες οὐ πόρρω τούτου γινόμεθα. Ὅθεν καὶ πᾶσι φανερὰν ποιοῦμεν τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς πῇ μὲν τούτων τὴν δήλωσιν, πῇ δὲ ἑτέρων ἀξιολόγων τινῶν, ἵνα καὶ διπλοῦν ἐπακολουθῇ τὸ καλόν.

141Be Τοῖς οὖν καὶ τῆς Δελματίας | τὴν παράληψιν ζητοῦσιν, ὅπως ἐλήφθη παρὰ τῶν Σκλαβικῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐντεῦθεν ἔστιν μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν θέσιν αὐτῆς διηγητέον. Ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοίνυν ἡ Δελματία τὴν

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*F* **30. 2** πᾶσιν — καλόν: cf. Prov. **1**, 7; cf. De Cer. (ed. Bonn) 456, 4—5.

*V* 275 τῷ αὐτῷ V edd.: τὸ αὐτὸ P || 277 *post* Εὐσταθίου *aliquid excidisse coni.* Bury || 279 ⟨τῷ⟩ τῶν *coni.* Bekker: τῶν P: τῷ V edd. || Χαλκοπρατίων P || 280 ὑλογραφίας: στηλογραφίας *coni.* Meursius || 282 εἰληματικῶς P: εἰληματικός edd. || 284 εἰληματικῶς P: εἰληματικός V edd. || κοχλίου *coni.* Kukules: κοχλίας P κοχλείας V edd. || 285 Ὅτι V edd.: [Ὅ]τι P || 286 κλύδωνα ἐκεῖσε edd. || 288 τὰ: ἡ edd. || 289 Λουμβρίκατον *mg.* V² ||

this city had already been founded before it; it is a big city. Vulgar usage gives it the name Diadora. In the same city lies in the flesh St. Anastasia, the virgin, daughter of Eustathius, who was on the throne at that time; and St. Chrysogonus, monk and martyr, and his holy chain. The church of St. Anastasia is a basilica like the church of the Chalcopratia, with green and white columns, and all decorated with encaustic pictures in the antique style; its floor is of wonderful mosaic. Near it is another church, a domed one, Holy Trinity, and above this church again is another church, like a triforium, domed also, into which they mount by a spiral staircase.

Under the control of Dalmatia is a close-set and very numerous archipelago, extending as far as Beneventum, so that ships never fear to be overwhelmed in those parts. One of these islands is the city of Vekla, and on another island Arbe, and on another island Opsara, and on another island Lumbricaton, and these are still inhabited. The rest are uninhabited and have upon them deserted cities, of which the names are as follows: Katautrebeno, Pizouch, Selbo, Skerda, Aloëp, Skirdakissa, Pyrotima, Meleta, Estiounez, and very many others of which the names are not intelligible. The remaining cities, on the mainland of the province, which were captured by the said Slavs, now stand uninhabited and deserted, and nobody lives in them.

## **30.** Story of the province of Dalmatia.

If knowledge be a good thing for all, then we too are approaching it by arriving at the knowledge of events. For this reason we are giving, for the benefit of all who come after us, a plain account both of these matters and of certain others worthy of attention, so that the resulting good may be twofold.

They, then, who are inquiring into the taking of Dalmatia also, how it was taken by the nations of the Slavs, may learn of it from what follows; but first of all its geographical position must be told. In olden times, there-

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290 ἔχοντα V edd.: ἔχων[τα] P || 291 Καταυτρεβενῶ P Κατανγρεβενώ *seu* Καταυνγρεβενώ *coni.* Skok || Πιζύχ edd. Γιζύχ *coni.* Rački || Σελβῶ P || Σκιρδάκισσα V edd. Σκιρδὰ Κίσσα *coni.* Šafarik || 292 Μελετὰ V edd. || 'Εστιουνὴζ: Σεστρουνήζ (= Σεστρουνήσιον *seu* Σεστρουν-νησίον?) *coni.* Rački Grot 'Εστρουνήζ *coni.* Skok.

**30.** 3 γινόμεθα (*coni. etiam* Bekker Bury): γινώμεθα V edd. || 4 φανερὰν Be: φανερὰ P || 5 τινῶν ἀξιολόγων edd. || καὶ *om.* V edd. || ἐπανακολουθῇ edd. || 7 Σκλαβι{νι}κῶν Migne || 8 *ante* τοίνυν *add.* μὲν edd. ||

# 30

81ᵛP ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶχεν | ἀπὸ τῶν συνόρων Δυρραχίου, ἤγουν ἀπὸ Ἀντιβάρεως, καὶ παρετείνετο μὲν μέχρι τῶν τῆς Ἰστρίας ὀρῶν, ἐπλατύνετο δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ. Ἦν δὲ ἅπασα ἡ τοιαύτη περίχωρος ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, καὶ ἐνδοξότερον τῶν ἄλλων ἑσπερίων θεμάτων τὸ τοιοῦτον θέμα ἐτύγχανε, πλὴν παρελήφθη παρὰ τῶν Σκλαβικῶν ἐθνῶν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Κάστρον ἐστὶν πλησίον Ἀσπαλάθου, ὃ Σαλῶνα λέγεται, ἔργον Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Ἀσπάλαθος καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐκτίσθη, καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ βασιλικὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐτύγχανον, εἰς 82ʳP δὲ Σαλῶνα κατῴκουν οἵ τε μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὄχλων ἱ|κανοί. Ὑπῆρχε δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον κεφαλὴ πάσης τῆς Δελματίας. Ἠθροίζοντο οὖν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν κάστρων Δελματίας στρατιῶται ἔφιπποι, καὶ ἀπεστέλλοντο ἀπὸ Σαλῶνος μέχρι τῶν χιλίων, καὶ ἐφύλαττον εἰς τὸν Δανούβιν ποταμὸν ἕνεκεν τῶν Ἀβάρων. Οἱ γὰρ Ἄβαρεις ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο, ἔνθα ἀρτίως εἰσὶν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νομάδα βίον ζῶντες. Ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελματίας κατ' ἔτος ἔβλεπον πολλάκις ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τά τε κτήνη καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώ- 142Be πους. Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς κατά τινα χρόνον διαπερᾶσαι | καὶ ἐρευνῆσαι, 82ᵛP τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἐκεῖσε τὴν δίαιταν ἔχοντες. Πε|ράσαντες οὖν εὗρον τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Ἀβάρων καὶ τὰ παιδία μόνα, τοὺς ἄνδρας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀκμάζουσαν ἡλικίαν ἐν ταξιδίῳ. Ἄφνω οὖν ἐπιπέσαντες ᾐχμαλώτευσαν αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν ἀταλαιπώρως, ἀποκομίσαντες τὴν τοιαύτην πραῖδαν εἰς Σαλῶνα. Ὡς οὖν ὑπέστρεψαν οἱ Ἄβαρεις ἐκ τοῦ ταξιδίου καὶ τὸ γενόμενον, ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθον, ἔμαθον, ἐταράχθησαν μέν, ἠγνόουν δέ, ὁπόθεν αὐτοῖς ἡ τοιαύτη πληγὴ προσεγένετο. Ἔδοξεν οὖν παραφυλάξαι αὐτοῖς τὸν καιρὸν καὶ μαθεῖν τὸ πᾶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ οὖν κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες αὖθις οἱ ταξεῶται ἀπεστάλησαν ἀπὸ Σαλῶνος, ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, 83ʳP ἀλλ' ἕτεροι, ταὐτὰ ἐκείνοις | καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ βουλὰς ἔθεντο. Διεπέρασαν οὖν κατ' αὐτῶν, ἐντυχόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς συνηγμένοις ὁμοῦ, οὐχ, ὡς τὸ πρότερον, ἐσκορπισμένοις, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάντων δεινότατα ἔπαθον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐχειρώθησαν ζῶντες, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων τῶν χειρῶν ἐξέφυγεν. Ἐξετάσαντες δὲ αὐτούς, τίνες τε καὶ ὅθεν εἰσίν, καὶ ἀναμαθόντες, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔπαθον τὴν εἰρημένην πληγήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ποιότητος τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν ἐρευνήσαντες, καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἀρεσθέντες, ἐκράτησαν τοὺς ζῶντας δεσμίους, καὶ ἐνεδύσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καθὰ ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ δὴ τοὺς

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*V* 10 Ἰστρίας P^x V^1 edd.: ἱστορίας P V || 13 Σκλαβινικῶν V edd. || 14 Σαλῶνα edd.: Σάλωνα P || 15 τοῦ *om.* V edd. || 17 Σαλῶνα (*coni. etiam* Bury): Σαλῶναν Ba Be || κατῴκουν V edd.: κατοίκουν P || τε *om.* edd. || μεγιστάνες P || ἱκακανοί P || 19 *ante* Δελματίας *add.* τῆς V edd. || 20 *post* ἀπὸ *add.*

fore, Dalmatia used to start at the confines of Dyrrachium, or Antibari, and used to extend as far as the mountains of Istria, and spread out as far as the river Danube. All this area was under the rule of the Romans, and this province was the most illustrious of all the provinces of the west; however, it was taken by the nations of the Slavs in the following manner. Near Spalato is a city called Salona, built by the emperor Diocletian; Spalato itself was also built by Diocletian, and his palace was there, but at Salona dwelt his nobles and large numbers of the common folk. This city was the head of all Dalmatia. Now, every year a force of cavalry from the other cities of Dalmatia used to collect at, and be despatched from Salona, to the number of a thousand, and they would keep guard on the river Danube, on account of the Avars. For the Avars had their haunts on the far side of the river Danube, where now are the Turks, and led a nomad life. The men of Dalmatia who went there every year would often see the beasts and men on the far side of the river. On one occasion, therefore, they decided to cross over and investigate who they were that had their abode there. So they crossed, and found only the women and children of the Avars, the men and youths being on a military expedition. Falling suddenly upon them, therefore, they made them prisoner, and returned unmolested, carrying off this booty to Salona. Now when the Avars came back from their military expedition and learnt from their losses what had happened, they were confounded, but know not from what quarter this blow had come upon them. They therefore decided to bide their time and in this way to discover the whole. And so, when according to custom the garrison was once more dispatched from Salona, not the same men as before but others, they too decided to do what their predecessors had done. So they crossed over against them, but finding them massed together, not scattered abroad as on the previous occasion, not merely did they achieve nothing but actually suffered the most frightful reverse. For some of them were slain, and the remainder taken alive, and not one escaped the hand of *the enemy. The latter* examined them as to who they were and whence they came, and having learnt that it was from them that they had suffered the blow aforesaid, and having moreover found out by enquiry the nature of their homeland and taken a fancy to it as far as they might from hearsay, they held the survivors captive and dressed themselves up in their clothes, just as the others *had worn them*, and then, mounting the horses and *taking*

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τὴν Me *add.* τῆς Ba Be || Σαλῶνα V Me || χιλίων V edd.: ͵α P || 21 Δανουβίου edd. || ἕνεκα edd. || Ἄβαρεις V Me Ba: Ἀβάρεις Be Migne Ἄβαρης P^x Ἀβάρης P Ἄβαροι *mg.* P^s || 23 Τούρκοι P || 28 ἐπιπέσοντες edd. || 30 Ἄβαρες edd. Ἀβάρεις Migne || 32/3 αὐτοῖς παραφυλάξαι edd. || 35 ταὐτὰ Be: ταῦτα P || ἐκείνοις edd.: ἐκεῖνοι P || 37 οὐκ *secl.* Be Bury || 38 αὐτῶν V edd.: αὐτοῖς P || 40 τε *om.* edd. || 42 ἀρεσθέντες: ἐρασθέντες V edd. ||

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83vP | ἵππους ἀναβάντες, ⟨λαβόντες⟩ ἐπὶ χεῖρας τά τε φλάμμουλα καὶ τὰ
143Be λοιπὰ σημεῖα, ἃ ἐπεφέροντο μετ' αὐτῶν, | ἀπῆραν πάντες φοσσατικῶς
καὶ κατὰ τῆς Σαλῶνος ὥρμησαν. Ὡς οὖν καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἔμαθον ζητήσαντες, καθ' ὃν οἱ ταξεῶται ἐκ τοῦ Δανουβίου ὑπέστρεφον (ἦν δὲ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἅγιον σάββατον), ἦλθον καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος, ὅτε δήπου πλησίον ἐγένοντο, τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀπεκρύβη, μέχρι δὲ τῶν χιλίων, οἵτινες τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς στολὰς εἰς ἀπάτην ἐκέκτηντο τῶν Δελματινῶν, ἐξήλασαν. Ἀναγνωρίσαντες δὲ οἱ τοῦ κάστρου τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τὴν ἀμφίασιν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς ἔθους ὄντος
84rP αὐτοῖς | τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἤνοιξαν τὰς πόρτας, καὶ ὑπεδέξαντο αὐτοὺς μετὰ περιχαρείας. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἅμα τῷ εἰσελθεῖν τάς τε πόρτας ἐκράτησαν, καὶ δήλην διὰ σημείου τὴν πρᾶξιν τῷ φοσσάτῳ πεποιηκότες, συνεισδραμεῖν καὶ συνεισελθεῖν παρεσκεύασαν. Κατέσφαξαν οὖν πάντας τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἔκτοτε κατεκράτησαν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν Δελματίας, καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν ἐν αὐτῇ. Μόνα δὲ τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν πολίχνια οὐ συνέδωκαν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ κατείχοντο παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸν πόρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. Ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ Ἄβαρεις καλλίστην οὖσαν τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν, κατεσκήνωσαν ἐν αὐτῇ. Οἱ δὲ Χρω-
84vP βάτοι κα|τῴκουν τηνικαῦτα ἐκεῖθεν Βαγιβαρείας, ἔνθα εἰσὶν ἀρτίως οἱ Βελοχρωβάτοι. Μία δὲ γενεὰ διαχωρισθεῖσα ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἤγουν ἀδελφοὶ πέντε, ὅ τε Κλουκᾶς καὶ ὁ Λόβελος καὶ ὁ Κοσέντζης καὶ ὁ Μουχλὼ καὶ
144Be ὁ Χρωβάτος καὶ ἀδελφαὶ δύο, ἡ Τουγὰ καὶ ἡ Βουγά, μετὰ | τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ἦλθον εἰς Δελματίαν, καὶ εὗρον τοὺς Ἄβαρεις κατέχοντας τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν. Ἐπί τινας οὖν χρόνους πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὑπερίσχυσαν οἱ Χρωβάτοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἀβάρων κατέσφαξαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὑποταγῆναι κατηνάγκασαν. Ἔκτοτε οὖν κατεκρατήθη ἡ τοιαύτη χώρα παρὰ τῶν Χρωβάτων, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀκμὴν ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ ἐκ {τοὺς} τῶν Ἀβά-
85rP ρων, καὶ γινώσκονται Ἄβαρεις | ὄντες. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Χρωβάτοι ἔμειναν πρὸς Φραγγίαν, καὶ λέγονται ἀρτίως Βελοχρωβάτοι, ἤγουν ἄσπροι Χρωβάτοι, ἔχοντες ἴδιον ἄρχοντα· ὑπόκεινται δὲ Ὤτῳ, τῷ μεγάλῳ ῥηγὶ Φραγγίας, τῆς καὶ Σαξίας, καὶ ἀβάπτιστοι τυγχάνουσιν, συμπενθερίας μετὰ τοὺς Τούρκους καὶ ἀγάπας ἔχοντες. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Χρωβάτων, τῶν ἐλθόντων ἐν Δελματίᾳ, διεχωρίσθη μέρος τι, καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν καὶ τὴν Παννονίαν· εἶχον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτεξούσιον, διαπεμπόμενον καὶ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Χρωβατίας κατὰ φιλίαν. Μέχρι δὲ χρόνων τινῶν ὑπετάσσοντο καὶ οἱ ἐν Λελματίᾳ ὄντες Χρωβάτοι τοῖς Φράγ-

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*V* 44 λαβόντες *add.* Moravcsik *coni.* Bekker || φλάμουλα P || 45 φοσατικῶς P || 46 ὅρμισαν P || 50 χιλίων edd.: ͵α P || 51 Δελματινῶν edd.: Δαλματινῶν P || 54 τῷ *scr.* Moravcsik: τὸ P τοῦ V edd. || 55 τῷ φοσσάτῳ V edd.:

in their hands the standards and the rest of the insignia which *the others* had brought with them, they all started off in military array and made for Salona. And since they had learnt by enquiry also the time at which the garrison was wont to return from the Danube (which was the Great and Holy Saturday), they themselves arrived on that same day. When they got near, the bulk of the army was placed in concealment, but up to a thousand of them, those who, to play the trick, had acquired the horses and uniforms of the Dalmatians, rode out in front. Those in the city, recognizing their insignia and dress, and also the day, for upon this day it was customary for them to return, opened the gates and received them with delight. But they, as soon as they were inside, seized the gates and, signalling their exploit to the army, gave it the cue to run in and enter with them. And so they put to the sword all in the city and thereafter made themselves masters of all the country of Dalmatia and settled down in it. Only the townships on the coast held out against them, and continued to be in the hands of the Romans, because they obtained their livelihood from the sea. The Avars, then, seeing this land to be most fair, settled down in it. But the Croats at that time were dwelling beyond Bavaria, where the Belocroats are now. From them split off a family of five brothers, Kloukas and Lobelos and Kosentzis and Mouchlo and Chrobatos, and two sisters, Touga and Bouga, who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found the Avars in possession of that land. After they had fought one another for some years, the Croats prevailed and killed some of the Avars and the remainder they compelled to be subject to them. And so from that time this land was possessed by the Croats, and there are still in Croatia some who are of Avar descent and are recognized as Avars. The rest of the Croats stayed over against Francia, and are now called Belocroats, that is, white Croats, and have their own prince; they are subject to Otto, the great king of Francia, or Saxony, and are unbaptized, and intermarry and are friendly with the Turks. From the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia; they too had an independent prince, who used to maintain friendly contact, though through envoys only, with the prince of Croatia. For a number of years the Croats of Dalmatia also

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τὸ φοσσάτο P || 60 Ἄβαρεις V Me Ba: Ἄβαρης P ᾿Αβάρεις Be Migne || 62 κατῴκουν edd.: κατοίκουν P || Βαγιβαρείας: Βαβιγαρείας *coni.* Pavić || 63 Βελοχρωβάτοι edd.: Βελαχρωβάτοι P || μιὰ P || 64 πέντε V edd.: ε′ P || Κλουκὰς P || Μουχλῶ P || 65 Χρωβάτος (*coni. etiam* Bury): Χρώβατος edd. || δύο V edd.: β′ P || Τουγᾶ P: Τοῦγα V edd. || Βοῦγα edd. || 66 ᾿Αβάρεις Be || 67 ἀλλήλοις V edd. || 68 κατέσφαξαν] *litteras* κατ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 70 ἐκ: ⟨τινες⟩ ἐκ *coni.* Bury || τοὺς *secl.* Migne Bury: τούτων *coni.* Dujčev Kyriakides || 71 ᾿Αβάρεις Be || 73 *ante* ἴδιον *add.* τὸν edd. || 74 ῥιγὶ P || τῆς: τε *coni.* Bandurius || 74/5 συμπεμθερίας P || 75 τῶν[1] *om.* V edd. || 77 Παννονίαν Ba Be: Παπωνίαν P *mg.* P[8] || 78 καὶ μόνον *om.* Be ||

85vP γοις, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν· τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐσκληρύ|νοντο οἱ Φράγγοι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι τὰ ὑπομάσθια τῶν Χρωβάτων φονεύοντες προσέρριπτον αὐτὰ σκύλαξιν. Μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ οἱ Χρωβάτοι ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων ὑφίστασθαι, διέστησαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, φονεύσαντες καὶ οὓς εἶχον ἄρχοντας ἐξ αὐτῶν. Ὅθεν ἐστράτευσαν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Φραγγίας φοσσᾶτον μέγα, καὶ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ χρόνους πολεμήσαντες
145Be ἀλλήλοις, ὀψὲ καὶ μόγις ὑπερί|σχυσαν οἱ Χρωβάτοι, καὶ ἀνεῖλον τοὺς Φράγγους πάντας καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Κοτζίλιν καλούμενον. Ἔκτοτε δὲ μείναντες αὐτοδέσποτοι καὶ αὐτόνομοι, ἐξητήσαντο τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα παρὰ τοῦ Ῥώμης, καὶ ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ ἐβάπτισαν αὐτοὺς
86rP ἐπὶ Πορίνου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν. | Διεμερίσθη οὖν ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν εἰς ζουπανίας ια΄, ἤγουν ἡ Χλεβίανα, ἡ Τζένζηνα, τὰ Ἤμοτα, ἡ Πλέβα, ἡ Πεσέντα, ἡ Παραθαλασσία, ἡ Βρεβέρη, ἡ Νόνα, ἡ Τνήνα, ἡ Σίδραγα, ἡ Νίνα· καὶ ὁ βοάνος αὐτῶν κρατεῖ τὴν Κρίβασαν, τὴν Λίτζαν καὶ τὴν Γουτζησκά. Καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰρημένη Χρωβατία, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβηνίαι διάκεινται οὕτως· ἡ δὲ Διόκλεια πλησιάζει πρὸς τὰ καστέλλια τοῦ Δυρραχίου, ἤγουν πρὸς τὸν Ἐλισσὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἑλκύνιον καὶ τὴν Ἀντίβαριν, καὶ ἔρχεται μέχρι τῶν Δεκατέρων, πρὸς τὰ ὀρεινὰ δὲ πλησιάζει τῇ Σερβλίᾳ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κάστρου τῶν Δεκατέρων ἄρχεται ἡ ἀρχοντία
86vP Τερβουνίας, καὶ παρεκτείνεται μέχρι τοῦ Ῥαουσίου, πρὸς δὲ | τὰ ὀρεινὰ αὐτῆς πλησιάζει τῇ Σερβλίᾳ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ῥαουσίου ἄρχεται ἡ ἀρχοντία τῶν Ζαχλούμων, καὶ παρεκτείνεται μέχρι τοῦ Ὀροντίου ποταμοῦ, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παραθαλασσίαν πλησιάζει τοῖς Παγανοῖς, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὀρεινὰ εἰς ἄρκτον μὲν πλησιάζει τοῖς Χρωβάτοις, εἰς κεφαλὴν δὲ τῇ Σερβλίᾳ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὀροντίου ποταμοῦ ἄρχεται ἡ Παγανία, καὶ παρεκτείνεται μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς Ζεντίνας, τρεῖς ἔχουσα ζουπανίας,
146Be τὴν Ῥάστωτζαν καὶ τὸν Μοκρὸν καὶ τοῦ Δαλέν. | Καὶ αἱ μὲν δύο ζουπανίαι, ἤγουν ἡ Ῥάστωτζα καὶ ἡ τοῦ Μοκροῦ, πρόσκεινται τῇ θαλάσσῃ, αἵτινες καὶ σαγήνας ἔχουσιν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δαλενοῦ μήκοθέν ἐστιν τῆς
87rP θαλάσσης, | καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας ζῶσι τῆς γῆς. Πλησιάζουσιν δὲ αὐτοῖς νῆσοι τέσσαρες, τὰ Μέλετα, τὰ Κούρκουρα, ἡ Βράτζα καὶ ὁ Φάρος, κάλλισται καὶ εὐφορώταται, ἐρημόκαστρα ἔχουσαι καὶ ἐλαιῶνας πολλούς· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ ἔχουσι τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ζῶσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ζεντίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄρχεται ἡ χώρα Χρωβατίας, καὶ παρεκτείνεται πρὸς μὲν τὴν παραθαλασσίαν μέχρι τῶν συνόρων Ἰστρίας, ἤγουν τοῦ κάστρου Ἀλβούνου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὀρεινὰ καὶ ὑπέρκειται μέχρι

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*V* 85 φοσσάτον P || ἑπτὰ V edd.: ζ΄ P || πολεμίσαντες P || 87 αὐτῶν V edd.: αὐτὸν P || Κοτζίλιν: Κοδίλιν *coni.* Rački Grot || 88 καὶ *om.* Be || 89 *post* τοῦ *add.* πάπα Bury || 90 Πορίνου: Βορίνου *coni.* Rački || ἄρχοντος V edd.: ἄρχοστος P || 91 Τζέντζηνα edd. Τζέντηνα *coni.* Šišić || 92 Βρεβέρα

were subject to the Franks, as they had formerly been in their own country; but the Franks treated them with such brutality that they used to murder Croat infants at the breast and cast them to the dogs. The Croats, unable to endure such treatment from the Franks, revolted from them, and slew those of them whom they had for princes. On this, a large army from Francia marched against them, and after they had fought one another for seven years, at last the Croats managed to prevail and destroyed all the Franks with their leader, who was called Kotzilis. From that time they remained independent and autonomous, and they requested the holy baptism from the bishop of Rome, and bishops were sent who baptized them in the time of Porinos their prince. Their country was divided into 11 'zupanias', viz., Chlebiana, Tzenzina, Imota, Pleba, Pesenta, Parathalassia, Breberi, Nona, Tnina, Sidraga, Nina; and their ban possesses Kribasa, Litza and Goutziska. Now, the said Croatia and the rest of the Slavonic regions are situated thus: Diocleia is neighbour to the forts of Dyrrachium, I mean, to Elissus and to Helcynium and Antibari, and comes up as far as Decatera, and on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From the city of Decatera begins the domain of Terbounia and stretches along as far as Ragusa, and on the side of its mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From Ragusa begins the domain of the Zachlumi and stretches along as far as the river Orontius; and on the side of the coast it is neighbour to the Pagani, but on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to the Croats on the north and to Serbia at the front. From the river Orontius begins Pagania and stretches along as far as the river Zentina; it has three 'zupanias', Rhastotza and Mokros and that of Dalen. Two of these 'zupanias', viz., Rhastotza and that of Mokros, lie on the sea, and possess galleys; but that of Dalenos lies distant from the sea, and they live by agriculture. Neighbour to them are four islands, Meleta, Kourkoura, Bratza and Pharos, most fair and fertile, with deserted cities upon them and many olive-yards; on these they dwell and keep their flocks, from which they live. From the river Zentina begins the country of Croatia and stretches along, on the side of the coast as far as the frontiers of Istria, that is, to the city of Albunum, and on the side of the mountain country it encroaches some way upon

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edd. || 93 Νίνα: Σμίνα *coni.* Rački || Κρίβασαν: Κρίβαυαν *coni.* Rački Κρίβαβαν *coni.* Šišić Skok || 94 Γουτζησκά (*etiam* Bandurius Bury): Γουτζηκᾶ edd. || 94/5 αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβινίαι *coni.* Bury οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι Ba Be || Σκλαβινίαι P || 95 Διόκληα P Ba Be || 96 Ἑλισσὸν Be || τὸ: τὸν edd. || Ἐλκύνιον P || 97 Ἀντίβαριν V edd.: Ἀντιβάρην P || 98 Σερβλεία P || 103 μὲν πλησιάζει — 105 ἔχουσα *ordinem versuum permutavit* Be || 103/4 τῇ Σερβλίᾳ edd.: τὴν Σερβλίαν P || 106 τὸν: τὸ V edd. || τοῦ: τὸ edd. || Δαλέν: Δαλμέν *coni.* Novaković Rački || 107 Ῥάστωτζα (*littera* $α^2$ *erasa*) P[y] Be: Ἀράστωτζα P V || Μοκροῦ edd.: Μόκρου P || 108 αἵτινες edd.: οἵτινες P || σαγίνας P || μηκόθεν Be || 109 ζῶσι] *litteram* ζ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 110 τέσσαρες edd.: δ' P || Βράτζα: Βράτζω V Βάρτζω edd. || 111 ἐλαιῶνας *coni.* Bury: ἐλῶνας P ἐλῶνας edd. ἀμπελῶνας *coni.* Dujčev Kyriakides: || 113 *ante* Χρωβατίας *add.* τῆς V edd. ||

τινὸς τῷ θέματι Ἰστρίας, πλησιάζει δὲ πρὸς τὴν Τζέντινα καὶ τὴν Χλέβενα τῇ χώρᾳ Σερβλίας. Ἡ γὰρ χώρα Σερβλίας εἰς κεφαλὴν μέν ἐστιν
87vP πασῶν τῶν λοιπῶν χωρῶν, πρὸς | ἄρκτον δὲ πλησιάζει τῇ Χρωβατίᾳ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ τῇ Βουλγαρίᾳ. Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ κατεσκήνωσαν οἱ εἰρημένοι Σκλάβοι, κατεκράτησαν πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον Δελματίας· ἠργάζοντο δὲ τὰ κάστρα τῶν Ῥωμάνων τὰς νήσους, καὶ ἔζουν ἐξ αὐτῶν· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Παγανῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαιχμαλωτιζόμενοι καὶ ἀφανιζόμενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, βουλόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐργάζεσθαι. Ἐκωλύοντο δὲ παρὰ τῶν Χρωβάτων· οὔπω γὰρ ἐτέλουν αὐτοὺς φόρους, ἀλλὰ πάντα, ἅπερ ἀρτίως παρέχουσι τοῖς Σκλάβοις, τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρεῖχον. Ἀδυνάτως δὲ ἔχοντες τοῦ ζῆν προσῆλθον Βασιλείῳ,
147Be 88rP τῷ | ἀοιδίμῳ βα|σιλεῖ, ἀναδιδάξαντες τὰ εἰρημένα πάντα. Ὁ οὖν ἀοίδιμος ἐκεῖνος βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος προετρέψατο πάντα τὰ διδόμενα τῷ στρατηγῷ δίδοσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τοῖς Σκλάβοις καὶ εἰρηνικῶς ζῆν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύ τι δίδοσθαι τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἵνα μόνον δείκνυται ἡ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὑποταγὴ καὶ δούλωσις. Καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐγένοντο πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα κάστρα ὑπόφορα τῶν Σκλάβων, καὶ τελοῦσιν αὐτοῖς πάκτα, τὸ μὲν κάστρον ἡ Ἀσπάλαθος νομίσματα σ', τὸ κάστρον τὸ Τετραγγούριν νομίσματα ρ', τὸ κάστρον τὰ Διάδωρα νομίσματα ρι', τὸ κάστρον τὰ Ὄψαρα νομίσματα ρ', τὸ κάστρον ἡ Ἄρβη ⟨νομίσματα⟩ ρ', τὸ κάστρον ἡ Βέκλα ⟨νομίσματα⟩
88vP ρ', ὡς ὁμοῦ νομίσματα ψι' | ἐκτὸς οἴνου καὶ ἑτέρων διαφόρων εἰδῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ πλειoνά εἰσιν ὑπὲρ τὰ νομίσματα. Τὸ δὲ κάστρον τὸ Ῥαούσιον μέσον τῶν δύο χωρῶν πρόσκειται, τῶν τε Ζαχλούμων καὶ τῆς Τερβουνίας· ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας αὐτῶν εἰς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς χώρας, καὶ τελοῦσι πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ζαχλούμων νομίσματα λϛ', πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα Τερβουνίας νομίσματα λϛ'.

## 31. Περὶ τῶν Χρωβάτων καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας.

148Be Ὅτι οἱ Χρωβάτοι, οἱ εἰς τὰ τῆς Δελματίας νῦν κατοικοῦντες | μέρη, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀβαπτίστων Χρωβάτων, τῶν καὶ ἄσπρων ἐπονομαζομένων, κατάγονται, οἵτινες Τουρκίας μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, Φραγγίας δὲ πλησίον κατοι-
89rP κοῦσι, καὶ | συνοροῦσι Σκλάβοις, τοῖς ἀβαπτίστοις Σέρβλοις. Τὸ δὲ Χρωβάτοι τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἑρμηνεύεται, τουτέστιν 'οἱ πολλὴν χώραν κατέχοντες'. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Χρωβάτοι εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν

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*V* 120 ἐργάζοντο edd. || 121 Ῥωμαίων edd. || 122 ἐπιχμαλωτιζόμενοι P || 124 αὐτούς: αὐτοῖς edd. || 129 αὐτῶν[1] edd.: αὐτῶ P || 130 διδόσθαι P || 133 ἡ Be: ὁ P || 135 νομίσματα[1] *om.* edd.: „ P || νομίσματα[2] *om.* edd.: „ P ||

the province of Istria, and at Tzentina and Chlebena becomes neighbour to the country of Serbia. For the country of Serbia is at the front of all the rest of the countries, but on the north is neighbour to Croatia, and on the south to Bulgaria. Now, after the said Slavs had settled down, they took possession of all the surrounding territory of Dalmatia; but the cities of the Romani took to cultivating the islands and living off them; since, however, they were daily enslaved and destroyed by the Pagani, they deserted these islands and resolved to cultivate the mainland. But they were stopped by the Croats; for they were not yet tributary to the Croats, and used to pay to the military governor all that they now pay to the Slavs. Finding it impossible to live, they approached the glorious emperor Basil and told him all the above. And so that glorious emperor Basil ordered that all that was then paid to the military governor they should pay to the Slavs, and live at peace with them, and that some slight payment should be made to the military governor, as a simple token of submission and servitude to the emperors of the Romans and their military governor. And from that time all these cities became tributary to the Slavs, and they pay them fixed sums: the city of Spalato, 200 nomismata; the city of Tetrangourin, 100 nomismata; the city of Diadora, 110 nomismata; the city of Opsara, 100 nomismata; the city of Arbe, 100 *nomismata;* the city of Vekla, 100 *nomismata;* so that the total amounts to 710 nomismata, exclusive of wine and various other commodities, which are in excess of the payments in cash. The city of Ragusa is situated between the two countries of the Zachlumi and of Terbounia; they have their vineyards in both countries, and pay to the prince of the Zachlumi 36 nomismata, and to the prince of Terbounia 36 nomismata.

## 31. Of the Croats and of the country they now dwell in.

The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptized Croats, also called 'white', who live beyond Turkey and next to Francia, and have for Slav neighbours the unbaptized Serbs. 'Croats' in the Slav tongue means 'those who occupy much territory'. These same Croats arrived to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius

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**136** νομίσματα[1] *add.* Moravcsik || νομίσματα[2] *add.* Moravcsik || **137** νομίσματα Bandurius Be: „ P || **141** νομίσματα Be: „ P.

**31.** 3 τῆς *om.* edd. || 4 τῶν καὶ *coni.* Marquart Bury: καὶ τῶν P edd. || 8 *ante* πολλὴν *add.* τὴν edd. ||

31

Ῥωμαίων, Ἡράκλειον πρόσφυγες παρεγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Σέρβλους προσφυγεῖν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, Ἡράκλειον κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ὃν οἱ Ἄβαρεις πολεμήσαντες, ἀπ' ἐκεῖσε τοὺς Ῥωμάνους ἐναπεδίωξαν, οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀγαγὼν ἐκεῖσε κατεσκήνωσεν, διὸ καὶ Ῥωμᾶνοι ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετοίκους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις χώραις, ἤγουν τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Χρωβατίας καὶ 89vP Σερβλίας. Παρὰ | δὲ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐκδιωχθέντες οἱ αὐτοὶ Ῥωμᾶνοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, Ἡρακλείου, αἱ τούτων ἔρημοι καθεστήκασιν χῶραι. Προστάξει οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρακλείου οἱ αὐτοὶ Χρωβάτοι καταπολεμήσαντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε τοὺς Ἀβάρους ἐκδιώξαντες, Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τῶν Ἀβάρων χώρᾳ, εἰς ἣν νῦν οἰκοῦσιν, κατεσκήνωσαν. Εἶχον δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ Χρωβάτοι τῷ τότε καιρῷ ἄρχοντα τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Πορνᾶ. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος ἀποστείλας καὶ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀγαγὼν ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ποιήσας 149Be ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους | καὶ διακόνους, τοὺς 90rP | Χρωβάτους ἐβάπτισεν· εἶχον δὲ τῷ τότε καιρῷ οἱ τοιοῦτοι Χρωβάτοι ἄρχοντα τὸν Πορνᾶ.

Ὅτι ἡ τοιαύτη χώρα, εἰς ἣν οἱ Χρωβάτοι κατεσκηνώθησαν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐξ οὗ καὶ παλάτια καὶ ἱπποδρόμια τοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐν τῇ ⟨τῶν⟩ αὐτῶν Χρωβάτων χώρᾳ μέχρι τῆς νῦν περισώζονται εἰς τὸ κάστρον Σαλώνας πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου Ἀσπαλάθου.

Ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ βαπτισμένοι Χρωβάτοι ἔξωθεν τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν χώρας πολεμεῖν ἀλλοτρίας οὐ βούλονται· χρησμὸν γάρ τινα καὶ ὁρισμὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης, τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέως 90vP Ῥωμαίων, ἀποστείλαντος | ἱερεῖς καὶ τούτους βαπτίσαντος. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι οἱ Χρωβάτοι μετὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς βαπτισθῆναι συνθήκας καὶ ἰδιόχειρα ἐποιήσαντο καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον, τὸν ἀπόστολον ὅρκους βεβαίους καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς, ἵνα μηδέποτε εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν χώραν ἀπέλθωσιν καὶ πολεμήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰρηνεύειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν βουλομένων, λαβόντες καὶ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης εὐχὴν τοιάνδε, ὡς εἴ τινες ἄλλοι ἐθνικοὶ κατὰ τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν Χρωβάτων χώρας ἐπέλθωσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπενέγκωσιν, ἵνα τῶν Χρωβάτων ὁ Θεὸς προπολεμεῖ καὶ προΐσταται, καὶ νίκας αὐτοῖς Πέτρος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς προξενεῖ. Μετὰ δὲ 91rP χρόνους πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Τερπημέρη τοῦ | ἄρχον|τος, τοῦ πατρὸς 150Be τοῦ ἄρχοντος Κρασημέρη, ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ Φραγγίας, τῆς μεταξὺ Χρωβατίας καὶ Βενετίας, ἀνήρ τις τῶν πάνυ μὲν εὐλαβῶν, Μαρτῖνος ὀνόματι, σχῆμα δὲ κοσμικὸν περιβεβλημένος, ὃν καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ Χρωβάτοι θαύ-

before the Serbs claimed the protection of the same emperor Heraclius, at that time when the Avars had fought and expelled from those parts the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian had brought from Rome and settled there, and who were therefore called 'Romani' from their having been translated from Rome to those countries, I mean, to those now called Croatia and Serbia. These same Romani having been expelled by the Avars in the days of this same emperor of the Romans Heraclius, their countries were made desolate. And so, by command of the emperor Heraclius these same Croats defeated and expelled the Avars from those parts, and by mandate of Heraclius the emperor they settled down in that same country of the Avars, where they now dwell. These same Croats had at that time for prince the father of Porgas. The emperor Heraclius sent and brought priests from Rome, and made of them an archbishop and a bishop and elders and deacons, and baptized the Croats; and at that time these Croats had Porgas for their prince.

This country in which the Croats settled themselves was originally under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and hence in the country of these same Croats the palace and hippodromes of the emperor Diocletian are still preserved, at the city of Salona, near the city of Spalato.

These baptized Croats will not fight foreign countries outside the borders of their own; for they received a kind of oracular response and injunction from the pope of Rome who in the time of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, sent priests and baptized them. For after their baptism the Croats made a covenant, confirmed with their own hands and by oaths sure and binding in the name of St. Peter the apostle, that never would they go upon a foreign country and make war on it, but rather would live at peace with all who were willing to do so; and they received from the same pope of Rome a benediction to this effect, that if any other foreigners should come against the country of these same Croats and bring war upon it, then might God fight for the Croats and protect them, and Peter the disciple of Christ give them victories. And many years after, in the days of prince Terpimer, father of prince Krasimer, there came from Francia that lies between Croatia and Venice a man called Martin, of the utmost piety though clad in the garb of a layman, whom these same Croats

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*V* 9 τούς Σέρβλους edd.: τοῖς Σέρβλοις P || 11 'Αβάρεις Be || πολεμίσαντες P || 13 'Ρωμάνοι P || 15 'Ρωμάνοι P || 18 καταπολεμίσαντες P || 21 Πoργά P: Βοργά *seu* Βορκά *coni.* Rački || 23 ἐπισκόπους *coni.* Bury || 26 ἡ] *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 28 τῶν *add.* edd. || 29 Σαλῶνας P: Σαλῶνος F || 31 Ὅτι οὗτοι — 57 Βενετίας *interpolationem posterioris aetatis esse coni.* Laskin || 31 Χρωβατοι (*sine acc.*) P || 32 ἀλλοτρίαις Me ἀλλοτρίοις Ba Be || ὁρισμὸν Ba Be: ὁρισμένον P || 33 *ante* 'Ηρακλείου *add.* τοῦ edd. || 37/8 πολεμίσωσιν P || 41 τῶν Χρωβάτων ὁ *coni.* Dujčev Kyriakides: ὁ τῶν Χρωβάτων P edd. || προπολεμεῖ *coni.* Dujčev Kukules Kyriakides: πρὸς πολεμεῖ P προσπολεμεῖ V edd. || 42 προξενεῖ] *litteras* ει *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 45 εὐλαβῶν: εὐσεβῶν *coni.* Meursius ||

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ματα ἱκανὰ ποιῆσαι· ἀσθενὴς δὲ ὢν ὁ τοιοῦτος εὐλαβὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ τοὺς
πόδας ἠκρωτηριασμένος, ὥστε ὑπὸ τεσσάρων βαστάζεσθαι καὶ περι-
φέρεσθαι, ὅπου δ' ἂν καὶ βούλεται, τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα
ἐντολὴν τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χρωβάτοις διατηρεῖν μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς αὐτῶν
ἐπεθέσπισεν, ἐπευξάμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁμοίαν τοῦ πάπα
εὐχήν. Διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε αἱ σαγῆναι τῶν τοιούτων Χρωβάτων, οὔτε αἱ
91vP κον|δοῦραι οὐδέποτε κατά τινος πρὸς πόλεμον ἀπέρχονται, εἰ μὴ ἄρα
τις κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπέλθοι. Πλὴν διὰ τῶν τοιούτων πλοίων ἀπέρχονται οἱ
βουλόμενοι τῶν Χρωβάτων διοικεῖν ἐμπόρια, ἀπὸ κάστρον εἰς κάστρον
περιερχόμενοι τήν τε Παγανίαν καὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς Δελματίας καὶ μέχρι
Βενετίας.

Ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων Χρωβατίας ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας
Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως, δουλικῶς ἐστιν ὑποτεταγμένος τῷ βασιλεῖ
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ οὐδέποτε τῷ ἄρχοντι Βουλγαρίας καθυπετάγη. Ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ Βούλγαρος ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Χρωβάτων, εἰ μὴ
Μιχαήλ, ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας, ὁ Βορίσης, ἀπελθὼν καὶ πολεμήσας
92rP αὐτοῖς | καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσαι δυνηθεὶς εἰρήνευσε μετ' αὐτῶν, ξενιάσας
τοὺς Χρωβάτους καὶ ξενιασθεὶς παρὰ τῶν Χρωβάτων. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πώ-
151Be ποτε οἱ Χρω|βάτοι οὗτοι τοῖς Βουλγάροις πάκτον δεδώκασιν, εἰ μὴ
πολλάκις ἀμφότεροι ξένιά τινα πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέσχον φιλοφρονήσεως
ἕνεκα.

Ὅτι ⟨ἐν⟩ τῇ βαπτισμένῃ Χρωβατίᾳ εἰσὶν κάστρα οἰκούμενα· ἡ
Νῶνα, τὸ Βελέγραδον, τὸ Βελίτζιν, τὸ Σκόρδονα, τὸ Χλεβένα, τὸ Στόλ-
πον, τὸ Τενήν, τὸ Κόρι, τὸ Κλαβώκα.

Ὅτι ἡ βαπτισμένη Χρωβατία ἐκβάλλει καβαλλαρικὸν ἕως τῶν
ξ' χιλιάδων, πεζικὸν δὲ ἕως χιλιάδων ρ' καὶ σαγήνας μέχρι τῶν π' καὶ
κονδούρας μέχρι τῶν ρ'. Καὶ αἱ μὲν σαγῆναι ἔχουσιν ἀνὰ ἀνδρῶν μ',
92vP αἱ | δὲ κονδοῦραι ἀνὰ ἀνδρῶν κ', αἱ δὲ μικρότεραι κονδοῦραι ἀνὰ ἀνδρῶν ι'.

Ὅτι τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην δύναμιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πλῆθος εἶχεν
ἡ Χρωβατία μέχρι τοῦ ἄρχοντος Κρασημέρη. Κἀκείνου μὲν τελευτή-
σαντος, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Μιροσθλάβου ἄρξαντος ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Πριβουνία βοεάνου ἀναιρεθέντος, καὶ διχονοιῶν καὶ πολλῶν
διχοστασιῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν γενομένων, ἠλάττωται καὶ τὸ καβαλλαρικὸν
καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν καὶ αἱ σαγῆναι καὶ αἱ κονδοῦραι τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν Χρωβά-
των. Ἀρτίως δὲ ἔχει σαγήνας λ', κονδούρας μεγάλας καὶ μικρὰς * * * καὶ
καβαλλαρικὸν * * * καὶ πεζικὸν * * *.

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*V* 47 εὐλαβής: εὐσεβής *coni.* Meursius || 48 *post* τεσσάρων *add.* καὶ V edd. || 49 βούληται edd. || 50 διατηρεῖν] *litteram* ρ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 51 δὲ *omittendum coni.* Kukules || καὶ *om.* V Me || 53 κονδοῦραι *scr.* Moravcsik: κοντοῦραι P edd. ||

declare to have wrought abundant miracles; this pious man, who was sick and had had his feet amputated, so that he was carried by four bearers and taken about wherever he wanted to go, confirmed upon these same Croats this injunction of the most holy pope, that they should keep it so long as their life should last; and he himself also pronounced on their behalf a benediction similar to that which the pope had made. For this reason neither the galleys nor the cutters of these Croats ever go against anyone to make war, unless of course he has come upon them. But in these vessels go those of the Croats who wish to engage in commerce, travelling round from city to city, in Pagania and the gulf of Dalmatia and as far as Venice.

The prince of Croatia has from the beginning, that is, ever since the reign of Heraclius the emperor, been in servitude and submission to the emperor of the Romans, and was never made subject to the prince of Bulgaria. Nor has the Bulgarian ever gone to war with the Croats, except when Michael Boris, prince of Bulgaria, went and fought them and, unable to make any headway, concluded peace with them, and made presents to the Croats and received presents from the Croats. But never yet have these Croats paid tribute to the Bulgarians, although the two have often made presents to one another in the way of friendship.

*In* baptized Croatia are the inhabited cities of Nona, Belgrade, Belitzin, Skordona, Chlebena, Stolpon, Tenin, Kori, Klaboka.

Baptized Croatia musters as many as 60 thousand horse and 100 thousand foot, and galleys up to 80 and cutters up to 100. The galleys carry 40 men each, the cutters 20 each, and the smaller cutters 10 each.

This great power and multitude of men Croatia possessed until the time of prince Krasimer. But when he was dead and his son Miroslav, after ruling four years, was made away with by the ban Pribounias, and quarrels and numerous dissensions broke out in the country, the horse and foot and galleys and cutters of the Croat dominion were diminished. And now it has 30 galleys and *** cutters, large and small, and *** horse and *** foot.

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55 ἐμπορεία P || κάστρον[1] (*etiam* Bury): κάστρου edd. || 62 Βορίσης *coni.* Meursius Bandurius Bury: Βορώσης P edd. || πολεμίσας P || 66 ἀλλήλους V edd.: ἀλλήλοις P || 68 ἐν τῇ βαπτισμένῃ Χρωβατίᾳ *coni.* Bury: ἡ βαπτισμένη Χρωβατία P edd. || 69 Νόνα V edd. || Βελόγραδον edd. Βελάγραδον V *mg.* P[5] || Βελίτζειν V edd. || 70 Κόρι V edd.: Κόρη P Κόρι-νιον *coni.* Rački || 71 τῶν *om.* V edd. || 72 ξ′ χιλιάδων *scr.* Moravcsik: ξ ᾳ̃ ᾳ̃ P Ba Be || χιλιάδων[2] *corr.* Moravcsik: χιλιάδας P edd. || σαγῆνας P || 73 κονδούρας (*littera* τ *in* δ *correcta*) P[y]: κοντούρας P V edd. κονδτούρας *mg.* P[8] || 74 κονδοῦραι (*littera* τ *erasa et s. v. littera* δ *addita*) P[1] *mg.* P[8] V edd.: κοντοῦραι P || 77 τέσσαρα edd.: δ′ P || 78 Πριβουνία (*etiam* Bandurius Be): Πριβουνίου V Me Ba || 80 κονδοῦραι V edd.: κουνδοῦραι P || 81 κονδοῦρας P || *post* κονδούρας *addendum* μ′ *coni.* Bury || *post* μικρὰς *lac. ind.* P *numerum condurarum excidisse coni.* Meursius Bandurius || 82 *post* καβαλλαρικὸν et *post* πεζικὸν *numerum equitatus peditatusque excidisse coni.* Meursius Bandurius ||

Ὅτι ἡ μεγάλη Χρωβατία, ἡ καὶ ἄσπρη ἐπονομαζομένη, ἀβάπτιστος 93rP τυγχάνει μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πλη|σιάζοντες αὐτὴν Σέρβλοι. 152Be Ὀλιγώτερον δὲ καβαλλαρικὸν ἐκβάλ|λουσιν, ὁμοίως καὶ πεζικὸν παρὰ τὴν βαπτισμένην Χρωβατίαν, ὡς συνεχέστερον πραιδευόμενοι παρά τε τῶν Φράγγων καὶ Τούρκων καὶ Πατζινακιτῶν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σαγήνας κέκτηνται, οὔτε κονδούρας, οὔτε ἐμπορευτικὰ πλοῖα, ὡς μήκοθεν οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐκεῖσε μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδός ἐστιν ἡμερῶν λ'. Ἡ δὲ θάλασσα, εἰς ἣν διὰ τῶν λ' ἡμερῶν κατέρχονται, ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη σκοτεινή.

## 32. Περὶ τῶν Σέρβλων καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ Σέρβλοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀβαπτίστων Σέρβλων, τῶν καὶ ἄσπρων ἐπονομαζομένων, κατάγονται, τῶν τῆς Τουρκίας ἐκεῖθεν κατοι- 93vP κούντων εἰς τὸν παρ' | αὐτοῖς Βοΐκι τόπον ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἐν οἷς πλησιάζει καὶ ἡ Φραγγία, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ μεγάλη Χρωβατία, ἡ ἀβάπτιστος, ἡ καὶ ἄσπρη προσαγορευομένη· ἐκεῖσε τοίνυν καὶ οὗτοι οἱ Σέρβλοι τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κατῴκουν. Δύο δὲ ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Σερβλίας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξαμένων, ὁ εἷς αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀναλαβόμενος ἥμισυ, εἰς Ἡράκλειον, τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων, προσέφυγεν, ὃν καὶ προσδεξάμενος ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡράκλειος βασιλεύς, παρέσχεν τόπον εἰς κατασκήνωσιν ἐν τῷ θέματι Θεσσαλονίκης τὰ Σέρβλια, ἃ ἔκτοτε τὴν τοιαύτην προσηγορίαν ἀπείληφεν. Σέρβλοι δὲ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ 'δοῦλοι' 153Be προσαγορεύονται, | ὅθεν καὶ 'σέρβυλα' ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια τὰ δουλικά 94rP | φησιν ὑποδήματα, καὶ 'τζερβουλιανούς' τοὺς τὰ εὐτελῆ καὶ πενιχρὰ ὑποδήματα φοροῦντας. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχον οἱ Σέρβλοι διὰ τὸ δοῦλοι γενέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἔδοξεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς Σέρβλους εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τούτους ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεύς. Ὅτε δὲ διεπέρασαν τὸν Δανούβιν ποταμόν, μεταμελοι γενόμενοι ἐμήνυσαν Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τοῦ τότε τὸ Βελέγραδον κρατοῦντος, δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἑτέραν γῆν εἰς κατασκήνωσιν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ νῦν Σερβλία καὶ Παγανία καὶ ἡ ὀνομασθεῖσα Ζαχλούμων 94vP χώρα καὶ Τερβουνία καὶ ἡ τῶν Καναλιτῶν ὑπὸ | τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆρχον, ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ τοιαῦται χῶραι ἔρημοι παρὰ τῶν Ἀβάρων (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε γὰρ Ῥωμάνους τοὺς νῦν Δελματίαν καὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον οἰκοῦντας ἀπέλασαν), {καὶ} κατεσκήνωσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς

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*V* 83 ἡ καὶ (*coni. etiam* Marquart Bury): καὶ ἡ V edd. || 85 δὲ *om.* V edd. || 87 σαγῆνας P || 88 κονδοῦρας P || οὔσης V edd.: οὖσαν P || 90 λ' ἡμερῶν: ἡμερῶν λ' edd.

Great Croatia, also called 'white', is still unbaptized to this day, as are also the Serbs who are its neighbours. They muster fewer horse and fewer foot than does baptized Croatia, because they are more constantly plundered, by the Franks and Turks and Pechenegs. Nor have they either galleys or cutters or merchant-ships, for the sea is far away; for from those parts to the sea it is a journey of 30 days. And the sea to which they come down after the 30 days is that which is called 'dark'.

## 32. Of the Serbs and of the country they now dwell in.

The Serbs are descended from the unbaptized Serbs, also called 'white', who live beyond Turkey in a place called by them Boïki, where their neighbour is Francia, as is also Great Croatia, the unbaptized, also called 'white'; in this place, then, these Serbs also originally dwelt. But when two brothers succeeded their father in the rule of Serbia, one of them, taking one half of the folk, claimed the protection of Heraclius, the emperor of the Romans, and the same emperor Heraclius received him and gave him a place in the province of Thessalonica to settle in, namely Serbia, which from that time has acquired this denomination. 'Serbs' in the tongue of the Romans is the word for 'slaves', whence the colloquial 'serbula' for menial shoes, and 'tzerboulianoi' for those who wear cheap, shoddy footgear. This name the Serbs acquired from their being slaves of the emperor of the Romans. Now, after some time these same Serbs decided to depart to their own homes, and the emperor sent them off. But when they had crossed the river Danube, they changed their minds and sent a request to the emperor Heraclius, through the military governor then holding Belgrade, that he would grant them other land to settle in. And since what is now Serbia and Pagania and the so-called country of the Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of the Kanalites were under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and since these countries had been made desolate by the Avars (for they had expelled from those parts the Romani who now live in Dalmatia and

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**32.** 2 Σερβλῶν P || 4 Βόϊκι edd. Βοΐσκι *coni.* Marquart Βοΐοι *coni.* Skok Βόϊμι *coni.* Grégoire || 6 τοίνυν: οὖν V edd. || 12 ἀπείληφεν: παρείληφε edd. || 13 σέρβουλα edd. || δουλικά *coni.* Bekker: δουλικῶς P edd. δουλικῶς ⟨ἔχοντά⟩ *coni.* Bury || 18 Δάνουβιν edd. || 20 Βελέγραδον *scr.* Moravcsik: Βελάγραδον P Βελόγραδον Be || 21 ὀνομασθεῖσα: ὀνομαζομένη V edd. || 23 ἔρημαι Ba Be || 25 ἀπήλασαν Be || καὶ *omittendum coni.* Bury Kukules ||

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τοὺς αὐτοὺς Σέρβλους ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις χώραις, καὶ ἦσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ
Ῥωμαίων ὑποτασσόμενοι, οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρεσβύτας ἀπὸ Ῥώμης
ἀγαγὼν ἐβάπτισεν, καὶ διδάξας αὐτοὺς τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας τελεῖν καλῶς,
αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστιν ἐξέθετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Βουλγαρία ὑπὸ
τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, * * * αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ
95rP Σέρβλου, τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα προσφυγόντος, τελευτήσαντος, | κατὰ
διαδοχὴν ἦρξεν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἔγγων, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς
154Be αὐτοῦ οἱ καθεξῆς ἄρχοντες. | Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τινὰς ἐγεννήθη ἐξ αὐτῶν
ὁ Βοϊσέσθλαβος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥοδόσθλαβος, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὁ Προ-
σηγόης, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου ὁ Βλαστίμηρος, καὶ μέχρις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βλαστιμή-
ρου μετὰ τῶν Σέρβλων εἰρηνικῶς διετέλουν οἱ Βούλγαροι, ὡς γείτονες
καὶ συνορῖται ἀγαπῶντες ἀλλήλους, ἔχοντες δὲ δούλωσιν καὶ ὑποταγὴν
εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν. Ἐπὶ
δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Βλαστιμήρου ἦλθεν μετὰ πολέμου Πρεσιάμ,
ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας, κατὰ τῶν Σέρβλων θέλων αὐτοὺς ὑποτάξαι,
95vP ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τρι|ετίαν πολεμήσας, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαὸν
αὐτοῦ πλεῖστον ἀπώλεσεν. Μετὰ δὲ θάνατον Βλαστιμήρου τοῦ ἄρχοντος
διεδέξαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Σερβλίας οἱ τρεῖς υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Μουντιμῆρος
καὶ ὁ Στροΐμηρος καὶ ὁ Γοΐνικος, μερισάμενοι τὴν χώραν. Ἐπὶ τούτων
παρεγένετο ὁ τῆς Βουλγαρίας ἄρχων, Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βορίσης, θέλων διεκδικῆ-
σαι τὴν ἧτταν Πρεσιάμ, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολεμήσας, εἰς τοσοῦτον
αὐτὸν ἐπτόησαν οἱ Σέρβλοι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Βλαδίμηρον
ἐκράτησαν δέσμιον μετὰ καὶ βοϊλάδων δώδεκα μεγάλων. Τότε δὴ τῇ
τοῦ υἱοῦ θλίψει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁ Βορίσης εἰρήνευσε μετὰ τῶν Σέρβλων.
96rP Μέλλων δὲ ὑποστρέφειν ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ | καὶ φοβηθείς, μήποτε ἐνεδρεύσω-
σιν αὐτὸν οἱ Σέρβλοι καθ' ὁδόν, ἐπεζήτησεν εἰς διάσωσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ
ἄρχοντος Μουντιμήρου παιδία, τὸν Βόρενα καὶ τὸν Στέφανον, οἳ καὶ
155Be διέσωσαν αὐτὸν ἀβλαβῆ μέχρι τῶν συνόρων, | ἕως τῆς Ῥάσης. Καὶ ὑπὲρ
τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βορίσης δωρεὰς μεγάλας,
καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀντέδωκαν αὐτῷ χάριν ξενίων ψυχάρια δύο, φαλκώνια δύο,
σκυλία δύο καὶ γούνας ὀγδοήκοντα, ὅπερ λέγουσιν οἱ Βούλγαροι εἶναι
πάκτον. Μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἐγένοντο κατ' ἀλλήλων οἱ αὐτοὶ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί,
οἱ ἄρχοντες Σερβλίας, καὶ γενάμενος ἐπικρατέστερος ὁ εἷς αὐτῶν, ὁ
96vP Μουντιμῆρος, καὶ θέλων μόνος | τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέχειν, κρατήσας παρέ-
δωκεν τοὺς δύο ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ, μόνον τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀδελφοῦ,
Γοϊνίκου, Πέτρον ὀνόματι, παρ' ἑαυτῷ κρατήσας καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος,

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*V* 27 πρεσβύτας: πρεσβυτέρους *coni.* Bury || 29 τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν *coni.* Bekker Bury: τὴν τῶν χρόνων P  τὴν *om.* V edd. || 30 *post* Ῥωμαίων *lac. ind.* Jenkins || τοῦ[1] (*addendum coni. etiam* Bekker): *om.* edd. || 30/1 τοῦ

Dyrrachium), therefore the emperor settled these same Serbs in these countries, and they were subject to the emperor of the Romans; and the emperor brought elders from Rome and baptized them and taught them fairly to perform the works of piety and expounded to them the faith of the Christians. And since Bulgaria was beneath the dominion of the Romans *** when, therefore, that same Serbian prince died who had claimed the emperor's protection, his son ruled in succession, and thereafter his grandson, and in like manner the succeeding princes from his family. And after some years was begotten of them Boïseslav, and of him Rodoslav, and of him Prosigoïs, and of him Blastimer; and up to the time of this Blastimer the Bulgarians lived at peace with the Serbs, whose neighbours they were and with whom they had a common frontier, and they were friendly one toward another, and were in servitude and submission to the emperors of the Romans and kindly entreated by them. But, during the rule of this same Blastimer, Presiam, prince of Bulgaria, came with war against the Serbs, with intent to reduce them to submission; but though he fought them three years he not merely achieved nothing but also lost very many of his men. After the death of prince Blastimer his three sons, Muntimer and Stroïmer and Goïnikos, succeeded to the rule of Serbia and divided up the country. In their time came up the prince of Bulgaria, Michael Boris, wishing to avenge the defeat of his father Presiam, and made war, and the Serbs discomfited him to such an extent that they even held prisoner his son Vladimer, together with twelve great boyars. Then, out of grief for his son, Boris perforce made peace with the Serbs. But, being about to return to Bulgaria and afraid lest the Serbs might ambush him on the way, he begged for his escort the sons of prince Muntimer, Borenas and Stephen, who escorted him safely as far as the frontier at Rasi. For this favour Michael Boris gave them handsome presents, and they in return gave him, as presents in the way of friendship, two slaves, two falcons, two dogs and eighty furs, which the Bulgarians describe as tribute. A short while after, the same three brothers, the princes of Serbia, fell out, and one of them, Muntimer, gained the upper hand and, wishing to be sole ruler, seized the other two and handed them over to Bulgaria, keeping by him and caring for only the son

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Σέρβλου: τῆς Σερβλίας *coni.* Bekker Bury || 32 ἔγγων V edd. ἔγγον P: ἔγγονος P^y || 33 ἐγεννήθη edd.: ἐγεννήθην P || 35 Βλαστήμερος edd. || 35/6 Βλαστημέρου edd. || 39 Βλαστημέρου edd. || 41 πολεμίσας P || 42 ἀπόλεσεν P || Βλαστημέρου edd. || 43 Μουντίμηρος Bury || 44 Στροΐμηρος V Στροήμηρος P: Στροήμερος Ba Be || 45/6 διεκδικῆσαι: ἐκδικῆσαι edd. || 46 πολεμίσας P || 47 ἐπτόησαν edd.: ἔπτωσαν P ἔπταισαν *coni.* Kyriakides || Βλαδίμηρον *scr.* Moravcsik: Βλαστίμηρον V Βλαστιμήρων P Βλαστήμερον edd. Βλαδήμερον *coni.* Šafarik Rački Dümmler Grot Zlatarski || 48 βοϊλάδων *corr.* Moravcsik: βολιάδων P edd. || δώδεκα edd.: ιβ′ P || δὴ: δὲ edd. || 51 καθ' ὁδὸν *coni.* Bekker: καθ' ὁδοῦ edd. καθοδοῦ P || 56 γούννας P || ὀγδοήκοντα Moravcsik π′ P: ἐνενήκοντα Me ἐννενήκοντα Ba Be || 57 αὐτοὶ *om.* edd. || 58 γενόμενος edd. || 59 Μουντίμηρος edd. ||

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ὅστις καὶ φυγὼν ἦλθεν ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ, περὶ οὗ μετ' ὀλίγον ῥηθήσεται. Ὁ δὲ προρρηθεὶς ἀδελφὸς ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ, Στροΐμηρος εἶχεν υἱὸν τὸν Κλονίμηρον, ᾧ καὶ γυναῖκα παρέσχεν ὁ Βορίσης Βουλγάραν. Ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννᾶται ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ ὁ Τζεέσθλαβος. Ὁ δὲ Μουντιμῆρος, ὁ τοὺς δύο ἀδελφοὺς διώξας καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν δεξάμενος, γεννᾷ υἱοὺς τρεῖς, τὸν Πριβέσθλαβον καὶ τὸν Βράνον καὶ τὸν Στέφανον, καὶ μετὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον διαδέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ πρῶτος υἱός, ὁ Πριβέσθλαβος. Μετὰ οὖν χρόνον
97rP ἕνα ἐξελθὼν | ἀπὸ Χρωβατίας ὁ προειρημένος Πέτρος, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Γοϊνίκου, διώκει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἐξάδελφον αὐτοῦ, Πριβέσθλαβον μετὰ τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν, κἀκεῖνος τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ φυγόντες εἰσέρχονται ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τρεῖς ἐλθὼν ὁ Βράνος πρὸς
156Be τὸ | πολεμῆσαι τὸν Πέτρον καὶ ἡττηθεὶς καὶ κρατηθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐτυφλώθη. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους δύο φυγὼν καὶ ὁ Κλονίμηρος ἀπὸ Βουλγαρίαν, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Τζεεσθλάβου, καταλαμβάνει καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς ἓν τῶν κάστρων Σερβλίας, τὴν Δοστινίκαν, μετὰ λαοῦ πρὸς τὸ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. Τοῦτον οὖν πολεμήσας ὁ Πέτρος ἀπέκτεινεν,
97vP καὶ ἐκράτησεν | ἕτερα ἔτη κ', ἄρξας ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἁγίου βασιλέως, ἔχων ὑποταγὴν καὶ δούλωσιν πρὸς αὐτόν. Εἰρήνευσεν δὲ καὶ μετὰ Συμεών, τοῦ ἄρχοντος Βουλγαρίας, ὥστε καὶ σύντεκνον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν καιρόν, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ κύρις Λέων ἐβασίλευσεν, παρεγένετο ὁ τότε εἰς τὸ Δυρράχιον στρατηγῶν, ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Λέων ὁ Ῥαβδοῦχος, ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο μάγιστρος τιμηθεὶς καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου, εἰς Παγανίαν, τὴν τότε παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σερβλίας διακρατουμένην, πρὸς τὸ βουλευθῆναι καὶ συντυχεῖν τῷ αὐτῷ ἄρχοντι Πέτρῳ περί τινος δουλείας καὶ ὑποθέσεως. Ζηλοτυπήσας δὲ
98rP πρὸς τοῦτο Μιχαήλ, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Ζαχλού|μων, ἐμήνυσεν Συμεών, τῷ Βουλγάρων ἄρχοντι, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων δεξιοῦται διὰ δώρων τὸν ἄρχοντα Πέτρον πρὸς τὸ συνεπαρεῖν τοὺς Τούρκους καὶ ἐπελθεῖν κατὰ Βουλγαρίας. Ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ πόλεμος εἰς Ἀχελῶν μεταξὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων. Ἐμμανὴς οὖν
157Be ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος Συμεὼν κατὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σερβ|λίας, Πέτρου, ἀπέστειλε τὸν Σιγρίτζη Θεόδωρον καὶ τὸν Μαρμαὴν ἐκεῖνον μετὰ φοσσάτου, ἔχοντας καὶ ἀρχοντόπουλον Παῦλον, τὸν υἱὸν Βράνου, ὃν ὁ Πέτρος, ὁ ἄρχων Σερβλίας ἐτύφλωσεν. Δόλῳ οὖν ἐπελθόντες οἱ Βούλ-
98vP γαροι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Σερβλίας καὶ συντεκνί|αν μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενοι καὶ ὅρκῳ βεβαιώσαντες μὴ παθεῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐναντίον, ἠπάτησαν αὐτὸν ἐξελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὃν καὶ πάραυτα δεσμήσαντες εἰσήγαγον

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*V* 62 ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ: εἰς Χρωβατίαν V edd. || Χρωβατίᾳ] *litteras* χ *et* ωβ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 63 Στροήμηρος P: Στροήμερος edd. || 64 ᾧ V edd.: ὁ P || 65 δ[1]

of the one brother Goïnikos, Peter by name, who fled and came to Croatia, and of whom we shall speak in a moment. The aforesaid brother Stroïmer, who was in Bulgaria, had a son Klonimer, to whom Boris gave a Bulgarian wife. Of him was begotten Tzeëslav, in Bulgaria. Muntimer, who had expelled his two brothers and taken the rule, begat three sons, Pribeslav and Branos and Stephen, and after he died his eldest son Pribeslav succeeded him. Now, after one year the aforesaid Peter, son of Goinïkos, came out of Croatia and expelled from the rule his cousin Pribeslav and his two brothers, and himself succeeded to the rule, and they fled away and entered Croatia. Three years later Branos came to fight Peter and was defeated and captured by him, and blinded. Two years after that, Klonimer, the father of Tzeëslav, escaped from Bulgaria and he too came and with an army entered one of the cities of Serbia, Dostinika, with intent to take over the rule. Peter attacked and slew him, and continued to govern for another 20 years, and his rule began during the reign of Leo, the holy emperor, of most blessed memory, to whom he was in submission and servitude. He also made peace with Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, and even made him god-father to his child. Now, after the time that this lord Leo had reigned, the then military governor at Dyrrachium, the protospatharius Leo Rhabduchus, who was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister and *office* of foreign minister, arrived in Pagania, which was at that time under the control of the prince of Serbia, in order to advise and confer with this same prince Peter upon some service and affair. Michael, prince of the Zachlumi, his jealousy aroused by this, sent information to Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, that the emperor of the Romans was bribing prince Peter to take the Turks with him and go upon Bulgaria. It was at that time when the battle of Achelo had taken place between the Romans and the Bulgarians. Symeon, mad with rage at this, sent against prince Peter of Serbia Sigritzis Theodore and the late Marmaïs with an army, and they took with them also the young prince Paul, son of Branos whom Peter, prince of Serbia, had blinded. The Bulgarians proceeded against the prince of Serbia by treachery, and, by binding him with the relationship of god-father and giving a sworn undertaking that he should suffer nothing untoward at their hands, they tricked him into coming out to them, and then on the instant bound him

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*om.* edd. || Τζεεσθλάβος P edd. || Μουντιμήρως P: Μουντίμηρος edd. || ὁ[3] *om.* edd. || 67 Βράνον] *litteram* β *in ras. scr.* P[1] *mg. iter.* P[8] || 68 Πριβέσθλαβος *mg.* P[8] V edd.: Πριδέσθλαβος P || 73 πολεμεῖσαι P || 74 ὁ *om.* edd. || 74/5 Βουλγαρίας V edd. || 76 τῶν *om.* V edd. || κάστρων: κάστρον V edd. || *ante* Σερβλίας *add.* τῆς V edd. || Δοστινίκαν: Δροστινίκαν *coni.* Skok || 77 πολεμίσας P || 80 ὥστε: ὅστε edd. ὅς γε *an* ὥστε? *coni.* Bekker || 81 κῦρης P || 83 Ῥαυδοῦχος P || 86 δουλείας: δουλώσεως edd. || 90 *post* δὲ *add.* καὶ edd. || 92 τούτῳ V edd.: τοῦτο P || γενόμενος ἐν τούτῳ V edd. || *ante* Συμεὼν *add.* ὁ V edd. || 94 φωσσάτου P || 98 παραυτὰ Be ||

ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει ἐν φυλακῇ. Εἰσῆλθεν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Παῦλος,
ὁ υἱὸς Βράνου, καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἔτη τρία. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανὸς
ἔχων ἀρχοντόπουλον ἐν τῇ πόλει Ζαχαρίαν, τὸν υἱὸν Πριβεσθλάβου,
τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σερβλίας, ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα ἐν Σερβλίᾳ,
ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν καὶ πολεμήσας, ἡττήθη παρὰ τοῦ Παύλου· κρατήσας
γὰρ αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν τοῖς Βουλγάροις, καὶ ἐκρατεῖτο δέσμιος. Εἶτα
99rP μετὰ χρόνους τρεῖς, τοῦ Παύλου ἐναν|τιωθέντος τοῖς Βουλγάροις,
ἀπέστειλεν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν, τὸν πρότερον παρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ
βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντα, καὶ διώξας τὸν Παῦλον, ἐκράτησεν αὐτὸς τὴν
ἀρχὴν τῶν Σέρβλων, ὅστις πάραυτα τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ βασιλέως
Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμνησθείς, ἐγένετο κατὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων, μηδ' ὅλως θελή-
σας ὑποταγῆναι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίων δεσπό-
ζεσθαι. Ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Συμεὼν φοσσᾶτον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστείλαντος
158Be διὰ τοῦ Μαρμαὴμ καὶ τοῦ | Σιγρίτζη {καὶ} Θεοδώρου, ὧν καὶ τὰς κεφα-
λὰς καὶ ἅρματα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων
99vP ἐπινίκια (ἔτι γὰρ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ | τῶν Βουλγάρων μάχη ἦν),
οὐδέποτε δὲ ἐπαύσατο, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντες, ἀποστέλλων
πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ὑποτασσόμενος καὶ δουλεύων αὐτοῖς.
Πάλιν δὲ ἀπέστειλεν ἕτερον φοσσᾶτον ὁ Συμεὼν διὰ τοῦ Κνήνου καὶ
τοῦ Ἡμνήκου καὶ τοῦ Ἠτζβόκλια κατὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ζαχαρίου, συνα-
ποστείλας μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ Τζεέσθλαβον. Τότε ὁ μὲν Ζαχαρίας φοβηθεὶς
φεύγει ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ, οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι μηνύσαντες τοῖς ζουπάνοις ἐλθεῖν
πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ παραλαβεῖν ἄρχοντα τὸν Τζεέσθλαβον καὶ δι' ὅρκου
τούτους ἀπατήσαντες καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες μέχρι {τῷ} τοῦ πρώτου χωρίου
100rP καὶ πάραυτα δεσμήσαντες | αὐτούς, εἰσῆλθον ἐν Σερβλίᾳ καὶ συνεπῆραν
τὸν ἅπαντα λαὸν ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, καὶ εἰσήγαγον ἕως Βουλ-
γαρίας, τινὲς δὲ ἀποδράσαντες εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ, καὶ ἔμεινεν
ἡ χώρα ἔρημος. Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν οὖν ἐκεῖνον εἰσῆλθον οἱ αὐτοὶ Βούλ-
γαροι εἰς Χρωβατίαν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλογοβότουρ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι, καὶ ἐσφάγη-
σαν πάντες ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τῶν Χρωβάτων. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ
τῶν Βουλγάρων φυγὼν ὁ Τζεέσθλαβος μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων τεσσάρων, ἀπὸ
Περσθλάβου εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Σερβλίᾳ, οὐχ εὗρεν δὲ εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ
πεντήκοντα μόνους ἄνδρας μήτε γυναῖκας ἔχοντας, μήτε παιδία, ἀλλὰ
100vP κυνηγοῦντας, καὶ διατρεφο|μένους. Μετὰ τούτων κρατήσας τὴν χώραν,
159Be ἐμήνυσεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων, τὴν ἐξ | αὐτοῦ ἀντίληψιν καὶ
βοήθειαν ἐπιζητῶν, ὑπισχνούμενος, δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπείκειν τῇ προστάξει

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*V* 100 τρία edd.: γ' P || κῦρης P || 103 πολεμίσας P || 106 ἀπέστειλαν *coni.* Jenkins || 108 παραυτὰ Be || 111 φοσσάτον P || 112 καὶ² P V: *eras.* P[y] *om.* Ba Be *secl.* Moravcsik || 114 ἔτι—ἦν *in parenthesi posuit* Be || τῶν *om* V.

and carried him off to Bulgaria, and he died in prison. Paul, son of Branos, took his place and governed three years. The emperor, the lord Romanus, who had in Constantinople the young prince Zacharias, son of Pribeslav, prince of Serbia, sent him off to be prince in Serbia, and he went and fought, but was defeated by Paul; who took him prisoner and handed him over to the Bulgarians and he was kept in prison. Then, three years later, when Paul had put himself in opposition to the Bulgarians, *they* sent this Zacharias, who had previously been sent by the lord Romanus the emperor, and he expelled Paul and himself took possession of the rule over the Serbs; and thereupon, being mindful of the benefits of the emperor of the Romans, he broke with the Bulgarians, being not at all wishful to be subjected to them, but rather that the emperor of the Romans should be his master. And so, when Symeon sent against him an army under Marmaïm and Sigritzis Theodore, he sent their heads and their armour from the battle to the emperor of the Romans as tokens of his victory (for the war was still going on between the Romans and the Bulgarians); nor did he ever cease, like the princes also that were before him, to send missions to the emperors of the Romans, and to be in subjection and servitude to them. Again, Symeon sent another army against prince Zacharias, under Kninos and Himnikos and Itzboklias, and together with them he sent also Tzeëslav. Then Zacharias took fright and fled to Croatia, and the Bulgarians sent a message to the 'zupans' that they should come to them and should receive Tzeëslav for their prince; and, having tricked them by an oath and brought them out as far as the first village, they instantly bound them, and entered Serbia and took away with them the entire folk, both old and young, and carried them into Bulgaria, though a few escaped away and entered Croatia; and the country was left deserted. Now, at that time these same Bulgarians under Alogobotour entered Croatia to make war, and there they were all slain by the Croats. Seven years afterwards Tzeëslav escaped from the Bulgarians with four others, and entered Serbia from Preslav, and found in the country no more than fifty men only, without wives or children, who supported themselves by hunting. With these he took possession of the country and sent a message to the emperor of the Romans asking for his support and succour, and promising to serve him and be obedient to his command, as had been the princes before him.

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edd. || 115 δὲ *per comp. inser.* P[1] *in textum receperunt* V edd.: *omittendum coni.* Kukules || ἀποστέλλων *coni.* Kyriakides: ἀπέστελλον P edd. || 117 φοσσάτον P || 118 Ἡτζβόκλια: Ἡτζβούλια *coni.* Hilferding ἡτζ⟨ίργου⟩ βουλιά *coni.* Beševliev || 122 τῷ *om.* edd. *secl.* Moravcsik || 123 παραυτὰ Be || 127 Ἀλογοβότουρ: Ἀλοβογότουρ *coni.* Ilovajskij Tomaschek Marquart Fehér || 128 ἑπτὰ edd.: ζ′ P || 129 τεσσάρων edd.: δ′ P || 130 Πρεσθλάβου edd. || 131 πεντήκοντα edd.: ν′ P ||

αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντες. Καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐ διέλιπεν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εὐεργετῶν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ ⟨οἱ⟩ εἰς Χρωβατίαν καὶ Βουλγαρίαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς χώραις διάγοντες Σέρβλοι, οὓς ὁ Συμεὼν διεσκόρπισεν, τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες συνήχθησαν εἰς αὐτόν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλοὶ ἀπὸ Βουλγαρίας φυγόντες εἰσῆλθον, οὓς καὶ ἐνδύσας καὶ εὐεργετήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Τζεέσθλα-
101rP βον. Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πλουσίων δωρεῶν τοῦ | βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων συστησάμενος καὶ ἐνοικίσας τὴν χώραν, ὡς τὸ πρότερον, ἐστὶν ὑποτεταγμένος δουλοπρεπῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως συνδρομῆς καὶ τῶν πολλῶν αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν συστήσας καὶ ἄρχων ἐν αὐτῇ βεβαιωθείς.

Ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων Σερβλίας ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως, δουλικῶς ἐστιν ὑποτεταγμένος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ οὐδέποτε τῷ ἄρχοντι Βουλγαρίας καθυπετάγη.

Ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαπτισμένῃ Σερβλίᾳ εἰσὶν κάστρα οἰκούμενα· τὸ Δεστινίκον, τὸ Τζερναβουσκέη, τὸ Μεγυρέτους, τὸ Δρεσνεήκ, τὸ Λεσνήκ,
101vP τὸ Σαληνὲς καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον Βόσονα | τὸ Κάτερα καὶ τὸ Δεσνήκ.

## 160Be 33. Περὶ τῶν Ζαχλούμων καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας.

Ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ζαχλούμων χώρα παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρότερον ἐκρατεῖτο, Ῥωμάνων δή φημι, οὓς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Διοκλητιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς μετῴκισεν, καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Χρωβάτων ἱστορίαν εἴρηται περὶ αὐτῶν. Ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἡ τῶν Ζαχλούμων αὕτη χώρα ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀβάρων αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσα ἥ τε χώρα καὶ ὁ ταύτης λαὸς τὸ παράπαν ἠρήμωται. Οἱ δὲ νῦν οἰκοῦντες ἐκεῖσε Ζαχλοῦμοι Σέρβλοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡράκλειον προσφυγόντος. Ζαχλοῦμοι δὲ ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ ὄρους οὕτω
102rP καλου|μένου Χλούμου, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ παρὰ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ Ζαχλοῦμοι ἤγουν 'ὀπίσω τοῦ βουνοῦ', ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ βουνός ἐστιν μέγας, ἔχων ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ δύο κάστρα, τὸ Βόνα καὶ τὸ Χλούμ, ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου βουνοῦ διέρχεται ποταμὸς καλούμενος Βόνα, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'καλόν'.

Ὅτι ἡ γενεὰ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ πατρικίου Μιχαήλ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Βουσεβούτζη, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν Ζαχλούμων, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν κατοι-

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*V* 136 τῶν *om.* edd. || βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων edd. || οἱ *addendum coni.* Bekker Bury || 137 διάγοντες] *litteras* ες *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 142 ἐνοικήσας V edd. || 150 Δεστινίκον: Δρεστινίκον *coni.* Skok || Τζερναβουσκεή Ba Be Τζερναβρυσκεή

And thenceforward the emperor of the Romans continually benefited him, so that *the* Serbs living in Croatia and Bulgaria and the rest of the countries, whom Symeon had scattered, rallied to him when they heard of it. Moreover, many had escaped from Bulgaria and entered Constantinople, and these the emperor of the Romans clad and comforted and sent to Tzeëslav. And from the rich gifts of the emperor of the Romans he organized and populated the country, and is, as before, in servitude and subjection to the emperor of the Romans; and through the co-operation and many benefits of the emperor he has united this country and is confirmed in the rule of it.

The prince of Serbia has from the beginning, that is, ever since the reign of Heraclius the emperor, been in servitude and submission to the emperor of the Romans, and was never subject to the prince of Bulgaria.

In baptized Serbia are the inhabited cities of Destinikon, Tzernabouskeï, Megyretous, Dresneïk, Lesnik, Salines; and in the territory of Bosona, Katera and Desnik.

## 33. Of the Zachlumi and of the country they now dwell in.

The country of the Zachlumi was previously possessed by the Romans, I mean, by those Romani whom Diocletian the emperor translated from Rome, as has been told of them in the story of the Croats. This land of the Zachlumi was beneath the emperor of the Romans, but when it and its folk were enslaved by the Avars, it was rendered wholly desolate. Those who live there now, the Zachlumi, are Serbs from the time of that prince who claimed the protection of the emperor Heraclius. They were called Zachlumi from a so-called mount Chlumos, and indeed in the tongue of the Slavs 'Zachlumi' means 'behind the mountain', since in that territory is a great mountain with two cities on the top of it, Bona and Chlum, and behind this mountain runs a river called Bona, which means 'good'.

The family of the proconsul and patrician Michael, son of Bouseboutzis, prince of the Zachlumi, came from the unbaptized who dwell on

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*coni.* Šišić || Μεγυρέτους: Μεγερέτους *mg.* P[8] Μεγυρέτζυς *coni.* Skok || Δρεσνεήκ: Δρεσνεὴ κ′ (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || Λεσνήκ: Λεσνὴ κ′ (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || **151** Βόσωνα V edd. Βόσθνα *coni.* Šafarik || τὸ[3]: τὰ *coni.* Bury || Δεσνήκ: Λεσνήκ *coni.* Rački Δεσνὴ κ′ (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok.

**33.** 3 Ῥωμάνων edd. || 4 δή Moravcsik: δέ P edd. || 5 μετώκησεν P || 6 τῷ *om.* edd. || 8 ἐκεῖσε οἰκοῦντες edd. || 8/9 Ζαχλούμοι P || 9 *post* βασιλέα *add.* Ῥωμάνων V *add.* Ῥωμαίων edd. || 10 Ζαχλούμοι P || ὀνομάσθησαν P || 12 Ζαχλούμοι P ||

κούντων ἀβαπτίστων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βίσλας, τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους Λιτζίκη, καὶ ᾤκησεν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ζαχλοῦμα.
161Be "Ὅτι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν Ζαχλούμων εἰσὶν κάστρα οἰκού|μενα· τὸ
102vP Στα|γνόν, τὸ Μοκρισκίκ, τὸ Ἰοσλή, τὸ Γαλουμαήνικ, τὸ Δοβρισκίκ.

## 34. Περὶ τῶν Τερβουνιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Καναλιτῶν καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας.

"Ὅτι ἡ τῶν Τερβουνιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Καναλιτῶν χώρα μία ὑπάρχει. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀβαπτίστων Σέρβλων οἱ ἐκεῖσε οἰκοῦντες κατάγονται, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡράκλειον προσφυγόντος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀβαπτίστου Σερβλίας, μέχρι τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σερβλίας τοῦ Βλαστιμήρου. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄρχων Βλαστίμηρος τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ δέδωκεν ἄνδρα Κραΐναν, τὸν υἱὸν Βελάη, τοῦ ζουπάνου Τερβουνίας. Θέλων δὲ οὗτος τὸν ἴδιον γαμβρὸν δοξάσαι, ὠνόμασεν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα, ποιήσας
103rP αὐτὸν αὐτεξούσιον. Ἐξ ἐκεί|νου δὲ ὁ Φαλιμέρης ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὁ Τζουζήμερις. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῆς Τερβουνίας ἄρχοντες ἀεὶ ὑπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σερβλίας. Τερβουνία δὲ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἑρμηνεύεται 'ἰσχυρὸς τόπος'· ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη χώρα ὀχυρώματα ἔχει πολλά.

"Ὅτι ἐστὶν καὶ ἑτέρα χώρα ὑπὸ ταύτην τὴν χώραν Τερβουνίας, Καναλὴ προσαγορευομένη. Τὸ δὲ Καναλὴ ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων
162Be διαλέκτῳ 'ἁμαξία', ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ εἶναι | τὸν τόπον ἐπίπεδον πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς δουλείας διὰ ἁμαξῶν ἐκτελοῦσιν.

"Ὅτι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ Τερβουνίας καὶ τοῦ Καναλὴ εἰσὶ κάστρα οἰκούμενα· ἡ Τερβουνία, τὸ Ὁρμός, τὰ Ῥίσενα, τὸ Λουκάβεται, τὸ Ζετλήβη.

## 103vP 35. Περὶ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας.

"Ὅτι ἡ Διοκλείας χώρα καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμάνων ἐκρατεῖτο, οὓς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετῴκισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός, καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν Χρωβάτων ἱστορίαν εἴρηται, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα

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*V* 18 *post* Βίσλας *addendum* καὶ *coni.* Laskin Iljinskij || τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους: τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Meursius Ba Be || 19 Λιτζίκη *coni.* Grégoire Λιτζική *coni.* Niederle: Λινζίκη *coni.* Skok Διτζίκη P Δικίτζη *coni.* Šafarik || Ζαχλούμα P || 21 Μοκρισκίκ: Μοκρισκὶ κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || Ὀσλή *coni.* Dvornik || Γαλουμαήνικ: Γαλουμσηυικ (*sine acc.*) *coni.* Rački Γαλουμαήνι κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || Δοβρισκίκ: Δοβρισκὶ κ' (= κάστρον) *coni.* Skok.

the river Visla and are called Litziki; and it settled on the river called Zachluma.

In the territory of the Zachlumi are the inhabited cities of Stagnon, Mokriskik, Iosli, Galoumaïnik, Dobriskik.

## 34. Of the Terbouniotes and Kanalites and of the country they now dwell in.

The country of the Terbouniotes and the Kanalites is one. The inhabitants are descended from the unbaptized Serbs, from the time of that prince who came out of unbaptized Serbia and claimed the protection of the emperor Heraclius until the time of Blastimer, prince of Serbia. This prince Blastimer married his daughter to Kraïnas, son of Belaës, 'zupan' of Terbounia. And, desiring to ennoble his son-in-law, he gave him the title of prince and made him independent. Of him was begotten Phalimer, and of him Tzouzimer. The princes of Terbounia have always been at the command of the prince of Serbia. Terbounia in the tongue of the Slavs means 'strong place'; for this country has many strong defences.

Subordinate to this country of Terbounia is another country called Kanali. Kanali means in the tongue of the Slavs 'waggon-load', because, the place being level, they carry on all their labours by the use of waggons.

In the territory of Terbounia and Kanali are the inhabited cities of Terbounia, Ormos, Rhisena, Loukabetai, Zetlibi.

## 35. Of the Diocletians and of the country they now dwell in.

The country of Diocleia was also previously possessed by the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian translated from Rome, as has been said in the story about the Croats, and was under the emperor of the Romans.

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**34.** 1 Τερβουνιωτῶν *corr.* Moravcsik: Τερβουνιατῶν P edd. || 3 Τερβουνιατῶν edd. || 4/5 οἱ ἐκεῖσε οἰκοῦντες κατάγονται ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα *coni.* Jenkins: οἱ ἐκεῖσε κατάγονται, οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄρχοντος οἰκοῦντες τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα P edd. || 6/7 Βλαστημέρου edd. || 7 Βλαστήμερος edd. || 8 δὲ *om.* edd. || 9 ὀνόμασεν P || 11 Τζουζήμερης P Τζουτζημέρης edd. || 15 ἑτέρα χώρα Meursius Ba Be ἕτερα χωρία P || 17 ἁμαξιά edd. || 20 Ὅρμος Be || Λουκάβετε V edd. Λουκάβε τε *coni.* Šafarik Λουκάβετζ *coni.* Rački.

**35.** 3 Διοκλήας P Ba Be || 4 μετώκησεν P ||

Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆρχεν. Παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀβάρων καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσα ἠρήμωται, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου,τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνῳκίσθη, καθὼς καὶ ἡ Χρωβατία καὶ ἡ Σερβλία καὶ ἡ τῶν Ζαχλούμων καὶ ἡ Τερβουνία καὶ τοῦ Καναλῆ. Διόκλεια δὲ ὀνομάζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ χώρᾳ κάστρου, οὗπερ ἔκτισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός, νυνὶ δέ ἐστιν 104r P ἐρημόκαστρον μέχρι | τοῦ νῦν ὀνομαζόμενον Διόκλεια.

Ὅτι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Διοκλείας εἰσὶ μεγάλα κάστρα οἰκούμενα· τὸ Γράδεται, τὸ Νουγράδε, τὸ Λοντοδόκλα.

163Be **36.** Περὶ τῶν Παγανῶν, τῶν καὶ Ἀρεντανῶν καλουμένων, καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας.

Ὅτι ἡ χώρα, εἰς ἣν νῦν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ Παγανοί, καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμάνων ἐκρατεῖτο, οὓς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς μετοικίσας ἐν Δελματίᾳ ἐνῴκισεν. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Παγανοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀβαπτίστων Σέρβλων κατάγονται ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡράκλειον προσφυγόντος. Παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀβάρων καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσα ἠρήμωται, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως 104v P ἐνῳκίσθη. | Παγανοὶ δὲ καλοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέξασθαι αὐτοὺς τῷ τότε καιρῷ βαπτισθῆναι, ὅτε καὶ πάντες οἱ Σέρβλοι ἐβαπτίσθησαν. Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ 'ἀβάπτιστοι' ἑρμηνεύονται, τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὲ διαλέκτῳ ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν Ἄρεντα καλεῖται, ἐξ οὗ κἀκεῖνοι παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀρεντανοὶ καλοῦνται.

Ὅτι ἐν Παγανίᾳ εἰσὶν κάστρα οἰκούμενα· τὸ Μόκρον, τὸ Βερούλλια, τὸ Ὄστρωκ καὶ ἡ Σλαβίνετζα. Κρατοῦσιν δὲ καὶ ταύτας τὰς νήσους· νῆσος μεγάλη ἡ Κούρκρα, ἤτοι τὸ Κίκερ, ἐν ᾗ ἔστιν καὶ κάστρον· νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη τὰ Μέλετα, ἤτοι τὸ Μαλοζεάται, ἣν ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν 105r P ἀποστόλων ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς μέμνηται Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων, | ἐν 164Be ᾗ καὶ | ἔχις τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δακτύλου προσήψατο, ἣν καὶ τῷ πυρὶ ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος κατέφλεξεν· νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη τὸ Φάρα· νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη ὁ Βράτζης. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεραι νῆσοι, αἱ μὴ κρατούμεναι παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Παγανῶν· νῆσος τὰ Χώαρα, νῆσος Ἴης, νῆσος τὸ Λάστοβον.

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*F* **36.** 18 Μελίτην — 20 κατέφλεξεν: Acta 28, 1—5.

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*V* 6 αὔτη Be || 9 *ante* τοῦ[1] *addendum* ἡ *coni.* Bury || Διόκλημα P Ba Be || 10 οὗπερ: ὅπερ V edd. || 11 Διόκλημα P Ba Be || 12 τῇ χώρᾳ] *litteras* ῇ *et* α *in ras. scr.* P[1] || Διοκλῆας P || 13 Γράδεται: Γράδεσται *coni.* Rački Γράδετζι *coni.* Skok || Νουγράδε: Νούιγράδε *seu* Νουιγράδε *coni.* Rački ||

But this country also was enslaved by the Avars and made desolate, and repopulated in the time of Heraclius the emperor, just as were Croatia and Serbia and the country of the Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of Kanali. Diocleia gets its name from the city in this country that the emperor Diocletian founded, but now it is a deserted city, though still called Diocleia.

In the country of Diocleia are the large inhabited cities of Gradetai, Nougrade, Lontodokla.

## 36. Of the Pagani, also called Arentani, and of the country they now dwell in.

The country in which the Pagani now dwell was also previously possessed by the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian translated from Rome and settled in Dalmatia. These same Pagani are descended from the unbaptized Serbs, of the time of that prince who claimed the protection of the emperor Heraclius. This country also was enslaved by the Avars and made desolate and repopulated in the time of Heraclius the emperor. The Pagani are so called because they did not accept baptism at the time when all the Serbs were baptized. For 'Pagani' in the tongue of the Slavs means 'unbaptized', but in the tongue of the Romans their country is called Arenta, and so they themselves are called Arentani by these same Romans.

In Pagania are the inhabited cities of Mokron, Beroullia, Ostrok and Slavinetza. Also, they possess these islands: the large island of Kourkra, or Kiker, on which there is a city; another large island, Meleta, or Malozeatai, which St. Luke mentions in the 'Acts of the Apostles' by the name of Melite, in which a viper fastened upon St. Paul by his finger, and St. Paul burnt it up in the fire; another large island, Phara; another large island, Bratzis. There are other islands not in the possession of these same Pagani: the island of Choara, the island of Iës, the island of Lastobon.

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Λοντοδόκλα: Λόντο, τὸ Δόκλα *coni.* Šafarik Λόντο, τὸ Δεόκλα *coni.* Rački Λουτοδόκλα *coni.* Skok.

**36.** 1 Ἀρεντανῶν: Ναρεντανῶν *coni.* Šafarik || 3 αὔτη edd. || 4 Ῥωμάνων *coni.* Jenkins: Ῥωμαίων P edd. || 5 μετοικήσας P || ἐνώκησεν P || 6 εἰς: πρὸς edd. || 7 αὔτη Be || 12 Ἀρέντα V edd. || 13 Ἀρεντανοὶ *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἀρεντάνοι P edd. || 15 ἡ Σλαβίνετζα *scr.* Moravcsik εἰσλαβίνετζα P: ἡ Λαβίνετζα V edd. Λαβίνετζα *mg.* P[3] Λαβρίνετζα *coni.* Novaković Λαβίνζανε *seu* Λαβίτζανε *coni.* Skok || 18 Λουκὰς P: Λούκας edd. || 21 ἑτέραι P || 22 Χόαρα V edd. Χόαζα *coni.* Šafarik Dümmler Rački Šišić.

## 37. Περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ Πατζινακῖται τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀτὴλ τὴν αὐτῶν εἶχον κατοίκησιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Γεήχ, ἔχοντες τούς τε Χαζάρους συνοροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους Οὔζους. Πρὸ ἐτῶν δὲ πεντήκοντα οἱ λεγόμενοι Οὖζοι μετὰ τῶν Χαζάρων ὁμονοή- 105vP σαντες καὶ πόλεμον συμβαλόντες πρὸς τοὺς Πατζινακίτας, | ὑπερίσχυσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας αὐτοὺς ἐξεδίωξαν, καὶ κατέσχον αὐτὴν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον οἱ λεγόμενοι Οὖζοι. Οἱ δὲ Πατζινακῖται φυγόντες περιήρχοντο, ἀναψηλαφῶντες τόπον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκήνωσιν, καταλαβόντες δὲ τὴν σήμερον παρ' αὐτῶν διακρατουμένην γῆν καὶ εὑρόντες τοὺς Τούρκους οἰκοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ, πολέμου τρόπῳ τούτους νικήσαντες καὶ ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὺς ἐξεδίωξαν, καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ δεσπόζουσιν τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν, ὡς εἴρηται, μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἔτη πεντήκοντα πέντε.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ Πατζινακία εἰς θέματα ὀκτὼ διαιρεῖται, 106rP 165Be ἔχουσα καὶ μεγάλους ἄρχοντας τοσούτους. Τὰ | δὲ | θέματά εἰσιν ταῦτα· ὄνομα τοῦ πρώτου θέματος Ἠρτήμ, τοῦ δευτέρου Τζούρ, τοῦ τρίτου Γύλα, τοῦ τετάρτου Κουλπέη, τοῦ πέμπτου Χαραβόη, τοῦ ἕκτου Ταλμάτ, τοῦ ἑβδόμου Χοπόν, τοῦ ὀγδόου Τζοπόν. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρόν, ὃν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας οἱ Πατζινακῖται ἐξεδιώχθησαν, εἶχον ἄρχοντας εἰς μὲν τὸ θέμα Ἠρτὴμ τὸν Βαϊτζαν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Τζοὺρ τὸν Κούελ, εἰς δὲ τὸ Γύλα τὸν Κουρκοῦται, εἰς δὲ τὸ Κουλπέη τὸν Ἰπαόν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Χαραβόη τὸν Καϊδούμ, εἰς δὲ τὸ θέμα Ταλμὰτ τὸν Κώσταν, εἰς ⟨δὲ⟩ τὸ Χοπὸν τὸν Γιαζή, εἰς δὲ τὸ θέμα Τζοπὸν τὸν Βατᾶν. Μετὰ δὲ θάνατον αὐτῶν διεδέξαντο τὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ τούτων ἐξάδελφοι. Νόμος γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς 106vP καὶ τύπος ἐκράτησεν παλαιὸς μὴ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν πρὸς παῖ|δας ἢ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν μεταπέμπειν τὰ ἀξιώματα, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι μόνον τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὸ καὶ μέχρι ζωῆς ἄρχειν αὐτούς, μετὰ δὲ θάνατον προχειρίζεσθαι ἢ ἐξάδελφον αὐτῶν ἢ ἐξαδέλφων παῖδας πρὸς τὸ μὴ καθόλου εἰς ἓν μέρος τῆς γενεᾶς διατρέχειν τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ {εἰς} τοὺς ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ κληρονομεῖν καὶ ἀπεκδέχεσθαι τὴν τιμήν· ἀπὸ ξένης δὲ γενεᾶς οὐχ ὑπεισέρχεταί τις καὶ γίνεται ἄρχων. Τὰ δὲ ὀκτὼ θέματα διαιροῦνται εἰς τεσσαράκοντα μέρη, καὶ ἔχουσι καὶ ἐλάττονας ἄρχοντας.

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*V* **37.** 2 οἱ *om.* Be || Πατζινακίται P || 3 Γεήχ] *litteram* ε *in ras. scr.* P[1] *mg. iter.* P || 4 Χαζάρους *coni.* Bandurius Dankovszky Zeuss Cassel Grot Thury Marquart Manojlović Schönebaum *aliique*; Μαζάρους P *mg.* P edd. Βαζάρους *coni.* Bury || Οὔζους *per comp.* (?) P: Οὖζ V edd. Οὔζω *mg.* P || 5 πεντήκοντα edd.: ν' P *post* πεντήκοντα *excidisse* πέντε *coni.* Pauler Bury *aliique* || Οὖζοι *per comp.* (?) P: Οὖζ V edd. || Χαζάρων: Μαζάρων

## 37. Of the nation of the Pechenegs.

Originally, the Pechenegs had their dwelling on the river Atil, and likewise on the river Geïch, having common frontiers with the Chazars and the so-called Uzes. But fifty years ago the so-called Uzes made common cause with the Chazars and joined battle with the Pechenegs and prevailed over them and expelled them from their country, which the so-called Uzes have occupied till this day. The Pechenegs fled and wandered round, casting about for a place for their settlement; and when they reached the land which they now possess and found the Turks living in it, they defeated them in battle and expelled and cast them out, and settled in it, and have been masters of this country, as has been said, for fifty-five years to this day.

The whole of Patzinacia is divided into eight provinces with the same number of great princes. The provinces are these: the name of the first province is Irtim; of the second, Tzour; of the third, Gyla; of the fourth, Koulpeï; of the fifth, Charaboï; of the sixth, Talmat; of the seventh, Chopon; of the eighth, Tzopon. At the time at which the Pechenegs were expelled from their country, their princes were, in the province of Irtim, Baïtzas; in Tzour, Kouel; in Gyla, Kourkoutai; in Koulpeï, Ipaos; in Charaboï, Kaïdoum; in the province of Talmat, Kostas; in Chopon, Giazis; in the province of Tzopon, Batas. After their deaths their cousins succeeded to their rule. For law and ancient principle have prevailed among them, depriving them of authority to transmit their ranks to their sons or their brothers, it being sufficient for those in power to rule for their own life-time only, and when they die, either their cousin or sons of their cousins must be appointed, so that the rank may not run exclusively in one branch of the family, but the collaterals also inherit and succeed to the honour; but no one from a stranger family intrudes and becomes a prince. The eight provinces are divided into forty districts, and *these* have minor princelings over them.

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*coni.* Bayer || 8 Οὔζοι P || Πατζινακῖται P || 9 ἀναψηλαφῶντες edd. ἀναψηλαφόντες P: ἀναψηλαφοῦντες V || 10 διακρατουμένην: κρατουμένην V edd. || 12 ἐξεδίωξαν αὐτοὺς edd. || 13 τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν: τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας V edd. || τὴν²: τῆς V edd. || 14 πεντήκοντα πέντε edd.: νε' P *post* ἔτη *numerum anni excidisse,* N̅ *autem per comp. pro* ἰνδικτιὼν *seu* ἰνδικτιῶνος *scriptum fuisse susp.* Moravcsik || 17 πρώτου V edd.: α' P || δευτέρου edd.: β' P || τρίτου edd.: γ' P || 18 τετάρτου edd.: δ' P || πέμπτου edd.: ε' P || Χαραβόη *corr.* Moravcsik: Χαροβόη P edd. || ἕκτου edd.: ς' P || 19 ἑβδόμου edd.: ζ' P || ὀγδόου edd.: η' P || 20 τῆς ἰδίας χώρας (*etiam* Bandurius): τῶν ἰδίων τόπων edd. || Πατζινακῖται P || 21 Βαϊτζαν *coni.* Rásonyi Μάϊτζαν V Μαΐτζαν edd. || 22 Κουρκοῦταν edd. || 22/3 Χαραβόη *corr.* Moravcsik: Χαροβόη edd. Χαβόη P || 23 δὲ *add.* Moravcsik || 24 Βατὰν P || 27 ἀρκεῖσθαι: ἀρκεῖν *coni.* Bekker || 28 αὐτούς edd.: αὐτοῦ P || 30 τῆς *om.* edd. || εἰς *secl.* Moravcsik || 30/1 ἐκπλαγίου P: ἐκπλαγίους edd. || 32 ὀκτὼ edd.: η' P || 33 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: μ' P ||

## 37

Ἰστέον, ὅτι αἱ τέσσαρες τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν γενεαί, ἤγουν τὸ
166Be θέμα Κουαρτζιτζοὺρ καὶ τὸ θέμα Συρουκάλπεη καὶ τὸ | θέμα Βοροταλμὰτ
107rP καὶ τὸ θέμα Βουλατ|ζοπόν, κεῖνται πέραν τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀνατολικώτερα καὶ βορειότερα μέρη, ἐναποβλέποντα πρός τε Οὐζίαν καὶ Χαζαρίαν καὶ Ἀλανίαν καὶ τὴν Χερσῶνα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κλίματα. Αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι τέσσαρες γενεαὶ κεῖνται ἔνθεν τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὰ δυτικώτερα καὶ ἀρκτικώτερα μέρη, τουτέστιν τὸ θέμα Γιαζιχοπὸν πλησιάζει τῇ Βουλγαρίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα τοῦ κάτω Γύλα πλησιάζει τῇ Τουρκίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα τοῦ Χαραβόη πλησιάζει τῇ Ῥωσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα Ἰαβδιερτὶμ πλησιάζει τοῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίοις χώρας τῆς Ῥωσίας, τοῖς τε Οὐλτίνοις καὶ Δερβλενίνοις καὶ Λενζενίνοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
107vP Σκλάβοις. Ἀπῴκισται δὲ ἡ Πατζινακία ἐκ μὲν | Οὐζίας καὶ Χαζαρίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐκ δὲ Ἀλανίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἕξ, ἀπὸ δὲ Μορδίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥωσίας ὁδὸν ἡμερᾶς μιᾶς, ἀπὸ δὲ Τουρκίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων, ἀπὸ δὲ Βουλγαρίας ὁδὸν ἡμέρας τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ εἰς Χερσῶνα μέν ἐστιν ἔγγιστα, εἰς δὲ τὴν Βόσπορον πλησιέστερον.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ὃν οἱ Πατζινακῖται ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ἐξεδιώχθησαν, θελήσει τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκείᾳ γνώμῃ ἐναπέμειναν ἐκεῖσε, καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις Οὔζοις συνῴκησαν, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἔχοντες τοιαῦτα γνωρίσματα, ὥστε διαχωρίζεσθαι
167Be αὐτοὺς καὶ νοεῖσθαι, τίνες τε ἦσαν, καὶ πῶς αὐτοὺς ἀποσπασθῆναι τῶν
108rP ἰδίων συν|έβη· | τὰ γὰρ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν εἰσιν κόντουρα μέχρι γονάτων καὶ τὰ μανίκια ἀπὸ τῶν βραχιόνων ἀποκεκομμένα, ὡς δῆθεν ἐκ τούτου δεικνύντες, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἀπεκόπησαν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἔνθεν τοῦ Δανάστρεως ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβλέπον μέρος τὴν Βουλγαρίαν εἰς τὰ περάματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰσὶν ἐρημόκαστρα· κάστρον πρῶτον τὸ ὀνομασθὲν παρὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν Ἄσπρον διὰ τὸ τοὺς λίθους αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι καταλεύκους, κάστρον δεύτερον τὸ Τουγγάται, κάστρον τρίτον τὸ Κρακνακάται, κάστρον τέταρτον τὸ Σαλμακάται, κάστρον πέμπτον τὸ Σακακάται, κάστρον ἕκτον ⟨τὸ⟩ Γιαιουκάται. Ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τῶν παλαιοκάστρων κτίσμασιν εὑρίσκον-
108vP ται καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν | γνωρίσματά τινα καὶ σταυροὶ λαξευτοὶ εἰς λίθους πωρίνους, ὅθεν καί τινες παράδοσιν ἔχουσιν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοί ποτε τὰς κατοικίας εἶχον ἐκεῖσε.

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*V* 35 Συρουκαλπέη edd. Συρουκουλπέη *coni.* Bandurius Συροκουλπέη *coni.* Németh Σαρυκουλπέη *coni.* Marquart || Βοροτάλματ edd. || 36 Βουλατζοπόν P *coni.* Marquart Németh: Βουλατζοσπόν P[x] edd. Τζοπὸν *scr. quo deleto* Βουλατζοσπόν *iter.* V[1] || πέρα Ba Be || 38/9 κλήματα P || 39 τέσσαρες edd.: δ′ P || ἔνθεν (*littera* ο *erasa et* εν *in ras. scripto*) P[y] Ba Be: ὅθεν P ὅθεν V || 41 τοῦ κάτω Γύλα: Χαβουξιγγυλὰ *coni.* Lehrberg Κουρκώτα Γύλα *coni.*

Four clans of the Pechenegs, that is to say, the province of Kouartzitzour and the province of Syroukalpeï and the province of Borotalmat and the province of Boulatzopon, lie beyond the Dnieper river towards the eastern and northern parts that face Uzia and Chazaria and Alania and Cherson and the rest of the Regions. The other four clans lie on this side of the Dnieper river, towards the western and northern parts, that is to say that the province of Giazichopon is neighbour to Bulgaria, the province of Kato Gyla is neighbour to Turkey, the province of Charaboï is neighbour to Russia, and the province of Iabdiertim is neighbour to the tributary territories of the country of Russia, to the Oultines and Dervlenines and Lenzenines and the rest of the Slavs. Patzinacia is distant a five days journey from Uzia and Chazaria, a six days journey from Alania, a ten days journey from Mordia, one day's journey from Russia, a four days journey from Turkey, half a day's journey from Bulgaria; to Cherson it is very near, and to Bosporus closer still.

At the time when the Pechenegs were expelled from their country, some of them of their own will and personal decision stayed behind there and united with the so-called Uzes, and even to this day they live among them, and wear such distinguishing marks as separate them off and betray their origin and how it came about that they were split off from their own folk: for their tunics are short, reaching to the knee, and their sleeves are cut off at the shoulder, whereby, you see, they indicate that they have been cut off from their own folk and those of their race.

On this side of the Dniester river, towards the part that faces Bulgaria, at the crossings of this same river, are deserted cities: the first city is that called by the Pechenegs Aspron, because its stones look very white; the second city is Toungatai; the third city is Kraknakatai; the fourth city is Salmakatai; the fifth city is Sakakatai; the sixth city is Giaioukatai. Among these buildings of the ancient cities are found some distinctive traces of churches, and crosses hewn out of porous stone, whence some preserve a tradition that once on a time Romans had settlements there.

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Marquart || κάτω V edd.: *incertum scripseritne* κάτω *an* κάτα P || 42 τοῦ *om.* edd. || Χαροβόη edd. || 43 τοῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίοις χώρας (*prima littera* α *ex dimidia parte, quinta littera* ι *penitus erasa accentuque correcto*) P[y] Ba Be: ταῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίοις χῶραις P ταῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίαις, χῶραις V ταῖς ὑποφόροις χώραις Me || 44 τοῖς[1] edd.: τοὺς P || Οὐλτίνοις: Οὐλιτίνοις *coni.* Šachmatov || 46 πέντε edd.: ε' P || ὁδὸν[2] *om.* V edd. || ἕξ edd.: ς' P || Μορδίας: Μοδίας V Me Μηδίας *coni.* Meursius || 47 δέκα edd.: ι' P || μίας P || 48 τεσσάρων edd.: δ' P || τὸ *om.* V edd. || 50 Πατζινακῖται P || 54 αὐτοὺς[1] *coni.* Moravcsik: αὐτοῖς P αὐτῶν *coni.* Kukules || αὐτοὺς edd.: αὐτῶν P || 55 κόντουρα (*corr. etiam* Grégoire Psaltes) κόντευρα Be || 58 Δανάστρεως *coni.* Westberg Laskin Latyšev Šachmatov: Δανάπρεως P edd. || 60 πρῶτον V edd.: α' P || 61 δεύτερον edd.: β' P || 62 Τουγγᾶται P || τρίτον edd.: γ' P || τέταρτον edd.: δ' P || 63 πέμπτον edd.: ε' P || ἕκτον edd.: ς' P || τὸ *add.* Moravcsik || 64 Γιαιουκᾶται P || 66 πωρίνους *coni.* Bekker: πορίνους P Ba Be πυρίτας *coni.* Meursius ||

Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ Κάγγαρ ὀνομάζονται οἱ Πατζινακῖται, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάντες, πλὴν ὁ τῶν τριῶν θεμάτων λαός, τοῦ Ἰαβδιηρτὶ καὶ τοῦ Κουαρτζιτζοὺρ καὶ τοῦ Χαβουξιγγυλά, ὡς ἀνδρειότεροι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι τῶν λοιπῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ ἡ τοῦ Κάγγαρ προσηγορία.

## 168Be 38. Περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ ὅθεν κατάγονται.

Ὅτι τὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἔθνος πλησίον τῆς Χαζαρίας τὸ παλαιὸν
τὴν κατοίκησιν ἔσχεν εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Λεβεδία ἀπὸ
τῆς τοῦ πρώτου βοεβόδου αὐτῶν ἐπωνυμίας, ὅστις βοέβοδος τὸ μὲν
109r P τῆς κλήσεως ὄνομα Λεβεδίας | προσηγορεύετο, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀξίας, ὡς καὶ
οἱ λοιποὶ μετ' αὐτόν, βοέβοδος ἐκαλεῖτο. Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ τόπῳ, τῷ
προρρηθέντι Λεβεδίᾳ, ποταμός ἐστιν ῥέων Χιδμάς, ὁ καὶ Χιγγιλοὺς
ἐπονομαζόμενος. Οὐκ ἐλέγοντο δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ Τοῦρκοι, ἀλλὰ Σάβαρτοι
ἄσφαλοι ἔκ τινος αἰτίας ἐπωνομάζοντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Τοῦρκοι γενεαὶ ὑπῆρχον
ἑπτά, ἄρχοντα δὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς εἴτε ἴδιον, εἴτε ἀλλότριόν ποτε οὐκ ἐκτή-
σαντο, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχον ἐν αὐτοῖς βοέβοδοί τινες, ὧν πρῶτος βοέβοδος ἦν
ὁ προρρηθεὶς Λεβεδίας. Συνῴκησαν δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαζάρων ἐνιαυτοὺς
τρεῖς, συμμαχοῦντες τοῖς Χαζάροις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτῶν πολέμοις. Ὁ δὲ
χαγάνος ἄρχων Χαζαρίας διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνδρείαν καὶ συμμαχίαν τῷ
109v P πρώτῳ βοεβόδῳ τῶν | Τούρκων, Λεβεδίᾳ ἐπονομαζομένῳ, γυναῖκα
δέδωκεν πρὸς γάμον Χαζάραν εὐγενῆ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ περίφη-
μον καὶ τὸ τοῦ γένους περιφανές, ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκνώσῃ· ὁ δὲ Λεβεδίας
169Be ἐκεῖνος ἔκ τινος τύχης μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς Χαζάρας οὐκ ἐπαιδοποίησεν. | Οἱ δὲ
Πατζινακῖται, οἱ πρότερον Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζόμενοι (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ
Κάγγαρ ὄνομα ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ ἐλέγετο παρ' αὐτοῖς), πρὸς
Χαζάρους οὖν οὗτοι κινήσαντες πόλεμον καὶ ἡττηθέντες, τὴν οἰκείαν
γῆν καταλεῖψαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Τούρκων κατοικῆσαι κατηναγκάσθησαν.
Ἀναμεταξὺ δὲ τῶν Τούρκων συναφθέντος πολέμου καὶ τῶν Πατζινακι-
τῶν, τῶν τηνικαῦτα Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζομένων, τὸ τῶν Τούρκων φοσσᾶ-
110r P τον ἡττήθη καὶ εἰς δύο διῃρέθη | μέρη. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος πρὸς ἀνατολὴν
εἰς τὸ τῆς Περσίδος μέρος κατῴκησεν, οἳ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τὴν
τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχαίαν ἐπωνυμίαν καλοῦνται Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι, τὸ δὲ

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*V* 68 καὶ *om.* V edd. || Κάγγαρ F[1]: Κάγκαρ P V F edd. Βάγκαρ *hic et infra coni.* Grégoire || Πατζινακίται P || 69 τριῶν edd.: γ' P || Ἰαβδιηρτὶ Ba Be: Ἰαυδιηρτί P || 69/70 Κουαρτζιτζοὺρ P[y] Ba Be: Κουαρτζιτζοῦ P V Me.

The Pechenegs are also called 'Kangar', though not all of them, but only the folk of the three provinces of Iabdierti and Kouartzitzour and Chabouxingyla, for they are more valiant and noble than the rest: and that is what the title 'Kangar' signifies.

## 38. Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended.

The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place called Lebedia after the name of their first voivode, which voivode was called by the personal name of Lebedias, but in virtue of his rank was entitled voivode, as have been the rest after him. Now in this place, the aforesaid Lebedia, there runs a river Chidmas, also called Chingilous. They were not called Turks at that time, but had the name 'Sabartoi asphaloi', for some reason or other. The Turks were seven clans, and they had never had over them a prince either native or foreign, but there were among them 'voivodes', of whom first voivode was the aforesaid Lebedias. They lived together with the Chazars for three years, and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their courage and their alliance, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of the fame of his valour and the illustriousness of his race, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Lebedias had no children by this same Chazar lady. Now, the Pechenegs who were previously called 'Kangar' (for this 'Kangar' was a name signifiying nobility and valour among them), these, then, stirred up war against the Chazars and, being defeated, were forced to quit their own land and to settle in that of the Turks. And when battle was joined between the Turks and the Pechenegs who were at that time called 'Kangar', the army of the Turks was defeated and split into two parts. One part went eastwards and settled in the region of Persia, and they to this day are called by the ancient denomination of the Turks 'Sabartoi

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**38.** 4 ἔσχεν: ἐποιεῖτο V edd. || 6 Λεβεδίας: Λαβαδίας *hic et infra coni.* Iljinskij || προσαγορεύετο edd. || 8 Χιδμάς: Χουμάς *coni.* Cassel Χιλμάς *coni.* Hammer-Purgstall || ὁ V edd.: δ P || Χιγγιλοὺς P V[1]: Χιγγυλοὺς V F edd. || 9 Τούρκοι P || 9/10 Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι *scr.* Moravcsik: Σαβαρτοίασφαλοι P V Σαβαρτοιάσφαλοι V[1] F edd. Σάβαρ τουτέστι ἄσφαλοι *coni.* Fessler Σάβαρ ἤτοι σφάλλει et Σάβαρ ἤτοι ἄσφαλοι *coni.* Dankovszky Hilferding || 10 ἐπονομάζοντο P || Τούρκοι P || 11 ἑπτά edd.: ζ' P || 13 Συνῴκησαν edd.: συνωκίσας P συνοικήσας *susp.* Moravcsik || 14 τρεῖς: σγ' *coni.* Thunmann Schlözer Büdinger *aliique* τ' *coni.* Dankovszky Marczali Zichy Grégoire *aliique* σ' *coni.* Moravcsik λ' *seu* λγ' *coni.* Westberg || συμμαχοῦντες: συμμαχῶν τε *susp.* Moravcsik || 19 Χαζάρας *coni.* Moravcsik: Χαζάρου P edd. || 20 Πατζινακίται P || 20 τοῦτο — 21 αὐτοῖς *in parenthesi posuit* Be || 25/6 φοσσάτον P || 27 κατώκισεν P || 28 Σαβαρτοιάσφαλοι edd. ||

ἕτερον μέρος εἰς τὸ δυτικὸν κατῴκησε μέρος ἅμα καὶ τῷ βοεβόδῳ αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀρχηγῷ, Λεβεδίᾳ, εἰς τόπους τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους Ἀτελκούζου,
ἐν οἷς τόποις τὰ νῦν τὸ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν ἔθνος κατοικεῖ. Ὀλίγου δὲ
χρόνου διαδραμόντος, ὁ χαγάνος ἐκεῖνος ἄρχων Χαζαρίας τοῖς Τούρκοις
ἐμήνυσεν τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποσταλῆναι Λεβεδία, τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν
βοέβοδον. Ὁ Λεβεδίας τοίνυν πρὸν τὸν χαγάνον Χαζαρίας ἐναφικόμενος
ἀνηρώτα τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο. Ὁ δὲ
110vP χαγάνος | εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι· «Διὰ τοῦτό σε προσεκαλεσάμεθα, ἵνα,
ἐπειδὴ εὐγενὴς καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ ἠνδρειωμένος ὑπάρχεις καὶ πρῶτος τῶν
Τούρκων, ἄρχοντά σε τοῦ ἔθνους σου προβαλώμεθα, καὶ ἵνα ὑπείκῃς
τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ προστάξει ἡμῶν.» Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς τὸν χαγάνον
170Be ἀντέφησεν, ὅτι· «Τὴν περὶ ἐμέ σου σχέσιν τε καὶ | προαίρεσιν μεγάλως
ἐναποδέχομαι, καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ὁμολογῶ σοι προσήκουσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀδυ-
νάτως ἔχω πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν, ὑπακοῦσαι οὐ δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
ἔστιν ἕτερος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ βοέβοδος, λεγόμενος Ἀλμούτζης καὶ υἱὸν κεκτη-
μένος ὀνόματι Ἀρπαδήν· ἐκ τούτων μᾶλλον εἴτε ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀλμούτζης,
111rP εἴτε ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρπαδὴς ἵνα γένηται ἄρχων, | καὶ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τὸν λόγον
ὑμῶν». Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ λόγῳ ἀρεσθεὶς ὁ χαγάνος ἐκεῖνος δέδωκεν
ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους ἀπέστειλεν, οἳ καὶ
συλλαλήσαντες περὶ τούτου μετὰ τῶν Τούρκων, μᾶλλον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὸν
Ἀρπαδὴ γενέσθαι προέκριναν ἄρχοντα, ἤπερ Ἀλμούτζη, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
πατέρα, ὡς ἀξιολογώτερον ὄντα καὶ περισπούδαστον ἔν τε φρονήσει καὶ
βουλῇ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν, ὃν καὶ ἄρχοντα
κατὰ τὸ τῶν Χαζάρων ἔθος καὶ ζάκανον πεποιήκασι, σηκώσαντες αὐτὸν
εἰς σκουτάριον. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ τούτου ἄρχοντα ἕτερον οἱ Τοῦρκοι
οὐκ ἐκτήσαντο πώποτε, ἐξ οὗ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἐκ τῆς τούτου
111vP γενεᾶς ἄρχων Τουρκίας καθίσταται. Μετὰ | δέ τινας χρόνους τοῖς Τούρ-
κοις ἐπιπεσόντες οἱ Πατζινακῖται, κατεδίωξαν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος
αὐτῶν Ἀρπαδῆ. Οἱ οὖν Τοῦρκοι τραπέντες καὶ πρὸς κατοίκησιν γῆν
ἐπιζητοῦντες, ἐλθόντες ἀπεδίωξαν οὗτοι τοὺς τὴν μεγάλην Μοραβίαν
οἰκοῦντας, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατεσκήνωσαν, εἰς ἣν νῦν οἱ Τοῦρκοι
171Be μέχρι τῆς σήμερον κατοικοῦσιν. Καὶ ἔκτοτε πό|λεμον οἱ Τοῦρκοι παρὰ
τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Εἰς δὲ τὸ κατασκηνῶσαν τὸ προρρηθὲν
ἔθνος τῶν Τούρκων πρὸς ἀνατολὴν εἰς τὰ τῆς Περσίδος μέρη μέχρι τοῦ
νῦν πραγματευτὰς ἀποστέλλουσιν οὗτοι οἱ πρὸς τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος οἰκοῦν-

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*V* 30 Ἀτελκούζου: Ἀτελκ Οὔζου (*sine acc.*) *coni.* Thunmann  Ἀτελ καὶ Οὔζου (*sine acc.*) *coni.* Lehrberg Hammer-Purgstall  Ἀτελουζου (*sine acc.*) *coni.* Roesler || 31 τά: τὸ edd. || τὸ *om.* edd. || 33 Λεβεδία *coni.* Moravcsik Λεβεδίαν

asphaloi'; but the other part, together with their voivode and chief Lebedias, settled in the western region, in places called Atelkouzou, in which places the nation of the Pechenegs now lives. A short while afterwards, the then chagan-prince of Chazaria sent a message to the Turks, requiring that Lebedias, their first voivode, should be sent to him. Lebedias, therefore, came to the chagan of Chazaria and asked the reason why he had sent for him to come to him. The chagan said to him: «We have invited you upon this account, in order that, since you are noble and wise and valorous and first among the Turks, we may appoint you prince of your nation, and you may be obedient to our word and our command.» But he, in reply, made answer to the chagan: «Your regard and purpose for me I highly esteem and express to you suitable thanks, but since I am not strong enough for this rule, I cannot obey you; on the other hand, however, there is a voivode other than me, called Almoutzis, and he has a son called Arpad; let one of these, rather, either that Almoutzis or his son Arpad, be made prince, and be obedient to your word.» That chagan was pleased at this saying, and gave some of his men *to go* with him, and sent them to the Turks, and after they had talked the matter over with the Turks, the Turks preferred that Arpad should be prince rather than Almoutzis his father, for he was of superior parts and greatly admired for wisdom and counsel and valour, and capable of this rule; and so they made him prince according to the custom, or 'zakanon', of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield. Before this Arpad the Turks had never at any time had any other prince, and so even to this day the prince of Turkey is from his family. Some years later, the Pechenegs fell upon the Turks and drove them out with their prince Arpad. The Turks, in flight and seeking a land to dwell in, came and in their turn expelled the inhabitants of great Moravia and settled in their land, in which the Turks now live to this day. And since that time the Turks have not sustained any attack from the Pechenegs. To the aforesaid nation of the Turks that settled in the east, in the regions of Persia, these Turks aforesaid who live toward the western region still send mer-

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*coni.* Manojlović: χελάνδια P edd. || 34 ἐναφικόμενος: ἀφικόμενος edd. || 35 αὐτὸν² *om.* edd. || 36 προσεκαλεσάμεθα edd.: προσεκαλεσώμεθα P || 37 ὑπάρχεις Ba Be: ὑπάρχῃς P || 38 προβαλώμεθα V edd.: προβαλλώμεθα (*incertum sitne* ω *an* ο) P || ὑπείκῃς edd.: ὑπήκεις P || 41 εὐχαριστίαν] εὐχαριστείαν (*prima littera* α *s. v. addita*) P¹ || 43 Ἀλμούτζης *coni.* Meursius Thunmann Roesler Grot: Σαλμούτζης P edd. || 44 ὁ Ἀλμούτζης P V Me: Σαλμούτζης (*spiritibus erasis et littera* ὁ *in* σ *correcta*) P^y Ba Be || 45 ἔστιν: ἔσται *coni.* Bekker Marczali || τὸν λόγον (*coni. etiam* Bekker): τοῦ λόγου V edd. || 48 Τούρκοι P || 49 Ἀλμούτζη P V Me: Σαλμούτζη (*spiritu eraso et littera* σ *addita*) P^y Ba Be || ἑαυτοῦ: αὐτοῦ edd. || 52 συκόσαντες P || 53 Ἀρπαδὴ P || Τούρκοι P || 56 Πατζινακίται P || 57 Ἀρπαδὴ P || Τούρκοι P || 59 οἰκοῦντας: κατοικοῦντας V edd. || Τούρκοι P || 60 Τούρκοι P || παρὰ (*etiam* Bandurius): μετὰ V edd. || 61 ἐδέξαντο (*etiam* Bandurius): ἐποίησαν V edd. || 62 *post* πρὸς *add.* τὴν V edd. ||

112rP τες προρρηθέντες Τοῦρκοι, καὶ βλέπουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποκρίσεις | παρὰ αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλάκις ἀποκομίζουσιν.

Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τῷ τότε καιρῷ κατῴκησαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι, καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων ποταμῶν. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοί εἰσιν οὗτοι· ποταμὸς πρῶτος ὁ καλούμενος Βαρούχ, ποταμὸς δεύτερος ὁ καλούμενος Κουβοῦ, ποταμὸς τρίτος ὁ καλούμενος Τροῦλλος, ποταμὸς τέταρτος ὁ καλούμενος Βροῦτος, ποταμὸς πέμπτος ὁ καλούμενος Σέρετος.

## 39. Περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Καβάρων.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ λεγόμενοι Κάβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Χαζάρων γενεᾶς ὑπῆρχον. Καὶ δὴ συμβάν τινα παρὰ αὐτῶν ἀποστασίαν γενέσθαι πρὸς
112vP τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου καθι|στάντος, ἡ πρώτη ἀρχὴ αὐτῶν ὑπερίσχυσεν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπεσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφυγον, καὶ ἦλθαν καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν μετὰ τῶν Τούρκων εἰς τὴν τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν γῆν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις συνεφιλιώθησαν, καὶ Κάβαροί τινες ὠνομάσθησαν. Ὅθεν
172Be καὶ τὴν τῶν Χαζάρων γλῶσσαν αὐτοῖς | τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐδίδαξαν, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν διάλεκτον ἔχουσιν· ἔχουσιν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Τούρκων ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν. Διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰς τοὺς πολέμους ἰσχυροτέρους καὶ ἀνδρειοτέρους δείκνυσθαι τῶν ὀκτὼ γενεῶν καὶ προεξάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου προεκρίθησαν πρῶται γενεαί. Εἷς δέ ἐστιν ἄρχων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἤγουν ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ γενεαῖς τῶν Καβάρων, ὅστις καὶ μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἔστιν.

## 113rP 40. Περὶ τῶν γενεῶν τῶν Καβάρων καὶ τῶν Τούρκων.

Πρώτη ἡ παρὰ τῶν Χαζάρων ἀποσπασθεῖσα αὕτη ἡ προρρηθεῖσα τῶν Καβάρων γενεά, δευτέρα τοῦ Νέκη, τρίτη τοῦ Μεγέρη, τετάρτη ⟨τοῦ⟩ Κουρτουγερμάτου, πέμπτη τοῦ Ταριάνου, ἕκτη Γενάχ, ἑβδόμη Καρῆ, ὀγδόη Κασῆ. Καὶ οὕτως ἀλλήλοις συναφθέντες, μετὰ τῶν Τούρκων οἱ Κάβαροι εἰς τὴν τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν κατῴκησαν γῆν. Μετὰ δὲ

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*V* 64 προρρηθέντες: προειρημένοι V edd. ‖ Τούρκοι P ‖ ἀποκρίσεις Ba Be: ἀποκρίσεσιν P ‖ 67 Τούρκοι P ‖ 69 δεύτερος edd.: β′ P ‖ Κουβοῦ: Κοβοῦ *mg.* P Κουζοῦ *coni.* Roesler ‖ τρίτος edd.: γ′ P ‖ 70 Τροῦλλος: Τοῦρλος *coni.* Roesler ‖ τέταρτος edd.: δ′ P ‖ πέμπτος edd.: ε′ P.

chants who look them up, and often bring them back official messages from them.

The place of the Pechenegs, in which at that time the Turks lived, is called after the name of the local rivers. The rivers are these: the first river is that called Barouch, the second river that called Koubou, the third river that called Troullos, the fourth river that called Broutos, the fifth river that called Seretos.

## 39. Of the nation of the Kabaroi.

The so-called Kabaroi were of the race of the Chazars. Now, it fell out that a secession was made by them to their government, and when a civil war broke out their first government prevailed, and some of them were slain, but others escaped and came and settled with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs, and they made friends with one another, and were called 'Kabaroi'. And so to these Turks they taught also the tongue of the Chazars, and to this day they have this same language, but they have also the other tongue of the Turks. And because in wars they show themselves strongest and most valorous of the eight clans, and are leaders in war, they have been promoted to be first clans. There is one prince among them, I mean, among the three clans of the Kabaroi, who is even to this day.

## 40. Of the clans of the Kabaroi and the Turks.

The first is this aforesaid clan of the Kabaroi which split off from the Chazars; the second, of Nekis; the third, of Megeris; the fourth, *of* Kourtougermatos; the fifth, of Tarianos; the sixth, Genach; the seventh, Kari; the eighth, Kasi. Having thus combined with one another, the Kabaroi dwelt with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs. After this, at the invitation

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**39.** 2 Κάβαροι edd.: Καβάροι P *ubique sine* κ *scribendum coni.* Meursius Βάκαροι *hic et infra coni.* Grégoire || 3 συμβάν *corr.* Moravcsik: συμβᾶσαν P edd. || 4 καθιστάντος: καταστάντος *coni.* Bekker || 5 ἦλθον edd. || 7 Κάβαροί: βάρβαροί V Me || ὀνομάσθησαν P || 8 γλῶτταν edd. || 11 ἀνδρειοτέρους edd.: ἠνδρειωτέρους P || ὀκτὼ edd.: η′ P || 13 τρισὶ edd.: τρεῖς P || τὴν: τῆς V edd.

**40.** 1 τῶν³ *om.* edd. || 3 ἀποσπασθεῖσα V edd.: ἀποσπαθεῖσα P || 4 δευτέρα edd.: β′ P || τρίτη edd.: γ′ P || τετάρτη edd.: δ′ P || 5 τοῦ *add.* V edd. || Κουρτυγερμάτου edd. || πέμπτη edd.: ε′ P || ἕκτη edd.: ς′ P || ἑβδόμη edd.: ζ′ P || 6 Καρή P || ὀγδόη edd.: η′ P || Κασή P || Βάκαροι V F ||

# 40

ταῦτα παρὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως, προσκλη-
θέντες διεπέρασαν, καὶ τὸν Συμεὼν πολεμήσαντες κατὰ κράτος αὐτὸν
ἥττησαν, καὶ ἐξελάσαντες μέχρι τῆς Πρεσθλάβου διῆλθον, ἀποκλείσαν-
τες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον Μουνδράγα, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν
113vP χώραν ὑπέστρεψαν. Τῷ δὲ τότε | καιρῷ τὸν Λιούντικα, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ
Ἀρπαδῆ εἶχον ἄρχοντα. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πάλιν τὸν Συμεὼν μετὰ τοῦ βασι-
λέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰρηνεῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἄδειαν διεπέμψατο πρὸς
173Be τοὺς | Πατζινακίτας, καὶ μετὰ αὐτῶν ὡμοφώνησεν τοῦ καταπολεμῆσαι
καὶ ἀφανίσαι τοὺς Τούρκους. Καὶ ὅτε οἱ Τοῦρκοι πρὸς ταξίδιον ἀπῆλθον,
οἱ Πατζινακῖται μετὰ Συμεὼν ἦλθον κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν
φαμιλίας παντελῶς ἐξηφάνισαν, καὶ τοὺς εἰς φύλαξιν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν
Τούρκους ἀπ' ἐκεῖσε κακιγκάκως ἀπεδίωξαν. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι ὑποστρέψαν-
τες καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὕτως εὑρόντες ἔρημον καὶ κατηφανισμένην,
114rP κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν καὶ σή|μερον κατοικοῦσιν, τὴν ἐπονο-
μαζομένην κατὰ τὴν ἀνωτέρω, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπωνυμίαν.
Ὁ δὲ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ πρότερον οἱ Τοῦρκοι ὑπῆρχον, ὀνομάζεται κατὰ τὴν
ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐκεῖσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ Ἐτὲλ καὶ Κουζοῦ, ἐν ᾧ
ἀρτίως οἱ Πατζινακῖται κατοικοῦσιν. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι παρὰ τῶν Πατζι-
νακιτῶν διωχθέντες ἦλθον καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν νῦν οἰκοῦ-
σιν. Ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ παλαιά τινα ἔστιν γνωρίσματα· καὶ πρῶτον
μέν ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Τραϊανοῦ γέφυρα κατὰ τὴν τῆς Τουρκίας
ἀρχήν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἡ Βελέγραδα ἀπὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς αὐτῆς γεφύρας,
114vP ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ πύργος ἐστὶν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ | μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ
βασιλέως, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναδρομήν ἐστιν τὸ Σέρμιον
ἐκεῖνο λεγόμενον, ἀπὸ τῆς Βελεγράδας ὁδὸν ἔχον ἡμερῶν δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ
τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία, ἡ ἀβάπτιστος, ἣν καὶ ἐξήλειψαν οἱ Τοῦρ-
174Be |κοι, ἧς ἦρχε τὸ πρότερον ὁ Σφενδοπλόκος.

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἴστρον ποταμὸν γνωρίσματά τε καὶ
ἐπωνυμίαι, τὰ δὲ ἀνώτερα τούτων, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ πᾶσα τῆς Τουρκίας
κατασκήνωσις, ἀρτίως ἐπονομάζουσιν κατὰ τὰς {τοῦ} τῶν ἐκεῖσε ῥεόντων
ποταμῶν ἐπωνυμίας. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοί εἰσιν οὗτοι· ποταμὸς πρῶτος ὁ
Τιμήσης, ποταμὸς δεύτερος ⟨ὁ⟩ Τούτης, ποταμὸς τρίτος ὁ Μορήσης,
115rP ⟨ποταμὸς⟩ τέταρτος ὁ Κρίσος, καὶ πάλιν ἕτερος ποταμὸς ἡ Τί|τζα.

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*F* 7 Μετὰ δὲ — 13 ἄρχοντα: cf. Georg. Mon. (cont.), ed. Bonn. p. 853, 20—855, 7; Georg. Mon. (cont.), ed. Istrin II. p. 27, 20—28, 11; Leo Gramm., ed. Bonn. p. 267, 15—269, 4; Theod. Melit., ed. Tafel p. 186, 30—188, 2; Theoph. Cont., ed. Bonn. p. 358, 7—359, 16; Cedr., ed. Bonn. II. p. 254, 24—256, 1; Zon. XVI. 12., ed. Bonn. III. p. 442, 17—443, 16; Leo, Tact. XVIII. 42., ed. Migne, P. G. 107. c. 956 C—D.

of Leo, the Christ-loving and glorious emperor, they crossed over and fought Symeon and totally defeated him, and drove on and penetrated as far as Preslav, having shut him up in the city called Moundraga; and they went back to their own country. At that time they had Liountikas, son of Arpad, for their prince. But after Symeon was once more at peace with the emperor of the Romans and was free to act, he sent to the Pechenegs and made an agreement with them to attack and destroy the Turks. And when the Turks had gone off on a military expedition, the Pechenegs with Symeon came against the Turks and completely destroyed their families and miserably expelled thence the Turks who were guarding their country. When the Turks came back and found their country thus desolate and utterly ruined, they settled in the land where they live to-day, which is called after the above name of the rivers, as has been said. The place in which the Turks used formerly to be is called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pechenegs live now. But the Turks, expelled by the Pechenegs, came and settled in the land which they now dwell in. In this place are various landmarks of the olden days: first, there is the bridge of the emperor Trajan, where Turkey begins; then, a three days journey from this same bridge, there is Belgrade, in which is the tower of the holy and great Constantine, the emperor; then, again, at the running back of the river, is the renowned Sirmium by name, a journey of two days from Belgrade; and beyond lies great Moravia, the unbaptized, which the Turks have blotted out, *but* over which in former days Sphendoplokos used to rule.

Such are the landmarks and names along the Danube river; but the regions above these, which comprehend the whole settlement of Turkey, they now call after the names of the rivers that flow there. The rivers are these: the first river is the Timisis, the second river *the* Toutis, the third river the Morisis, the fourth *river* the Krisos, and again another river, the

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*V* 9 πολεμίσαντες P || 12 Λιούντινα Ba Be || 13 Ἀρπαδῆ P || 14 εἰρηνεῦσαι P $V^1$ F: εἰρηνεῦθαι V εἰρηνεύεσθαι edd. || 15 ὁμοφώνησεν P || 16 Τούρκοι P || 17 Πατζινακῖται P || *post* μετὰ *add.* τοῦ edd. || 18 φαμηλίας P || 19 Τούρκοι P || 21 τὴν ἐπονομαζομένην — 22 ἐπωνυμίαν *post* κατηφανισμένην (20) *transponenda coni.* Marquart || 23 Τούρκοι P || 24 τοῦ ἐκεῖσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ: τοῖν ἐκεῖσε διερχομένοιν ποταμοῖν *coni.* Hammer-Purgstall τῶν ἐκεῖσε διερχομένων ποταμῶν *coni.* Marquart || Ἐτὲλ καὶ Κουζοῦ: Ἐτὲλ καὶ Οὐζοὺ *coni.* Lehrberg καὶ *omittendum coni.* Thunmann Marquart Westberg *post* Ἐτὲλ *et post* Κουζοῦ *punctum posuit* P Ἐτὲλ ποταμὸς καὶ Κουζοῦ *mg.* $P^3$ || Κουζοὺ edd. || 25 Πατζινακῖται P || Τούρκοι P || 29 καὶ ἡ: δὲ καὶ edd. || Βελάγραδα *mg.* $P^6$ edd. || γέφυρας P || 31 ἀναδρομήν *scr.* Moravcsik ἀναδρομεῖν P: ἐκδρομεῖν V ἐκδρομῆν $V^1$ ἐκδρομήν F edd. || 32 *post* ἐκεῖνο *add.* τὸ V edd. || Βελεγράδας edd.: Βελέγραδας P Βελάγραδας *mg.* $P^6$ || 33/4 Τούρκοι P || 37 ἐπονομάζουσιν: ὀνομάζουσι edd. || τοῦ *om.* Bekker *secl.* Moravcsik τούτων Me Ba || 38 πρῶτος edd.: α' P || 39 δεύτερος edd.: β' P || ὁ *add.* Moravcsik || τρίτος Be: γ' P || 40 ποταμὸς *add.* V || τέταρτος Be: δ' P ||

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Πλησιάζουσι δὲ τοῖς Τούρκοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος οἱ Βούλγαροι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ διαχωρίζει αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἴστρος, ὁ καὶ Δανούβιος λεγόμενος ποταμός, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βόρειον οἱ Πατζινακῖται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δυτικώτερον οἱ Φράγγοι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν οἱ Χρωβάτοι. Αἱ δὲ ὀκτὼ γενεαὶ τῶν Τούρκων αὗται πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἄρχοντας οὐχ ὑπείκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμόνοιαν ἔχουσιν εἰς τοὺς ποταμούς, εἰς οἷον μέρος προβάλλει πόλεμος, συναγωνίζεσθαι μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος τε καὶ σπουδῆς. Ἔχουσι δὲ κεφαλὴν πρώτην τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν καὶ δύο ἑτέρους, τόν τε γυλᾶν καὶ τὸν καρχᾶν, οἵτινες ἔχουσι τάξιν
115vP κριτοῦ· | ἔχει δὲ ἑκάστη γενεὰ ἄρχοντα.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ γυλᾶς καὶ ὁ καρχᾶς οὐκ εἰσὶ κύρια ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ ἀξιώματα.

175Be Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ Ἀρπαδής, ὁ μέγας Τουρκίας ἄρχων, ἐποίησεν | τέσσαρας υἱούς· πρῶτον τὸν Ταρκατζοῦν, δεύτερον τὸν Ἰέλεχ, τρίτον τὸν Ἰουτοτζᾶν, τέταρτον τὸν Ζαλτᾶν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ, ὁ Ταρκατζοῦς ἐποίησεν υἱὸν τὸν Τεβέλη, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος υἱός, ὁ Ἰέλεχ ἐποίησεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἐζέλεχ, ὁ δὲ τρίτος υἱός, ὁ Ἰουτοτζᾶς ἐποίησεν υἱὸν τὸν Φαλίτζιν, τὸν νυνὶ ἄρχοντα, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος υἱός, ⟨ὁ⟩ Ζαλτᾶς ἐποίησεν υἱὸν τὸν Ταξίν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι πάντες ⟨οἱ⟩ υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ ἐτελεύτησαν, οἱ δὲ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ, ὅ τε Φαλῆς καὶ ὁ Τασῆς καὶ ὁ ἐξάδελφος αὐτῶν, ὁ Ταξίς, ζῶσιν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Τεβέλης, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ
116rP Τερματζοῦς, ὁ ἀρτίως ἀνελθὼν φίλος | μετὰ τοῦ Βουλτζοῦ, τοῦ τρίτου ἄρχοντος καὶ καρχᾶ Τουρκίας.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ Βουλτζοῦς, ὁ καρχᾶς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Καλῆ, τοῦ καρχᾶ, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν Καλῆ ἐστιν ὄνομα κύριον, τὸ δὲ καρχᾶς ἐστιν ἀξίωμα, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γυλᾶς, ⟨ὅ⟩ ἐστιν μεῖζον τοῦ καρχᾶ.

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*V* 43 Πατζινακίται P ‖ 44 Χρώβατοι edd. ‖ ὀκτὼ edd.: η' P V ‖ 45 οὐχ *delendum coni.* Jenkins ‖ ὑπείκουσιν F: ὑπήκουσιν P V ὑπηκούουσιν Ba Be ‖ 46 ποταμούς: πολέμους *coni.* Marczali Jenkins ‖ προβάλλει: προσβάλλει *coni.* Bekker ‖ 48 Ἀρπαδή P ‖ 49 δύο edd.: β' P ‖ γυλάν P ‖ καρχάν P ‖ 51 γυλὰς P ‖ καρχάς P: καρχᾶν Be ‖ ὀνόματα κύρια edd. ‖ 53/4 τέσσαρας Be: δ' P ‖ 54 πρῶτον edd.: α' P ‖ δεύτερον edd.: β' P ‖ τρίτον edd.: γ' P ‖ 55 Ἰουτοτζάν Ba Be: Ἰουτότζαν P ‖ τέταρτον edd.: δ' P ‖ Ζαλτάν

Titza. Neighbours of the Turks are, on the eastern side the Bulgarians, where the river Istros, also called Danube, runs between them; on the northern, the Pechenegs; on the western, the Franks; and on the southern, the Croats. These eight clans of the Turks do not obey their own particular princes, but have a joint agreement to fight together with all earnestness and zeal upon the rivers, wheresoever war breaks out. They have for their first chief the prince who comes by succession of Arpad's family, and two others, the gylas and the karchas, who have the rank of judge; and each clan has a prince.

Gylas and karchas are not proper names, but dignities.

Arpad, the great prince of Turkey, had four sons: first, Tarkatzous; second, Ielech; third, Ioutotzas; fourth, Zaltas.

The eldest son of Arpad, Tarkatzous, had a son Tebelis, and the second son Ielech had a son Ezelech, and the third son Ioutotzas had a son Phalitzis, the present prince, and the fourth son Zaltas had a son Taxis.

All *the* sons of Arpad are dead, but his grandsons Phalis and Tasis and their cousin Taxis are living.

Tebelis is dead, and it is his son Termatzous who came here recently as 'friend' with Boultzous, third prince and karchas of Turkey.

The karchas Boultzous is the son of the karchas Kalis, and Kalis is a proper name, but karchas is a dignity, like gylas, *which* is superior to karchas.

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P || 56 πρῶτος edd.: α′ P || 'Αρπαδῆ P || Ταρκατζοὺς P || 57 δεύτερος edd.: β′ P || 58 τρίτος edd.: γ′ P || 'Ιουτοτζάς P || 59 τέταρτος edd.: δ′ P || ὁ *add.* Moravcsik || Ζαλτάς P || τὸν *om.* edd. || 60 οἱ *add.* edd. || 'Αρπαδῆ P: 'Αρπαδᾶ edd. || 61 ὁ² *om.* edd. || Τάξις edd. || 63 ὁ² *om.* F || 64 Τερματζούς P || 65 καρχὰ P || 66 Βουλτζοὺς P || καρχὰς P || ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς: ἐστὶν υἱὸς V υἱός ἐστι edd. || 67 καρχά P || Καλὴ P || καρχὰς P || 68 γυλὰς P || ὁ *add.* edd. || καρχά P.

## 41. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς Μοραβίας.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ Μοραβίας ἄρχων, ὁ Σφενδοπλόκος, ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φοβερὸς εἰς τὰ πλησιάζοντα αὐτῷ ἔθνη γέγονεν. Ἔσχε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς 176Be Σφενδοπλόκος τρεῖς υἱούς, καὶ τελευτῶν διεῖλεν | εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν, καὶ τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀνὰ μιᾶς μερίδος κατέλιπεν, τὸν πρῶτον καταλείψας ἄρχοντα μέγαν, τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους δύο τοῦ εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ πρώτου υἱοῦ. Παρήνεσεν δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ μὴ εἰς διάστα- 116vP σιν καὶ κα|τ' ἀλλήλων γενέσθαι, παράδειγμα αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον ὑποδείξας· ῥάβδους γὰρ τρεῖς ἐνεγκὼν καὶ συνδήσας, δέδωκεν τῷ πρώτῳ υἱῷ τοῦ ταύτας κλάσαι, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἰσχύσαντος, πάλιν δέδωκεν τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὡσαύτως καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως διαιρῶν τὰς τρεῖς ῥάβδους δέδωκεν τοῖς τρισὶ πρὸς μίαν· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες καὶ κελευσθέντες ταύτας κλάσαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς κατέκλασαν. Καὶ διὰ τοιούτου ὑποδείγματος παρήνεσεν αὐτοὺς εἰπών, ὡς ὅτι· «Εἰ μὲν διαμένετε ἐν ὁμοψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ ἀδιαίρετοι, ἀκαταγώνιστοι παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἀνάλωτοι γενήσεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἐν ὑμῖν γένηται ἔρις καὶ φιλονικία, καὶ διαχωρισθῆτε εἰς τρεῖς 117rP ἀρχάς, μὴ ὑποκείμενοι τῷ πρώτῳ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων | ἀφανισθήσεσθε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ὑμῖν ἐχθρῶν παντελῶς ἐξολοθρευθήσεσθε.» Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σφενδοπλόκου ἕνα χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διατελέσαντες, ἔριδος καὶ στάσεως ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐμπεσούσης, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ποιήσαντες, ἐλθόντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι τούτους παντελῶς ἐξωλόθρευσαν, καὶ ἐκράτησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἀρτίως οἰκοῦσιν. Καὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ λαοῦ διεσκορπίσθησαν, προσφυγόντες εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα ἔθνη, εἴς τε τοὺς Βουλγάρους καὶ Τούρκους καὶ Χρωβάτους καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη.

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*F* 41. 7 Παρήνεσεν — 19 ἐξολοθρευθήσεσθε: cf. Aesopus, fab. 103., ed. Halm; Babrius, fab. 47., ed. Schneidewin; Plutarchus, De garrulitate c. 18., ed. Bernardakis III. p. 325; Plutarchus, Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata 174., ed. c. II. p. 8—9.

## 41. Of the country of Moravia.

The prince of Moravia, Sphendoplokos, was valiant and terrible to the nations that were his neighbours. This same Sphendoplokos had three sons, and when he was dying he divided his country into three parts and left a share apiece to his three sons, leaving the eldest to be great prince and the other two to be under the command of the eldest son. He exhorted them not to fall out with one another, giving them this example by way of illustration: he brought three wands and bound them together and gave them to the first son to break them, and when he was not strong enough, handed them on to the second, and in like manner to the third, and then separated the three wands and gave one each to the three of them; when they had taken them and were bidden to break them, they broke them through at once. By means of this illustration he exhorted them and said: «If you remain undivided in concord and love, you shall be unconquered by your adversaries and invincible; but if strife and rivalry come among you and you divide yourselves into three governments, not subject to the eldest brother, you shall be both destroyed by one another and brought to utter ruin by the enemies who are your neighbours.» After the death of this same Sphendoplokos they remained at peace for a year, and then strife and rebellion fell upon them and they made a civil war against one another and the Turks came and utterly ruined them and possessed their country, in which even now they live. And those of the folk who were left were scattered and fled for refuge to the adjacent nations, to the Bulgarians and Turks and Croats and to the rest of the nations.

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*V* **41.** 2 Μωραβίας P || 4 τρία edd.: γ′ P || 6 μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 8 καὶ *om.* F *delendum coni.* Bandurius || 10 ταύτας] *litteram* σ *inser.* P[1] || δευτέρῳ Moravcsik β′ P: ἑτέρῳ V edd. || 14 αὐτοῖς V || ὡς *om.* V edd. || 16 τρεῖς edd.: γ′ P || 17 πρώτῳ edd.: α′ P || 20 ἑαυτοῖς: αὐτοῖς V edd. || 21 Τούρκοι P || 22 ἐξολώθρευσαν P || ἑαυτῶν: αὐτῶν edd.

## 42

177Be **42.** Γεωγραφία ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης μέχρι τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κάστρου Βελε-
117vP γράδας, Τουρ|κίας τε καὶ Πατζινακίας μέχρι τοῦ Χαζαρικοῦ κάστρου Σάρκελ καὶ τῆς Ῥωσίας καὶ μέχρι τῶν Νεκροπύλων, τῶν ὄντων εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πόντου θάλασσαν πλησίον τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ, καὶ Χερσῶνος ὁμοῦ καὶ Βοσπόρου, ἐν οἷς τὰ κάστρα τῶν κλιμάτων εἰσίν, εἶτα μέχρι λίμνης Μαιώτιδος, τῆς καὶ θαλάσσης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐπονομαζομένης, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου Ταμάταρχα λεγομένου, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ζιχίας καὶ Παπαγίας καὶ Κασαχίας καὶ Ἀλανίας καὶ Ἀβασγίας καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου Σωτηριουπόλεως.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ Δανούβεως,
118rP ἐν ᾧ τὸ | κάστρον ἐστὶν τὸ Βελέγραδα ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἔστιν ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ὀκτώ, εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ τάχους τις, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀναπαύσεως πορεύεται. Καὶ κατοικοῦσιν μὲν οἱ Τοῦρκοι πέραθεν τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς Μοραβίας γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνθεν μέσον τοῦ Δανούβεως καὶ τοῦ Σάβα ποταμοῦ. Ἀπὸ δὲ κάτωθεν τῶν μερῶν Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ τῆς Δίστρας ἀντίπερα ἡ Πατζινακία παρέρχεται, καὶ κατακρατεῖ ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ Σάρκελ, τοῦ τῶν Χαζάρων κάστρου, ἐν ᾧ ταξεῶται καθέζονται τριακόσιοι, κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενοι. Ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ παρὰ αὐτοῖς τὸ Σάρκελ ʻἄσπρον ὀσπίτιονʼ, ὅπερ ἐκτίσθη
118vP παρὰ σπαθαροκανδιδάτου Πετρωνᾶ, τοῦ ἐπονο|μαζομένου Καματηροῦ,
178Be τὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον πρὸς | τὸ κτισθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ κάστρον τοῦτο τῶν Χαζάρων αἰτησαμένων. Ὁ γὰρ χαγάνος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ πὲχ Χαζαρίας εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον πρέσβεις ἐναποστείλαντες, κτισθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Σάρκελ ᾐτήσαντο, οἷς ὁ βασιλεύς, τῇ τούτων αἰτήσει πεισθείς, τὸν προρρηθέντα σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτον Πετρωνᾶ μετὰ χελανδίων βασιλικῶν πλωΐμων ἀπέστειλεν καὶ χελάνδια τοῦ κατεπάνω Παφλαγονίας. Καὶ δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς Πετρωνᾶς τὴν Χερσῶνα καταλαβὼν τὰ μὲν χελάνδια ἔλιπεν ἐν Χερσῶνι, τὸν δὲ λαὸν εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς καματερὰ

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*F* **42.** 20 Ἀπὸ δὲ — 55 καθέστηκεν: cf. Theoph. Cont. p. 122, 19—124, 5; Cedr., ed. Bonn. II. p. 129, 21—130, 13.

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*V* **42.** 4 Σάρκελ καὶ *scr.* Moravcsik: Σάρκελ κὲ P Σαρκελκὲ V Me Σάρκελ (*litteris* κὲ *erasis*) P^y Ba Be || 5 Νεκροπύλων V edd.: Νεκροπήλων P || 8 κλημάτων P || 10/1 ἐπονομαζομένης: καλουμένης V edd. || 11 Ταμάταρχα *scr.*

## 42. Geographical description from Thessalonica to the Danube river and the city of Belgrade; of Turkey and Patzinacia to the Chazar city of Sarkel and Russia and to the Nekropyla, that are in the sea of Pontus, near the Dnieper river; and to Cherson together with Bosporus, between which are the cities of the Regions; then to the lake of Maeotis, which for its size is also called a sea, and to the city called Tamatarcha; and of Zichia, moreover, and of Papagia and of Kasachia and of Alania and of Abasgia and to the city of Sotirioupolis.

From Thessalonica to the river Danube where stands the city called Belgrade, is a journey of eight days, if one is not travelling in haste but by easy stages. The Turks live beyond the Danube river, in the land of Moravia, but also on this side of it, between the Danube and the Save river. From the lower reaches of the Danube river, opposite to Distra, Patzinacia stretches along, and its inhabitants control the territory as far as Sarkel, the city of the Chazars, in which garrisons of 300 men are posted and annually relieved. Sarkel among them means 'white house', and it was built by the spatharocandidate Petronas, surnamed Camaterus, when the Chazars requested the emperor Theophilus that this city should be built for them. For the then chagan and the pech of Chazaria sent envoys to this same emperor Theophilus and begged that the city of Sarkel might be built for them, and the emperor acceded to their request and sent to them the aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas with ships of war of the imperial navy, and *sent* also ships of war of the captain-general of Paphlagonia. This same Petronas arrived at Cherson and left the ships of war at Cherson, and,

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Moravcsik τὰ Μάταρχα P: τοῦ Μάταρχα edd. || 12/3 Παπαγίας (*secunda syllaba* πα *s. v. rubro atramento addita*) P[1] V edd.: Παγίας P || 13 Καζαχίας edd. || 16 Βελέγραδα: Βελάγραδον *mg.* P || 17 ὀκτώ edd.: η' P ιη' *coni.* Marquart || 17/8 πορεύηται Ba Be || 18 Τούρκοι P || 19 Μωραβίας P || εἰς τὴν τῆς Μοραβίας γῆν *post* ἔνθεν *transponendum coni.* Marquart || 22 κάστρου V edd.: κάστρων P || 23 τριακόσιοι Theoph. Cont. τ' *coni.* Migne Bury: τὰ P edd. || 24 ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον: λευκὸν οἴκημα Theoph. Cont. || 25 Καματεροῦ Theoph. Cont. || 27 καὶ ὁ Theoph. Cont. *coni.* Bayer Lehrberg Marquart Bury: ὁ καὶ P edd. || 28 βασιλέα: αὐτοκράτορα Theoph. Cont. || ἐναποστείλαντες: ἀποστείλαντες edd. || 30 σπαθαροκανδιδάτον P || Πετρωνὰ P: Πετρωνᾶν Theoph. Cont. || 31 βασιλικῶν πλωΐμων: βασιλικοπλωΐμων Theoph. Cont. || 33 χελάνδια: μακρὰς νῆας Theoph. Cont. || ἔλιπεν *coni.* Moravcsik: εὗρεν P εὗρεν edd. ὥρμισεν *coni.* Bury προσορμίσας... κατέλιπεν Theoph. Cont. || 33/4 εἰς καματερὰ καράβια: ἐν στρογγύλαις ... ναυσὶ Theoph. Cont. ||

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καράβια, ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ κά-
119rP στρον | ἔμελλεν κτίσαι. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τόπος λίθους οὐκ εἶχεν πρὸς κτίσιν
τοῦ κάστρου ἐπιτηδείους, καμίνιά τινα ποιησάμενος καὶ βήσσαλον ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἐγκαύσας, μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν τοῦ κάστρου κτίσιν ἐποιήσατο, ἐκ
μικρῶν τινων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοχλιδίων ἄσβεστον ἐργασάμενος.
Οὗτος οὖν ὁ προρρηθεὶς σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος Πετρωνᾶς μετὰ τὸ κτίσαι
τὸ κάστρον τὸ Σάρκελ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον εἰσελθών, εἶπεν
αὐτῷ, ὅτι· «Εἰ θέλῃς ὅλως τὸ τῆς Χερσῶνος κάστρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ
τόπους κυρίως ἐξουσιάσαι καὶ τούτους μὴ τῆς σῆς ἐκτὸς γενέσθαι χειρός,
προβάλλου στρατηγὸν ἴδιον, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων καταπιστεύσῃς πρω-
119vP τεύουσί τε καὶ ἄρχουσι.» Μέχρι γὰρ Θεοφίλου τοῦ | βασιλέως οὐκ ἦν
στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀποστελλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ τὰ πάντα διοι-
κῶν ὁ λεγόμενος πρωτεύων μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπονομαζομένων πατέρων
179Be τῆς | πόλεως. Τοῦ οὖν βασιλέως Θεοφίλου πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσαμένου
τὸν ὁ δεῖνα ἐξαποστεῖλαι στρατηγὸν ἢ τὸν ὁ δεῖνα, ὕστερον ἀποσταλῆναι
προέκρινεν τὸν προρρηθέντα σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτον Πετρωνᾶν ὡς † ἔμπειρα†
τοῦ τόπου γεγονότα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμονα, ὃν καὶ
πρωτοσπαθάριον τιμήσας, προεβάλετο στρατηγόν, καὶ εἰς Χερσῶνα
ἐξαπέστειλεν, ὁρίσας τὸν τότε πρωτεύοντα καὶ πάντας ὑπείκειν αὐτῷ,
ἐξ οὗ καὶ μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἐπεκράτησεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Χερσῶνα
120rP προβάλλεσθαι στρατηγούς. Ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν | ἡ τοῦ Σάρκελ τοῦ κάστρου
κτίσις καθέστηκεν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ προρρη-
θέντος κάστρου, τοῦ Σάρκελ ὁδός ἐστιν ἡμερῶν ξ'. Μέσον δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης
γῆς ποταμοὶ μέν εἰσιν πολλοί· δύο δὲ μέγιστοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅ τε Δάναστρις
καὶ ὁ Δάναπρις. Εἰσὶ δὲ ἕτεροι ποταμοί, ὅ τε λεγόμενος Συγγοὺλ καί
ὁ Ὑβὺλ ⟨καὶ⟩ ὁ Ἀλματαὶ καὶ ὁ Κοῦφις καὶ ὁ Βογοῦ καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοί.
Εἰς δὲ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ μέρη κατοικοῦσιν οἱ
Ῥῶς, δι' οὗ ποταμοῦ ἀποπλέοντες, πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ποιοῦνται τὴν ἄφιξιν.
Ἡ δὲ Πατζινακία πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ⟨μέχρι⟩ τῆς τε Ῥωσίας καὶ Βοσπόρου
κατακρατεῖ καὶ μέχρι Χερσῶνος καὶ ἕως τὸ Σαράτ, Βουρὰτ καὶ τῶν
120vP λ' μερῶν. Τὸ | δὲ τῆς παραλίας τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Δανούβεως
ποταμοῦ διάστημα μέχρι τοῦ Δανάστρεως ποταμοῦ εἰσιν μίλια ρκ'.
Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δανάστρεως ποταμοῦ μέχρι ⟨τοῦ⟩ ποταμοῦ Δανάπρεώς
180Be εἰσιν μίλια π', ὁ χρυσὸς λεγόμενος αἰγιαλός. Ἀπὸ δὲ τὸ στόμιον ποτα|μοῦ

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*V* 34/5 τὸ κάστρον: τὴν πόλιν Theoph. Cont. || 35 κτίσαι: οἰκοδομεῖν Theoph. Cont. || ἐπειδὴ: ἐπεὶ δὲ Theoph. Cont. || 36 βίσαλον P  Theoph. Cont. || 38 κοχλιδίων: καχλιδίων P^y Ba Be: καχλήκων Theoph. Cont. καχληκίων *coni.* Bekker || 39 σπαθαροκανδιδάτος P || 43 προβάλλου V edd.: προβάλου P  προβαλοῦ *coni.* Bekker || 46 καὶ (*etiam* Theoph. Cont.): *om.* V edd. || 48 ἀποσταλῆναι: ἀποστεῖλαι V edd. || 49 σπαθαροκανδιδάτον P || Πετρωνᾶ edd. || ἐμπεῖρα:

having embarked his men on ships of burden, went off to that place on the Tanaïs river where he was to build the city. And since the place had no stones suitable for the building of the city, he made some ovens and baked bricks in them and with these he carried out the building of the city, making mortar out of tiny shells from the river. Now this aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas, after building the city of Sarkel, went to the emperor Theophilus and said to him: «If you wish complete mastery and dominion over the city of Cherson and of the places in Cherson, and not that they should slip out of your hand, appoint your own military governor and do not trust to their primates and nobles.» For up till the time of Theophilus the emperor, there was no military governor sent from here, but all administration was in the hands of the so-called primate, with those who were called the fathers of the city. The emperor Theophilus took counsel in this matter, whether to send as military governor so-and-so or such-an-one, and at last made up his mind that the aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas should be sent, as one who had acquired local *experience* and was not unskilled in affairs, and so he promoted him to be protospatharius and appointed him military governor and sent him out to Cherson, with orders that the then primate and everyone else were to obey him; and from that time until this day it has been the rule for military governors in Cherson to be appointed from here. So much, then, for the building of the city of Sarkel. From the Danube river to the aforesaid city of Sarkel is a journey of 60 days. In this land between are many rivers: the two biggest of them are the Dniester and the Dnieper. But there are other rivers, that which is called the Syngoul and the Hybyl *and* the Almatai and the Kouphis and the Bogou and many others. On the higher reaches of the Dnieper river live the Russians, and down this river they sail and arrive at the Romans. Patzinacia possesses all the land *as far as* Russia and Bosporus and as far as Cherson and up to Sarat, Bourat and the 30 places. The distance along the sea-coast from the Danube river to the Dniester river is 120 miles. From the Dniester river to *the* river Dnieper is 80 miles, the so-called 'gold-coast'. After the

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ἔμπειραν Theoph. Cont.[V] ἔμπειρον V edd. Theoph. Cont. ἐν πείρᾳ *coni.* Kukules Kyriakides || 50 γεγονότα: γενόμενον V edd. || καὶ[2] *om.* edd. || 51 καὶ *s. v. add.* P[1] *in textum receperunt* V edd. || 52 ὁρίσας: θεσπίσας Theoph. Cont. διατάγματα πέμψας Cedr. || τὸν τότε πρωτεύοντα edd.: τόν τε πρωτεύοντα Theoph. Cont. τῷ τότε πρωτεύοντι P || 53 τὴν: τῆς V edd. || 54 τοῦ Σάρκελ τοῦ κάστρου: κάστρου Σάρκελ edd. || 55 κτίσις: οἰκοδομὴ Theoph. Cont. || 58 Συγγοὺλ: Ὕγγουλ *coni.* Thunmann Brun || 59 Ὕβυλ Be || καὶ *add.* Moravcsik || Κούφις P || καὶ ὁ[3]: ὁ καὶ *coni.* Marquart || 62 μέχρι *addendum coni.* Bayer Lehrberg μεταξὺ *addendum coni.* Makai || 63/4 τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν *coni.* Lehrberg: ἔστιν ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν... *coni.* Šestakov Latyšev || 65 Δανάστρεως *coni.* Westberg Laskin Latyšev: Δανάπρεως P edd. || 66 τοῦ *add.* V edd. || 67 δὲ *om.* V edd. ||

42

τοῦ Δανάπρεώς εἰσι τὰ Ἀδαρά, κἀκεῖσε κόλπος ἐστὶν μέγας, ὁ λεγό-
μενος τὰ Νεκρόπυλα, ἐν ᾧ τις διελθεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ παντελῶς. Καὶ ἀπὸ
μὲν τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ μέχρι Χερσῶνός εἰσιν μίλια τ′, ἐν τῷ μέσον
δὲ λίμναι καὶ λιμένες εἰσίν, ἐν οἷς οἱ Χερσωνῖται τὸ ἅλας ἐργάζονται.
Ἀπὸ δὲ Χερσῶνος μέχρι Βοσπόρου εἰσὶν τὰ κάστρα τῶν κλιμάτων,
121rP τὸ δὲ διάστημα μί|λια τ′. Καὶ ἀπὸ Βοσπόρου τὸ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης
στόμιόν ἐστιν, ἥτις καὶ θάλασσα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ πάντων ὀνομάζε-
ται. Εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Μαιώτιδα θάλασσαν εἰσρέουσιν ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ
καὶ μεγάλοι· πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀρκτῷον αὐτῆς μέρος ὁ Δάναπρις ποταμός,
ἐξ οὗ καὶ οἱ Ῥῶς διέρχονται πρός τε τὴν μαύρην Βουλγαρίαν καὶ Χαζαρίαν
καὶ Συρίαν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς κόλπος τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἔρχεται ἀντικρὺ τῶν
Νεκροπύλων, τῶν ὄντων πλησίον τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ
μιλίων δ′, καὶ μίσγεται, ἐν ᾧ καὶ σοῦδαν οἱ παλαιοὶ ποιησάμενοι διεβί-
βασαν τὴν θάλασσαν, μέσον ἀποκλείσαντες πᾶσαν τὴν Χερσῶνος γῆν
121vP καὶ τῶν κλιμάτων | καὶ τῆς Βοσπόρου γῆν, κρατοῦσαν μέχρι ͵α μιλίων ἢ
καὶ πλειόνων τινῶν. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐτῶν κατεχώσθη ἡ αὐτὴ σοῦδα
καὶ εἰς δάσος ἐγένετο πολύ, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ πλὴν δύο ὁδοί, ἐν
αἷς οἱ Πατζινακῖται διέρχονται πρός τε Χερσῶνα καὶ Βόσπορον καὶ
τὰ κλίματα. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀνατολικώτερον μέρος τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης
181Bo εἰσέρχονται πολλοί τι|νες ποταμοί, ὅ τε Τάναϊς ποταμός, ὁ ἀπὸ τὸ κά-
στρον Σάρκελ ἐρχόμενος, καὶ τὸ Χαράκουλ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ βερζίτικον
ἁλιεύεται, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ποταμοί, ὁ Βὰλ καὶ ὁ Βουρλίκ, ὁ Χαδὴρ καὶ
ἄλλοι πλεῖστοι ποταμοί. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἐξέρχεται στό-
122rP μιον τὸ Βουρλὶκ ἐπονομαζόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πόντου θά|λασσαν
καταρρεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ Βόσπορος, ἀντικρὺ δὲ τῆς Βοσπόρου τὸ Ταμάταρχα
λεγόμενον κάστρον ἐστίν. Τὸ δὲ διάστημα τοῦ περάματος τοῦ τοιούτου
στομίου ἐστὶν μίλια ιη′. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσον τῶν αὐτῶν ιη′ μιλίων ἐστὶ
νησίον μέγα χαμηλόν, τὸ λεγόμενον Ἀτέχ. Ἀπὸ τὸ Ταμάταρχά ἐστι
ποταμὸς ἀπὸ μιλίων ιη′ ἢ καὶ κ′, λεγόμενος Οὐκρούχ, ὁ διαχωρίζων
τὴν Ζιχίαν καὶ τὸ Ταμάταρχα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Οὐκρούχ μέχρι τοῦ Νικόψεως
ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κάστρον ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμον τῷ ποταμῷ, ἔστιν ἡ χώρα
τῆς Ζιχίας· τὸ δὲ διάστημά ἐστιν μίλια τ′. Ἄνωθεν δὲ τῆς Ζιχίας
ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα ἡ λεγομένη Παπαγία, καὶ ἄνωθεν τῆς Παπαγίας χώρας
122vP ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα ἡ λεγομένη Κασαχία, ἄνωθεν δὲ τῆς | Κασαχίας ὄρη τὰ
Καυκάσιά εἰσιν, καὶ τῶν ὀρέων ἄνωθέν ἐστιν ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀλανίας.
Ἡ δὲ τῆς Ζιχίας παράλιος ἔχει νησία, τὸ μέγα νησὶν καὶ τὰ τρία νησία·
ἔνδοθεν δὲ τούτων εἰσὶν καὶ ἕτερα νησία, τὰ καὶ ἐπινεμηθέντα καὶ παρὰ

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*F* 80 ἐν ᾧ — 83 τινῶν: cf. Herod. IV. 3, 20; Ptolem. Geogr. III. 6, 5; Steph. Byz. s. v. Τάφραι, etc.

mouth of the river Dnieper comes Adara, and there is a great gulf, called Nekropyla, where it is utterly impossible for a man to pass through. From the Dnieper river to Cherson is 300 miles, and between are marshes and harbours, in which the Chersonites work the salt. Between Cherson and Bosporus are the cities of the Regions, and the distance is 300 miles. After Bosporus comes the mouth of the Maeotic lake, which for its size everybody calls a sea. Into this same Maeotic sea run rivers many and great; on its northern side runs the Dnieper river, from which the Russians come through to Black Bulgaria and Chazaria and Syria. This same gulf of Maeotis comes opposite to, and within about four miles of, the Nekropyla that are near the Dnieper river, and joins them where the ancients dug a ditch and carried the sea through, enclosing within all the land of Cherson and of the Regions and the land of Bosporus, which cover up to 1,000 miles or even rather more. In the course of many years this same ditch has silted up and become a great forest, and there are in it but two roads, along which the Pechenegs pass through to Cherson and Bosporus and the Regions. Into the eastern side of the Maeotic lake debouch many rivers, the Tanaïs river that comes down from the city of Sarkel, and the Charakoul, in which they fish for sturgeon, and there are other rivers, the Bal and the Bourlik, the Chadir and other rivers very numerous. From the Maeotic lake debouches a mouth called Bourlik and flows down into the sea of Pontus where Bosporus is, and opposite to Bosporus is the city called Tamatarcha; the width of the strait of this mouth is 18 miles. In the middle of these 18 miles is a large, low island, called Atech. After Tamatarcha, some 18 or 20 miles from it, is a river called Oukrouch, which divides Zichia and Tamatarcha, and from the Oukrouch to the Nikopsis river, on which stands a city with the same name as the river, is the country of Zichia; the distance is 300 miles. Beyond Zichia is the country called Papagia, and beyond the country of Papagia is the country called Kasachia, and beyond Kasachia are the Caucasian mountains, and beyond the mountains is the country of Alania. Off the seaboard of Zichia lie islands, the great island and the three islands; and, closer to shore than these, are yet other islands, which have been used for pasturage

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*V* 68 τὰ 'Αδαρά: Τάνδαρα *coni.* Latyšev || καὶ ἐκεῖσε edd. || 69 Νεκρόπυλα V edd.: Νεκρόπηλα P || 70 μέσον: μέσῳ V edd. || 71 οἷς: αἷς V edd. || οἱ *om.* edd. || Χερσωνίται P || 72 Βοοσπόρου P || κλημάτων P || 76 μὲν *om.* edd. || 78 Συρίαν: Ζιχίαν *coni.* Kunik Συανίαν *coni.* Gibbon Μυρίαν seu Μορδίαν *coni.* Tomaschek || 79 Νεκροπύλων V edd.: Νεκροπήλων P || 80 σούδαν P || 82 κλημάτων P || τῆς: τὴν Ba Be || ,α: α' edd. || 83 πλειόνων Ba Be: πλέον P || σούδα P || 85 Πατζινακίται P || 86 κλήματα P || 88 Χωράκουλ V edd. || βερζήτικον P edd. || 89 καὶ ὁ: ὁ καὶ *coni.* Marquart || 92 ἡ: ὁ edd. || τῆς: τοῦ Migne || 94 μέσον: μέσῳ edd. || 97 Ταματαρχά P || 99 δὲ[2] *om.* edd. || 102 'Αλανίας] *litteras* ἀλανί *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 103 Ζηχίας P || νησὶν P νησὴν P[x]: νησὶ V νησίον edd. || 104 καὶ[2] *om.* V edd. || ἐπινεμηθέντα *coni.* Jenkins: ἐπινοηθέντα P edd. ||

τῶν Ζιχῶν κτισθέντα, τό τε Τουργανὴρχ καὶ τὸ Τζαρβαγάνιν καὶ
ἕτερον νησίν, καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σπαταλοῦ λιμένα ἕτερον νησίν, καὶ εἰς
182Be τὰς Πτελέας ἕτερον, ἐν ᾧ ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἐπι|δρομαῖς οἱ Ζιχοὶ
καταφεύγουσιν. Τὸ δὲ παραθαλάσσιον ἀπὸ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῆς
Ζιχίας, ἤτοι τοῦ Νικόψεως ποταμοῦ, ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Ἀβασγίας χώρα μέχρι
τοῦ κάστρου Σωτηριουπόλεως· εἰσὶ δὲ μίλια τʹ.

## 43. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ταρῶν.

123rP Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν βορείων Σκυθῶν ἱ|κανῶς σοι δεδήλωται,
τέκνον ποθούμενον, ὧν ἡ γνῶσις ἐπωφελής τε καὶ εὔχρηστος ἐν καιρῷ
σοι πάντως γενήσεται· δεῖ δέ σε μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀγνοεῖν,
ὅθεν ὑπήκοα πάλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας ἐξέπεσον.

Πρῶτος γὰρ ὁ Κρικορίκιος ἐκεῖνος τοῦ Ταρῶν ἄρχων πρὸς τὸν
βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτὸν ὑπέκλινεν καὶ ὑπέταξεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν
ἐπαμφοτερίζων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλίαν προσεποιεῖτο τιμᾶν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κατάρχοντι τὰ καθ'
ἡδονὴν διεπράττετο, καὶ διαφόρως ἡγεμὼν ἐχρημάτισεν τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας
123vP ἐξερχομένων φοσσάτων | κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων θεμάτων τῷ βασιλεῖ
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μελετώμενα
κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων Σαρακηνῶν πρὸς Συρίαν ἐμήνυεν, καὶ λάθρᾳ περὶ
τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν συμβαινόντων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμουμνῆν διὰ γραμμάτων
183Be ἐδηλοποίει, καὶ δοκεῖν μὲν ἐβούλετο | τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονῶν, εὑρίσκετο δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν προκρίνων τε καὶ τιμῶν. Πλὴν
ἀπέστελλεν ἀεὶ δῶρα, ἅπερ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε βαρβάροις δοκεῖ τίμια, πρὸς
τὸν ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμον Λέοντα, καὶ ἀντελάμβανε πλείονά τε καὶ
κρείττονα παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλεύοντος, ὃς καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῷ προ-
124rP ετρέψατο διὰ γραμμάτων πρὸς τὴν βασι|λεύουσαν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὸν
βασιλέα θεάσασθαι καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ φιλοφρονήσεων καὶ τιμῶν μετασχεῖν. Ὁ δὲ δεδοικώς, μὴ πρὸς λύπην καὶ σκάνδαλον τοῦ ἀμερμουμνῆ γένηται τοῦτο, προφάσεις ἐπλάττετο, καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
χώραν ἔρημον τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καταληϊσθῇ, μάτην ἐσκήπτετο.

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἄρχων τοῦ Ταρῶν κρατήσας ἐν πολέμῳ ποτὲ τοῦ
Ἀρκάϊκα τοὺς παῖδας, ἤγουν Κρικορίκου τοῦ πατρικίου, τοῦ πατρὸς

V 105 Ζηχῶν P ‖ Τζαρβαγάνην P: Τζαρβαγάνι V edd. ‖ 106 νησίν P νησήν Px: νησί V νησίον edd. ‖ Σπαταλοῦ (*etiam mg.* P8): ποταμοῦ V edd. ‖ νησίν P νησήν Px: νησί V νησίον edd. ‖ 107 Ζηχοὶ P ‖ 109 Ζηχίας P ‖ τοῦ *om.* edd.

and built upon by the Zichians, Tourganirch and Tzarbaganin and another island; and in the harbour of Spalaton another island; and at Pteleai another, where the Zichians take refuge during Alan incursions. The coastal area from the limit of Zichia, that is, from the Nikopsis river, is the country of Abasgia, as far as the city of Sotirioupolis; it is 300 miles.

## **43.** Of the country of Taron.

But concerning the northern Scyths sufficient has been made plain to you, beloved child, knowledge of which shall be all ways advantageous and useful to you in time of need; but also it is right that you should not be ignorant of the parts towards the rising sun, for what reasons they became once more subject to the Romans, after they had first fallen away from their control.

The late Krikorikios, then, prince of Taron, at first bent and submitted himself before the emperor of the Romans, but from the first he seemed double-faced, and while in word he pretended to esteem the friendship of the emperor, in fact he acted at the pleasure of the chief prince of the Saracens, and on various occasions led armies that came out of Syria against provinces subject to the emperor of the Romans, and everything that the Romans were planning in secret against their Saracen adversaries he would divulge to Syria, and would always keep the commander of the faithful informed secretly through his letters of what was going on among us; and while he wished to appear a partisan of the Roman cause, he was found, on the contrary, to prefer and favour the cause of the Saracens. However, he continually sent presents, such as appear valuable to the barbarians of those parts, to Leo, the glorious among emperors, and got in return more and better from the pious emperor, who also frequently urged him by letter to visit the imperial city and behold the emperor and partake of the bounties and honours bestowed by him. But he, fearing lest this might vex and offend the commander of the faithful, would trump up excuses, and falsely allege that it was impossible for him to leave his own country deprived of his assistance, lest it might be plundered by the Saracens.

Now, this same prince of Taron one day captured in battle the sons of Arkaïkas, that is to say, the cousins of the patrician Krikorikios, father

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**43.** 1 Ταρῶν P || 14 ἐμήνυεν: ἀνεμήνυε edd. || 15 ἡμῖν Bandurius Be: ὑμῖν P || ἀμερμουμνὴν P || 17 τιμῶν: φρονῶν V edd. || 20 εὐσεβοῦς edd.: εὐσεβοῦ P εὐσεβῶς *coni.* Bekker || 20/1 προυτρέψατο edd. || 21 καὶ *om.* Be || 24 τὴν *om.* edd. || 25 τῶν *om.* edd. || 26 ἐσκήπτετο (*etiam* Be): ἐσκέπτετο V Me Ba || 28 Κρικορίκη edd. ||

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τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἀσωτίου, τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους, εἶχε παρ' ἑαυτῷ δεσμίους. Περὶ ὧν καὶ Συμβάτιος, ὁ τότε ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, τὸν αὐτὸν μακαριώτατον βασιλέα διὰ γραμμάτων ἠξίωσεν τοῦ ἀποστεῖλαι 124vP | πρὸς τὸν Ταρωνίτην καὶ ἀναλαβέσθαι σπουδάσαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἀνεψιούς, οἵτινες ἦσαν υἱοὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου Ἀρκάϊκα, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμουμνῆν ἀποσταλῶσιν· συγγενὴς γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, Γρηγόριος ὁ πατρίκιος. Επακούσας δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ Συμβατίου ἀξιώσεως Λέων, ὁ μακαριώτατος βασιλεύς, τὸν Σινούτην ἐκεῖνον 184Be | τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἀπέστειλε, χαρτουλάριον τηνικαῦτα τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου τυγχάνοντα, πρός τε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ταρὼν τῆς τοιαύτης ἕνεκα ὑποθέσεως καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρανασήρ, τὸν κουροπαλάτην Ἰβηρίας, διά τινας ἑτέρας ὑποθέσεις, δοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ξενάλια τὰ ἁρμόζοντα. 125rP Διαβληθέν|τος δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου Σινούτου παρὰ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἑρμηνευτοῦ, πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον ἀοίδιμον βασιλέα, ἐξαπεστάλη βασιλικὸς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας ὁ τοῦ Λιβός, ὁ νῦν ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης, ἐνταλματικῶς ὁρισθεὶς τοῦ ἀναλαβέσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ταρών, τὸν Κρικορίκιον, ἀποσταλέντα ξενάλια, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν πρὸς τὸ Ταρὼν εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ Σινούτην προτρέψασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρανασήρ, τὸν κουροπαλάτην Ἰβηρίας, κατὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα αὐτῷ ἀπελθεῖν. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ Ταρὼν ὁ εἰρημένος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἀποδοὺς 125vP Κρικορικίῳ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποσταλέντα τοῦ βασιλέως δῶρα | καὶ γράμματα, ἀνελάβετο τὸν νόθον τοῦ Ταρωνίτου υἱόν, ὃς Ἀσώτιος ὠνομάζετο, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τιμήσας ἀξίᾳ καὶ ἱκανῶς φιλοφρονησάμενος, πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ἀπέστειλεν. Ἀναλαβόμενος οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς Κωνσταντῖνος ἐκεῖθεν Ἀπογάνεμ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Κρικορίκου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ Ταρών, εἰσήγαγεν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον 185Be βασιλέα μετὰ καὶ τῶν | δύο υἱῶν τοῦ Ἀρκάϊκα, ὃν καὶ τῇ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ἀξίᾳ τιμήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλοφρόνως πολλάκις δεξιωσάμενος, ἀπέστειλεν αὖθις διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν.

126rP Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Χαλδίᾳ ὁ εἰρημένος Κωνσταντῖνος ἐπὶ χρό|νον ἱκανὸν διατρίψας, ἐπετράπη διὰ κελεύσεως εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ Ταρὼν καὶ ἀναλαβέσθαι Κρικορίκιον, τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ταρὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν εἰσελθεῖν, ὃ καὶ ἐποίησεν. Εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κρικορικίου ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ πόλει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Ταρὼν ἀξίᾳ τιμηθέντος, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκος εἰς κατοικίαν, ὁ τοῦ Βαρβάρου λεγόμενος, ὁ νῦν Βασιλείου τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου οἶκος. Ἐτιμήθη δὲ καὶ ἐτησίῳ ῥόγᾳ χρυσίου μὲν δέκα λίτρας καὶ μιλιαρησίων

of the protospatharius Asotios, and he held them by him as prisoners. On their behalf the then prince of princes Symbatios sent letters to the same emperor, of most blessed memory, begging him to send to the Taronite and make efforts to recover these nephews of his, the sons of the said Arkaïkas, so that they might not be sent to the commander of the faithful; for the patrician Grigorios was a relative of Symbatios, the prince of princes. The emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, acceded to this request of Symbatios, and sent the late Sinoutis, the eunuch, who was then chief clerk to the foreign ministry, to the prince of Taron upon this business, and also to Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, on some other matters of business; and he furnished him with presents suitable to both. But when a calumnious charge was laid before the said glorious emperor against the said Sinoutis by Theodore, the Armenian interpreter, there was sent out as imperial agent in his stead the protospatharius Constantine Lips, keeper of the imperial plate, — he who is now patrician proconsul and commander of the great company, — with orders instructing him to take over the presents dispatched to the prince of Taron, Krikorikios, and himself to proceed to Taron, and to order Sinoutis to go on to Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, as he had been instructed to do. The said protospatharius arrived at Taron and gave to Krikorikios the gifts and letters of the emperor which had been sent to him, and took up the bastard son of the Taronite, who was called Asotios, and brought him to the imperial city; and the emperor honoured him with the rank of protospatharius and richly entertained him, and then sent him back to his father in the conduct of the same protospatharius. The same Constantine took thence Apoganem, brother of Krikorikios, prince of Taron, and brought him to the emperor, of blessed memory, together with the two sons of Arkaïkas; and him too the emperor honoured with the rank of protospatharius and many times bounteously entertained him, and sent him back again, in conduct of the same Constantine, to his country and his brother.

After this the said Constantine spent some time in Chaldia, and was then commissioned by imperial mandate to go to Taron and take Krikorikios, prince of Taron, and come to the imperial city; and this he did. When this same Krikorikios had entered the city protected of God, and had been honoured with the rank of magister and military governor of Taron, he was also given for his residence a house called the house of Barbaros, now the house of Basil the chamberlain. He was, moreover, honoured with an annual stipend of ten pounds in gold and a further ten pounds in miliaresia,

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*V* 33 ἀμερμουμνὴν P || 46 Κρικορίκιον edd.: Γρικορίκιον P || 49 ἀποδοὺς F *coni.* Bekker: ἀποδιδοὺς P edd. || 51 ὀνομάζετο P || 55 ἐκεῖθεν: ἐκεῖνος edd. || *post* ἀδελφὸν *add.* τοῦ edd. || 56 Κρικορικίου Ba Be || 57 τοῦ *om.* edd. || 68 δέκα edd.: ι' P || μιλιαρισίων P ||

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ἑτέρας δέκα λίτρας, ὡς εἶναι τὸ πᾶν λίτρας εἴκοσι. Καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διατρίψας, καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Κωνσταντίνου πάλιν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν διεσώθη χώραν.

126vP Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ὁ Ἀπογάνεμ πρὸς τὸν μακάριον βασιλέα, καὶ προεβιβάσθη παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰς πατρικιότητα· ἐπετράπη δὲ καὶ εἰς γυναῖκα λαβεῖν τοῦ εἰρημένου Κωνσταντίνου θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ προφάσει καὶ οἶκον ἐπεζήτησεν, καὶ ἔλαβεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον χρυσοβουλλίου χωρίς. Καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ὑπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸ
186Be | πάλιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ γάμου ἀπαρτίσασθαι, ἅμα δὲ τῷ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν διασωθῆναι μετ᾽ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο. Ὁ δὲ τούτου ἀδελφός, Κρικορίκιος διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐξητήσατο
127rP εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν βασι|λεύουσαν καὶ παρὰ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως λαμβάνειν τὴν διδομένην ῥόγαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ διατρίβειν πόλει. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τῷ οἰκείῳ ἀδελφῷ προχειρισθέντα οἶκον εἰς κατοίκησιν λαβεῖν ἠξίου, ὃν καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος βασιλεὺς διά τε τὸ νεωστὶ ὑποταγῆναι καὶ διὰ τὸ καὶ ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τῆς ἀνατολῆς πρὸς τὸν ὅμοιον ζῆλον τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὑποταγῆς ἐκκαλέσασθαι· ἔγγραφον δὲ χρυσοβούλλιον δωρεὰν τοῦ τοιούτου οἴκου πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν.

Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους ἱκανούς, Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως τῶν σκήπτρων τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἐπειλημμένου, ἀνήγαγεν ὁ αὐτὸς
127vP Κρι|κορίκιος μὴ ἰσχύειν κρατεῖν τὸν τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον, ἀλλ᾽ ἠξίου λαβεῖν ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ προάστειον ἐν Κελτζηνῇ, εἴτε τοῦ Τατζάτου, εἴτε ἄλλο, οἷον κελεύει ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα, ὅτε ἐπιδρομὴ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν κατὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ γένηται, ἀποστέλλειν ἐκεῖσε ἔχει τὴν οἰκείαν συγγένειαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ κεκτημένος, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλικοῦ χρυσοβουλλίου τοῦ μακαρίου Λέοντος ἔχειν τὸν Ταρωνίτην τὸν τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ
187Be τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ ἐν Κελτζηνῇ, καὶ τὸν οἶκον δῆθεν | ἀντέλαβεν, χρυσοβούλλιον δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ προαστείῳ ἐποιήσατο.

128rP Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν | αὐτὸν βασιλέα ὁ Τορνίκης, ὁ τοῦ Ταρωνίτου ἀνεψιός, ὁ τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ ἐκείνου υἱός, ὅτι· «Τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βαρβάρου ὁ μακαριώτατος βασιλεὺς Λέων τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ ἐδωρήσατο, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ πατρός μου θάνατον — διὰ τὸ ἔτι ἀνήλικον καὶ ὀρφανὸν τυγχάνειν ἐμέ — κατ᾽ ἐξουσίαν ὁ θεῖός μου τὸν τούτου οἶκον κατεκράτησεν, ἀεὶ καθυπισχνούμενός μοι, ὅταν εἰς τὸν τέλειον τῆς ἡλικίας ἔλθω χρόνον, ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν οἶκον τὸν πατρικόν, καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἔμαθον, δέδωκεν

making twenty pounds in all. After some sojourn in the imperial city, he was escorted back again to his country by this same protospatharius Constantine.

After this, Apoganem came once more to the emperor, of blessed memory, and was advanced by him to the rank of patrician; and he was also permitted to take to wife the daughter of the said Constantine, and on this ground he asked for a house as well and he too received the house of Barbaros, without a golden bull. After receiving the emperor's bounty, he then returned to his country, with intent to come again and complete the celebration of his marriage; but no sooner was he escorted back to his country than he ended his life, a few days afterwards. His brother Krikorikios sent letters asking that he might come to the imperial city and receive from the hands of the holy emperor the stipend granted to him and sojourn for some while in the city protected of God. Thereupon he proceeded to demand for his residence the house which had been set aside for his brother, and the emperor, of blessed memory, handed it over to him, both because he had lately submitted himself and in order to excite in other princes of the east a similar eagerness for submission to the Romans; but he issued no golden bull making a deed of gift of this house to him.

Several years later, when the emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, had laid hold upon the sceptre of the empire of the Romans, this same Krikorikios reported that he had not the means to keep the house of Barbaros, but demanded that he should receive in its stead a suburban estate in Keltzini, either that of Tatzates or some other, whichever the emperor directed, in order that, when the Agarenes should make an incursion into his country, he might be able to send thither his personal relatives and substance. The emperor, who did not possess an accurate knowledge of the facts, and supposed that the Taronite held the house of Barbaros in virtue of an imperial golden bull of Leo, of blessed memory, gave him the suburban estate of Grigoras in Keltzini and, of course, took back the house; but he too issued no golden bull in his favour in respect of the suburban estate.

Thereupon Tornikis, nephew of the Taronite and son of the late Apoganem, wrote to this same emperor: «The house of Barbaros was presented to my father by the emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, but after my father's death, because I was under age and an orphan, my uncle, in virtue of his authority, took possession of his house, always promising me that when I should come of age, I should take over the paternal house; and now, as I have

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*V* 69 δέκα edd.: ι' P || ὡς: ὥστε edd. || 72 ὁ *om.* edd. || 73 *post* εἰς *add.* τὴν edd. || 84 προχειρισθέντα F: πρὸ χωρισθέντα P προχωρισθέντα V edd. προχαρισθέντα *coni.* Bekker || 82 Τατζάτου (*etiam* V[1] F Bandurius): Πατζάτου V edd. || 93 ἄλλον V edd. || κελεύοι edd. || 94 ἔχῃ edd. || 99 οὗτος: αὐτὸς V edd. || 104 ὁ *om.* edd. || τούτου: τοῦτον Me Ba τοιοῦτον Be ||

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τὸν τοιοῦτον οἶκον ὁ ἐμὸς θεῖος τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς ἀντισήκωσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ ἐν Κελτζηνῇ.»

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων βασιλικῶν φιλοτιμιῶν, τῶν πρὸς τὸν 128vP ἄρ|χοντα τοῦ Ταρών, φθόνος ὑπεφύη καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν παρά τε τοῦ Κακικίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος Βασπαρακά, καὶ Ἀδρανασὴρ, τοῦ κουροπαλάτου Ἰβηρίας, καὶ Ἀσωτικίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἵτινες ἔγραψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαγογγύζοντες, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ Ταρωνίτης μόνος ῥόγας ἀπολαύει βασιλικῆς, αὐτῶν ἁπάντων λαμβανόντων οὐδέν. «Τίνα γάρ — ἔλεγον — περισσοτέραν δουλείαν ἡμῶν ποιεῖται, ἢ τί πλέον ἡμῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπωφελεῖ; Ὅθεν χρὴ ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκεῖνον ῥογεύεσθαι, ἢ μηδ' ἐκεῖνον ἐντὸς τῆς τοιαύτης τυγχάνειν δωρεᾶς.» Ὁ δὲ μακάριος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς ἀντέγραψεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ παρ' 129rP αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ταρωνίτῃ γενέσθαι | ῥόγαν, ἵνα ἐπ' | αὐτῷ κεῖται 188Be καὶ ἡ ταύτης νῦν ἐκκοπή, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως, καὶ μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι τὰ τῶν προβεβασιλευκότων παρὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἀνατρέπεσθαι. Ἔγραψε δ' ὅμως πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν Ταρωνίτην, δηλοποιῶν αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν λύπην καὶ τὸ σκάνδαλον. Ὁ δὲ ἀνήγαγεν μήτε χρυσόν, μήτε ἄργυρον παρέχειν δύνασθαι, ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἔξωθεν τῶν κατὰ τύπον ἀποστελλομένων ξενίων διδόναι ἱμάτια καὶ χαλκώματα, μέχρι τῶν δέκα λιτρῶν συντιμώμενα, ἃ καὶ δέδωκεν μέχρι τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἐνιαυτῶν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνήγαγεν μὴ δύνασθαι παρέχειν τὸ τοιοῦτον πάκτον, τὴν δὲ ῥόγαν ἢ προῖκα λαμβάνειν ἠξίου, καθὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ 129vP | μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος, ἢ ἐκκοπῆναι αὐτήν. Ὅθεν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς σκάνδαλον εἶναι τοῦ Κακικίου καὶ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξέκοψεν ταύτην ὁ εἰρημένος μακάριος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανός. Παραμυθούμενος δὲ ὥσπερ αὐτόν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν τούτου υἱόν, Ἀσώτιον, ἐν τῇ πόλει παραγεγονότα, εἰς πατρικίους ἐτίμησεν, καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος αὐτάρκως πρὸς τὰ ἴδια ἐξαπέστειλεν.

Τοῦ δὲ μαγίστρου Κρικορικίου τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος, ἀνήγαγεν Τορνίκιος, ὁ τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ υἱός, ἔρωτα ἔχειν ἐγκάρδιον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα θεάσασθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Κρινίτην καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαπέστειλεν, ὃς καὶ εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν εἰρη- 130rP μένον Τορνίκιον, καὶ προ|ήγαγεν τὸν αὐτὸν Τορνίκιον ὁ βασιλεὺς | εἰς 189Be τὴν τῶν πατρικίων τιμήν. Προετείνετο δὲ δικαιολογίας ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἴκῳ, καὶ ἀκούσας, ὅτι προάστειον λαβὼν ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κελτζηνῇ, τὴν τούτου παρεχώρησεν ἐξουσίαν, ἔλεγε μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ πατρικῇ κληρονομίᾳ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἀνταλλαγήν, καὶ ἠξίου ἢ τὸν οἶκον λαβεῖν ἢ τὸ προάστειον, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἀμφότερα παρεχώρει τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὰ τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους αὐτοῦ. Τούτου ἕνεκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ γέρων ὁ Ταρωνίτης ἐτύγχανεν

learned, my uncle has given this house to your imperial majesty, and has received in exchange for it the suburban estate of Grigoras in Keltzini.»

And because of these imperial gifts bestowed on the prince of Taron, envy towards him was implanted and grew up in Kakikios, prince of Basparaka, and Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, and Asotikios, the prince of princes, who wrote to the emperor grumbling at the cause whereby the Taronite alone enjoyed an imperial stipend, while all of them got nothing. «For what service — they said — is he performing more than we, or in what does he help the Romans more than we do? Either, therefore, we too should be stipendiary as he is, or else he too should be excluded from this largess.» The emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, wrote back to them, that the stipend in favour of the Taronite had not been granted by him, that it should now lie with him to cut it off, but by the emperor, of most blessed memory; nor was it right that what had been done by former emperors should be undone by their successors. However, he wrote to this same Taronite informing him that the said parties were vexed and offended. He replied that he could provide neither gold nor silver, but promised to give, over and above the gifts regularly sent, tunics and bronze vessels up to ten pounds in total value, and these he did give for three or four years. But thereafter he reported that he could not provide this tribute, and demanded either that he should receive the stipend gratis as in the time of the emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, or else that it should be cut off. And so, that it might not cause offence to Kakikios and the curopalate and the rest, the said emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, cut it off. But to console him, as it were, he afterwards honoured his son Asotios, when he came to Constantinople, with patrician rank and entertained him munificently before sending him home.

On the death of the magister Krikorikios, Tornikios, son of Apoganem, reported that he heartily desired to come and behold the emperor; whereupon the emperor sent the protospatharius Krinitis, the interpreter, who brought the said Tornikios to Constantinople, and the emperor advanced the same Tornikios to the honour of patrician rank. He put forward his claims to the house of Barbaros, and, having heard that his uncle had resigned his ownership of it on receipt of a suburban estate in Keltzini, declared that his uncle had no power to effect an exchange in respect of his paternal inheritance, and demanded that he should be given either the house or the suburban estate, failing which, he was for resigning both to the emperor, so that his cousins might not have them. Therefore the emperor, since

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*V* **110** ἀνεβλάστησεν: ἐβλάστησε edd. || **111** Κακικίου (*litteris* κι *s. v. additis*) P¹ Ba Be: Κικίου V Me || Βασπαρακακὰ edd. || **113** διαγονγγύζοντες P || **116** ἡμῶν edd.: ὑμῶν P || **118** βασιλεὺς *om.* V edd. || **120** μακαριωτάτου: μακαρίου V edd. || *post* βασιλέως *excidisse* Λέοντος *susp.* Jenkins || **122** αὐτὸν²: αὐτῷ V edd. || **123** τὸ *om.* edd. || **126** δέκα edd.: ι′ P || **131** μακάριος: μακαριώτατος edd. || **134** αὐτάρκως *scr.* Moravcsik: αὐταρκῶς P edd. || **135** *ante* Κρικορικίου *add.* τοῦ edd. || **140** τῷ τοῦ V edd.: τοῦ τῷ P || **145** παρεχώρει: προσεχώρει edd. ||

ἀποθανών, ἀνελάβετο τὸ προάστειον, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν οἶκον ἀντέδωκεν,
ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χρυσοβούλλιον, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω προείρηται, ἐπί τινι τούτων
ἐξετέθη.

130vP Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν Παγκράτιος
ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς τοῦ μαγίστρου ἐκείνου Κρικορικίου τοῦ Ταρωνί-
του, καὶ προεβιβάσθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίωμα,
καὶ γέγονεν καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ταρών. Ἠιτήσατο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα
λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν συγγενίδων, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς
τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου Θεοφυλάκτου ἀδελφὴν εἰς γυναῖκα. Καὶ μετὰ τὸν
γάμον διαθήκας ἐξέθετο, ἐν αἷς ἐδήλου, ὅτι· «Ἐάν μοι γένωνται παῖδες
ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης γυναικός, ἵνα ἔχουσιν τὴν ἅπασάν μου χώραν εἰς
κλῆρον προγονικόν.» Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ᾐτήσατο τὸν βασιλέα δοθῆναι αὐτῷ
131rP τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ πρὸς | τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρικίαν, τὴν τούτου
190Be γυναῖκα καθέζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀποβίω|σιν εἶναι πάλιν τὸ
τοιοῦτον προάστειον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐπένευσεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο
ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ πολλαῖς φιλοτιμίαις αὐτὸν δεξιωσάμενος, μετὰ τῆς
ἰδίας γυναικὸς ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τοῦ μαγί-
στρου Κρικορικίου, ὅ τε αὐτὸς Παγκράτιος ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ Ἀσώτιος ὁ
πατρίκιος, μεγάλως παρελύπουν καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῶν ἐξάδελ-
φον, Τορνίκιον τὸν πατρίκιον, ὃς μὴ ὑποφέρων τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπίθεσιν,
ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστεῖλαι πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ παραλαβεῖν
131vP τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον | αὐτῶν
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰσαγαγεῖν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν τὸν πρωτοσπαθά-
ριον Κρινίτην καὶ ἑρμηνέα πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβέσθαι
καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ πόλει. Ὅτε δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην
χώραν ὁ Κρινίτης κατέλαβεν, εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντα,
διαταξάμενον πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ὑποκειμέ-
νην τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ᾗ καὶ δέδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς κατοίκησιν, εἰσελθούσης,
τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Μιχαὴλ, τοῦ ποτε γεγονότος κομμερκιαρίου Χαλδίας
καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ψωμαθέως μονήν. Καὶ πάλιν ἀπεστάλη ὁ εἰρημένος Κρινίτης
132rP παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς | τὸ παραλαβεῖν τὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ,
ἤτοι τὸ μέρος τοῦ πατρικίου Τορνικίου. Ἀνταπέστειλαν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ
191Be Ταρωνί|του υἱοί, οἱ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐξάδελφοι, ἀξιοῦντες δοῦναι τὸ
Οὐλνούτιν καὶ ἔχειν τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἐξαδέλφου αὐτῶν, μὴ γὰρ δύνασθαι
ὅλως αὐτοὺς ζῆν, εἰ τὴν τοῦ ἐξαδέλφου αὐτῶν χώραν ὡς οἰκείαν κατάσχῃ
ὁ βασιλεύς. Οἰκείᾳ δὲ ἀγαθότητι ὑπείξας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτῶν
ἐξεπλήρωσεν, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς μὲν τὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ, τοῦ
ἐξαδέλφου αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνελάβετο τὸ Οὐλνούτιν μετὰ πάσης τῆς

the old Taronite was now dead, resumed the suburban estate but did not give the house in exchange for it, because, as has already been stated above, no golden bull had been issued in respect of any of these transactions.

After this, the late Pankratios, eldest son of that magister Krikorikios the Taronite, came to the imperial city and was advanced by the emperor to the dignity of patrician and was also made military governor of Taron. He asked that he might also be given a wife from among the ladies related to the imperial family, and the emperor gave him to wife the sister of the magister Theophylact. And after his marriage he made a will, in which he stated: «If children are born to me of this woman, they are to have all my country for their ancestral inheritance.» Thereupon he asked the emperor that he might be given the suburban estate of Grigoras for the patrician lady, his wife, to reside there, and after her death this suburban estate should revert to his imperial majesty. The emperor sanctioned this too, and after presenting him with many gifts, sent him with his wife away to his country. Now, the sons of the magister Krikorikios, this same patrician Pankratios and the patrician Asotios, greatly vexed and oppressed their cousin, the patrician Tornikios, who, finding their aggressiveness unendurable, wrote to the emperor to send a trustworthy servant and take over his country, and conduct himself and his wife and their child to the emperor. The emperor sent the protospatharius Krinitis, the interpreter, to take him and conduct him to the city protected of God, in accordance with his demand. But when Krinitis arrived in that country, he found that *Tornikios* had already departed this life, having devised before his end that all his country should be subject to the emperor of the Romans, and that his wife and his child should go to the emperor; and to her, on her arrival, the emperor gave for her residence the monastery in Psomathia of the protospatharius Michael, formerly collector of Chaldia. The said Krinitis was sent back again by the emperor to take over the country of Apoganem, that is, the portion of the patrician Tornikios. But the sons of the Taronite, the cousins of the deceased, sent back thence a demand that they should give up Oulnoutin and retain the country of their cousin, for they were quite unable to live if the emperor were to occupy their cousin's country as his own. The emperor, yielding to his own goodness of heart, fulfilled their request and gave them the country of Apoganem, their cousin, and himself took Oulnoutin with all its surrounding territory.

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*V* 153 καὶ[3] *om.* edd. || 155/6 τὸν γάμον P[1] V edd.: τῶν γάμων (?) P || 157 ἔχουσιν (*littera* ο *in ras. scripta*) P[1] ἔχουσι V: ἔχωσι edd. || 158 τὸν *om.* edd. || 159 Γρηγορᾶ edd.: Γρηγορίου P || 160 αὐτῆς: τοιαύτης edd. τ{οι}αύτης Migne || 165 αὐτῶν] *litteram* ω *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 169/70 πρωτοσπαθάριον Κρινίτην] *per comp. litteras* α κρινί^τ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 176 Χαλδίας ⟨οἶκον⟩ *coni.* Kyriakides || 177 τὴν τοῦ Ψωμαθέως μονήν: τοῦ Ψωμαθέως τὴν μονήν V Me Ba Ψωμαθέως τὴν μονήν Be || ἀπεστάλη V edd.: ἀπεστάλην P || 181 Οὐλνούτην P edd. || 185 Οὐλνούτην P edd. ||

περιχώρου αὐτοῦ. Ἡ δὲ ὅλη τοῦ Ταρὼν χώρα εἰς δύο διανεμηθεῖσα 132vP ἐτύγχανεν, ἧς τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οἱ τοῦ μαγίστρου | Κρικορικίου εἶχον υἱοί, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ⟨οἱ⟩ τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ τοῦ πατρικίου, οἱ τούτων ἐξάδελφοι.

**44.** Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ Μανζικίερτ καὶ τοῦ Περκρὶ καὶ τοῦ Χλιὰτ καὶ τοῦ Χαλιὰτ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τοῦ Τιβὶ καὶ τοῦ Χὲρτ καὶ τοῦ Σαλαμᾶς καὶ τοῦ Τζερματζοῦ.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὃν ἀπεκεφάλισεν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς Περσίδος, ὁ Ἀποσάται, ὃς καὶ ἐποίησεν δύο υἱούς, τόν τε Ἀσώτιον, τὸν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ Ἀπασάκιον, τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα μάγιστρον τιμηθέντα, τὰ τρία ταῦτα κάστρα 133rP τό τε Περκρὶ καὶ τὸ Χαλιὰτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρ|ζές, ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς Περσίδος ἐπικράτειαν ἐτύγχανον.

192Be Ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ἐκαθέζετο τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ἀρμενίαν, εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Κάρς, καὶ ἐπεῖχεν καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ προγεγραμμένα κάστρα, τό τε Περκρὶ ⟨καὶ⟩ τὸ Χαλιὰτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τὸ Τιβὶ καὶ τὸ Χὲρτ καὶ τὸ Σαλαμᾶς.

Ὅτι Ἀπελβάρτ ἐκράτει τὸ Μανζικίερτ, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ⟨Ἀσωτίου⟩, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων. Δέδωκεν δὲ ⟨τῷ⟩ αὐτῷ Ἀπελβάρτ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀσώτιος, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χλιὰτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τὸ Περκρί· ὁ γὰρ προρρηθεὶς Ἀσώτιος, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, 133vP κατεῖχεν | πάσας τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς χώρας. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀπελβάρτ, κατέσχεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἴδιος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀβελχαμίτ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀβελχαμὶτ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησε τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς. Τοῦ δὲ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποσάται, τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ Περσίδος, ἀναιρεθέντος, ἐκράτησεν αὐθεντῶς καὶ κυρίως ὡς δεσπότης καὶ αὐτοκέφαλος τό τε κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα καὶ τὰς χώρας, ὅστις καὶ ὑπετάγη τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἑτέρων δύο ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε Ἀπολεσφουέτ καὶ τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη, διὰ τὸ διαφόρως καταπολεμηθῆναι τά τε κάστρα καὶ πραιδευθῆναι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ 134rP δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν, παρέχοντες τὸν | βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων καὶ πάκτα

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*V* 187 ἧς: καὶ Be || 188 οἱ *add.* Be.

The whole country of Taron was divided in two, one half of it being held by the sons of the magister Krikorikios, the other half by their cousins, *the* sons of the patrician Apoganem.

## 44. Of the country of Apachounis and of the city of Manzikiert and Perkri and Chliat and Chaliat and Arzes and Tibi and Chert and Salamas and Tzermatzou.

Before the time of Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios, prince of princes, whom the emir of Persia Aposatai beheaded and who had two sons, Asotios, who was prince of princes after him, and Apasakios, who was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister, these three cities, Perkri and Chaliat and Arzes, were under the control of Persia.

The prince of princes had his seat in great Armenia, at the city of Kars, and held both these three cities aforementioned, Perkri *and* Chaliat and Arzes, and also Tibi and Chert and Salamas.

Apelbart possessed Manzikiert and was beneath the dominion of *Asotios*, the prince of princes, the father of Symbatios, the prince of princes. The same Asotios, prince of princes, gave to *this* same Apelbart also the city of Chliat and Arzes and Perkri: for the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios, prince of princes, held all the countries of the east. On the death of Apelbart his son Abelchamit possessed his domain, and on the death of Abelchamit his eldest son Aposebatas possessed his domain. He, after the murder of Symbatios, prince of princes, by Aposatai, the emir of Persia, took possession, in absolute sovereignty, as an independent potentate, both of the city of Manzikiert and of the rest of the cities and the countries; and he submitted himself to the emperor together with his other two brothers, Apolesphouet and Aposelmis, after their cities and their countries had on various occasions been over-run and ravaged and destroyed by the commander-in-chief, and they paid the emperor of the Romans tribute in respect of their cities and their territories. But from the

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**44.** 1 τοῦ[1]: τῆς edd. || 2 Μαντζικίερτ V edd. || Περκρή P || 3 Χλιὰτ: Χαλιὰτ Me *coni.* Laskin || 'Αρζὲς *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἄρζες P edd. || 4 Τιβῆ P || 7 τοῦ[2] edd.: καὶ P || 8 ἀμηρὰς P || 'Αποσάτας F edd. || 11 'Αρζές *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἄρζες P Ἄρσες edd. || 14 Καρς (*sine acc.*) P || 15 Περκρή P || καὶ *add.* Moravcsik || Ἄρζες edd. || Τιβή P || 16 Σαλαμάς P || 17 'Απελκὰρτ edd. || Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 18 'Ασωτίου *add.* Jenkins || 19 τῷ *add.* Moravcsik || 20 Χλιὰτ: Χαλιὰτ *coni.* Laskin || 21 'Αρζὲς *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἄρζες P edd. || Περκρή P || 25 πρῶτος edd.: α' P || 26 ὁ *om.* edd. || 'Αποσεβατάς P || 27 'Αποσάτα edd. || ἀμηρὰ P || 29 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 30 τε *om.* edd. || 33 παρέχοντες: παρέχοντος Be ||

ὑπὲρ τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ προρρηθέντος 193Be Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος | τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ πατρὸς μὲν τοῦ Συμβατίου, πάππου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀσωτίου καὶ τοῦ μαγίστρου Ἀπασακίου, μέχρι ζωῆς τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὑπῆρχον τὰ τοιαῦτα τρία κάστρα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἐλάμβανεν ἐξ αὐτῶν πάκτα ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Μανζικίερτ μετὰ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ τοῦ Κορὴ καὶ τοῦ Χάρκα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἐπικράτειαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑπῆρχεν, ἕως ὅτου Ἀποσεβατᾶς, ὁ ἀμηρᾶς τοῦ 134vP Μανζικίερτ, μετὰ τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε Ἀπο|λεσφούετ καὶ τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη, ὑπετάγησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, διδόντες καὶ πάκτα ὑπέρ τε τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ ⟨δὲ⟩ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων τυγχάνει, ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενος καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον δεχόμενος ἀξίωμα, δηλονότι καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεσποζόμενα κάστρα καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ χωρία τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων τυγχάνουσιν.

Ὅτι τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, κρατηθέντος παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποσάται, τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ Περσίδος, καὶ ἀποκεφαλισθέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς, ὁ καθεζόμενος εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χαλιὰτ καὶ τὸ 135rP κάστρον τὸ Περκρὶ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῦ Ἀρ|ζές.

194Be Ὅτι ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ | καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ προγονός, ὁ Ἄχμετ ἐκράτησαν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χλιὰτ καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀλτζικέ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπετάγησαν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρεῖχον καὶ πάκτα, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς, ὑπέρ τε τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν.

Ὅτι ὁ τρίτος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ, ὁ Ἀποσέλμης, ἐκράτει τὸ κάστρον τὸ Τζερματζοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπετάγη τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐδίδου πάκτα, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ.

135vP Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ τε|λευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησε τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ μετὰ τῶν χωρίων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ πάσης ὁ Ἀβδεραχείμ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβδεραχείμ, ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ, ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, θεῖος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβδεραχείμ, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ καὶ πάσας τὰς

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*V* 36 Ἀπασακίου Ba Be: Ἀπασικίου P ‖ 37 δευτέρου edd.: β' P ‖ τοῦ$^{2}$ *om.* edd. ‖ 40 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be ‖ 41 Κορῆ P ‖ τοῦ Χαρκὰ καὶ τοῦ Κορή edd. ‖ Χάρκα

time of the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios and grandfather of the second Asotios and of the magister Apasakios, until the lifetime of the second Asotios, prince of princes, these three cities were under the dominion of the prince of princes, and the prince of princes received tribute from them. Moreover, the city of Manzikiert with the country of Apachounis and Kori and Charka was under the dominion and control of the same prince of princes, up till the time when Aposebatas, emir of Manzikiert, and his two brothers Apolesphouet and Aposelmis submitted themselves to the emperor and paid tribute in respect of their cities and their territories; *and* since the prince of princes is the servant of the emperor of the Romans, being appointed by him and receiving this rank from him, it is obvious that the cities and townships and territories of which he is lord also belong to the emperor of the Romans.

When Symbatios, prince of princes of great Armenia, was captured by Aposatai, the emir of Persia, and by him beheaded, Aposebatas, with his seat at the city of Manzikiert, took possession of the city of Chaliat and the city of Perkri and the township of Arzes.

The second brother of Aposebatas, Apolesphouet, and his nephew and step-son Achmet took possession of the city of Chliat and the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike, and they too submitted themselves to the emperor of the Romans and came beneath his dominion and paid tribute in respect of their cities and their territories, as did the eldest brother Aposebatas.

The third brother of Aposebatas and Apolesphouet, Aposelmis, was in possession of the city of Tzermatzou with its territories, and he too submitted himself to the emperor of the Romans and paid tribute, as did his eldest brother Aposebatas and his second brother Apolesphouet.

On the death of Aposebatas, Abderacheim, son of Aposebatas, possessed the city of Manzikiert with its territories and all its domain, and on the death of Abderacheim, Apolesphouet, second brother of Aposebatas and uncle of Abderacheim, possessed the city of Manzikiert and all the

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*scr.* Moravcsik: Χαρκά P edd. || 42 Ἀποσεβατὰς P || ἀμηρὰς P || 43 Μανζικίερτ V Me: Μαντζικίερτ P Ba Be || 45 δὲ *add.* Moravcsik γὰρ *addendum coni.* Bekker || 51 Ἀποσάτα Ba Be || ἀμηρὰ P || 52 Ἀποσεβατὰς P || 53 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 54 Περκρή P || Ἄρζες edd. || 55 Ἀποσεβατά P || Ἀπολεσφούετ edd.: Ἀπολεσφούτ P || 56 Ἀχμὲτ edd. || 57 Ἄρζες edd. || Ἀλτζικέ *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἀλτζίκε P edd. Ἀρτζικέ *coni.* V. Laurent || 59 πρῶτος *scr.* Moravcsik: α′ P *om.* V edd. || ὁ² V: α′ P *om.* edd. || 59/60 Ἀποσεβατάς P || 61 τρίτος edd.: γ′ P || Ἀποσεβατά P || 62 τὸ²: τοῦ V edd. || 64 πρῶτος *scr.* Moravcsik: α′ P *om.* V edd. || Ἀποσεβατάς P || δεύτερος Be: β′ P || 66 Ἀποσεβατὰ P || τὸ κάστρον *om.* edd. || 67 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 68 Ἀβδηραχεὶμ edd. || Ἀποσεβατά P || 68/9 Ἀβδηραχεὶμ edd. || 69 Ἀποσεβατά P || 70 Ἀβδηραχεὶμ Ba Be || Μανζικίερτ Me: Ματζικίερτ P Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be ||

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προρρηθείσας χώρας, καὶ αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ τρίτος ἀδελφός, ἤγουν τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ, ὁ Ἀποσέλμης τό τε Μανζικίερτ καὶ πάσας τὰς προρρηθείσας χώρας.

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς εἶχεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀβδεραχεὶμ καὶ τὸν Ἀπελμουζέ.

195Be Ὅτι ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ εἶχεν προγονὸν καὶ ἀνεψιὸν τὸν Ἀχάμετ,
136rP υἱὸν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀχάμετ τὸν προγονὸν | καὶ ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἀντὶ υἱοῦ.

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀποσέλμης εἶχεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀπελβάρτ, τὸν ἀρτίως κρατοῦντα τὸ Μανζικίερτ.

Ὅτι ἀποθανόντος τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, κατέλιπε τὸν Ἀβδεραχείμ, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀμηρᾶν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀπελμουζὲ ἦν νήπιος πάνυ, διὸ καὶ κατεφρονήθη ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν.

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς, ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφός, ἐκαθέζετο εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ, καὶ ἐκράτει, καθὼς εἴρηται, ταύτας τὰς χώρας, τό τε Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ τὸ Κορὴ καὶ τὸ Χάρκα, καὶ ἐδίδου τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πάκτα τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ υἱὸς
136vP αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀβδεραχείμ, καὶ ἐδίδου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ προρρηθέντα | πάκτα διὰ τὸ εἶναι, καθὼς προείρηται, νήπιον παντελῶς τὸν ἀδεδφὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀπελμουζέ.

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀβδεραχεὶμ τελευτήσαντος, καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἀπελμουζὲ ὡς νηπίου καταφρονηθέντος, ἐκράτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ καὶ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῷ προρρηθείσας χώρας ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, ὁ προλεχθεὶς Ἀπολεσφούετ, θεῖος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβδεραχεὶμ καὶ τοῦ διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα καταφρονηθέντος ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Ἀπελμουζέ.

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ τρίτος
196Be | ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, ἤγουν ὁ Ἀποσέλμης τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ μετὰ τῶν χωρίων τῶν προρρηθέντων. Ὁ δὲ προρρηθεὶς Ἀχάμετ ὁ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς καὶ προγονὸς τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ, ἐκράτει εἰδήσει καὶ
137rP βουλήσει τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ τό τε | Χλιὰτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τὸ Περκρί· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ υἱὸν μὴ ἔχων, καθὼς προείρηται, τοῦτον τὸν Ἀχάμετ, τόν τε ἀνεψιὸν καὶ προγονὸν αὐτοῦ, εἶχεν κληρονόμον πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτοῦ.

Ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη, ἐκράτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀπελβὰρτ μετὰ καὶ τῆς περιχώρου αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Ἄχμετ ἐκράτησεν τὰ τρία κάστρα, τό τε κάστρον τὸ Χλιὰτ ⟨καὶ⟩ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀλτζικέ.

Ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄχμετ δοῦλος ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως, καθὰ καὶ

countries aforesaid, and on his death the third brother, that is, the brother of Aposebatas and Apolesphouet, Aposelmis, possessed Manzikiert and all the countries aforesaid.

Aposebatas had a son Abderacheim, and *another*, Apelmouze.

Apolesphouet had a step-son and nephew, Achamet, for he had no son, but had instead of a son Achamet, his step-son and nephew.

Aposelmis had a son Apelbart, who now possesses Manzikiert.

On the death of Aposebatas, he left Abderacheim his son to be emir, but his other son, Apelmouze, was a mere infant, and hence was passed over as unfit to enter into the authority of his father and brother.

Aposebatas, the eldest brother, had his seat at the city of Manzikiert and possessed, as has been said, these countries, Apachounis and Kori and Charka, and paid tribute in respect to them to the emperor of the Romans; and on his death his son Abderacheim ruled, and he too paid the aforesaid tribute, his brother Apelmouze being, as was said above, quite an infant.

On the death of Abderacheim, since his brother Apelmouze was passed over as an infant, the possession of the city of Manzikiert and of the aforesaid countries beneath it fell to the second brother of Aposebatas, the aforesaid Apolesphouet, uncle of Abderacheim and of his brother Apelmouze, who had been passed over because of his infancy.

On the death of Apolesphouet, the third brother of Aposebatas, that is, Aposelmis, took possession of the city of Manzikiert with the territories aforesaid. The aforesaid Achamet, who was nephew and step-son of Apolesphouet, took possession, by consent and will of Apolesphouet, of Chliat and Arzes and Perkri: for Apolesphouet, having, as was said above, no son, made Achamet, his nephew and step-son, heir of all his substance and of his cities and territories.

On the death of Aposelmis, his son Apelbart possessed the city of Manzikiert with its surrounding territory. But Achmet possessed the three cities, the city of Chliat *and* the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike.

This Achmet too was servant of the emperor, as has been said above,

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*V* 71 τρίτος edd.: γ′ P || 72 Ἀποσεβατὰ P || 73 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 74 Ἀποσεβατὰς P || υἱὸν: υἱοὺς *coni.* Bekker || Ἀβδηραχεὶμ Ba Be || 80 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 81 Ἀποσεβατά P || Ἀβδεραχεὶμ V Me: Ἀβδεραχὴ P Ἀβδηραχεὶμ Ba Be || 82 ἀμηράν P || Ἀπελμουζὲ: Ἀπελμουὲζ *coni.* Marquart || 85 Ἀποσεβατὰς P || πρῶτος edd.: α′ P || 86 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 89 Ἀβδηραχεὶμ Ba Be || 92 Ἀβδηραχεὶμ Ba Be || 94 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 95 Ἀποσεβατὰ P || προλεχθεὶς: προρρηθεὶς edd. || Ἀβδηραχεὶμ Ba Be || 98 τρίτος edd.: γ′ P || 99 Ἀποσεβατὰ P || 99/100 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 100 Ἀχάμετ edd. Ἄχαμτ P || 102 Ἀρζὲς *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἄρζες P edd. || Περκρή P || 104 Ἀχάμετ edd.: Ἄχαμτ P || 107 Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 108 Ἀχάμετ edd. || τρία edd.: γ′ P || καὶ *add.* Moravcsik || 109 Ἄρζες Ba Be || Ἀλτζικέ *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἀλτζίκε P edd. || 110 Ἀχάμετ edd. ||

προείρηται, παρέχων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου αὐτοῦ,
τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ, πάκτα. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπελβὰρτ μετὰ δόλου καὶ χλεύης
137vP αὐτὸν ἔσφαξεν, καὶ ἀνελάβετο τὰ τρία αὐτὰ | κάστρα, τό τε κάστρον
τὸ Χλιὰτ ⟨καὶ⟩ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀλτζικέ·
καὶ ταῦτα ὀφείλει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβέσθαι ὡς ἴδια αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντα.

Ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προρρηθέντα κάστρα καὶ αἱ προρρηθεῖσαι
χῶραι οὐδέποτε γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Περσίδος ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν
ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἀμερμουμνῆ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπῆρχον, καθὼς εἴρηται, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
197Be τοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξου|σίαν τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ
ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν, τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀμηράδων, τοῦ τε Ἀποσεβατᾶ
καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ καὶ τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐδουλώθησαν καὶ ἐπακτώθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν
138rP | βασιλέων τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

Ὅτι τὰ τρία ταῦτα κάστρα, τό τε Χλιὰτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τὸ
Περκρί, εἰ κρατεῖ ὁ βασιλεύς, Περσικὸν φοσσᾶτον κατὰ Ῥωμανίας
ἐξελθεῖν οὐ δύναται, ἐπειδὴ μέσον τυγχάνουσιν τῆς τε Ῥωμανίας καὶ
Ἀρμενίας, καὶ εἰσὶν φραγμὸς καὶ ἀπλίκτα τῶν φοσσάτων.

## 45. Περὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἑαυτοὺς σεμνύνοντες οἱ Ἴβηρες, ἤγουν οἱ τοῦ κουρο-
παλάτου, λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς κατάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρίου, τῆς
παρὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως μοιχευθείσης· ἐκ γὰρ
τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντων παίδων τῷ Δαυὶδ ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν κατάγεσθαι
καὶ συγγενεῖς εἶναι Δαυίδ, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου
138vP καὶ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου διὰ τὸ | ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ ταύτην
κατάγεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀκωλύτως τὰς
συγγενίδας αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμον ἄγουσιν, τὴν παλαιὰν οἰόμενοι φυλάττειν
198Be νομοθεσίαν· ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ τε λέγουσιν εἶ|ναι τὴν γέννησιν αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε χρηματισθῆναι κατ᾽ ὄναρ μετελθεῖν καὶ κατοικῆσαι
πρὸς τὰ μέρη Περσίδος, ἤγουν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν νῦν οἰκοῦσιν. Οἱ
δὲ χρηματισθέντες καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπῆρχον ὅ τε
Δαυὶδ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, Σπανδιάτης, ὅστις Σπανδιάτης
ἦν ἐκ Θεοῦ λαβὼν χάρισμα, ὡς αὐτοὶ φάσκουσιν, τοῦ μὴ ἐν πολέμῳ

*F* **45.** 3 κατάγεσθαι — 4 μοιχευθείσης: cf. II Reg. 11, 3—5; Matth. 1, 6. 6 ὡς ἐκ τούτου — 8 κατάγεσθαι: cf. The Apocryphal New Testament, London 1820, p. 17: The Gospel of the Birth of Mary, 1, 1. 11 χρηματισθῆναι κατ᾽ ὄναρ: Matth. 2, 12.

*V* 111 αὐτοῦ²: αὐτοῦ Migne || 113 αὐτά: αὐτοῦ edd. *post* αὐτὰ *aliquid eras.* P[x] ||

and paid tribute on his own behalf and on behalf of his uncle Apolesphouet. But Apelbart by guile and deceit slew him and took these three cities, the city of Chliat *and* the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike; and these the emperor should get back, as they are his property.

All these cities aforesaid and the aforesaid countries have never been beneath the dominion of Persia or beneath the dominion of the commander of the faithful, but were, as has been said, in the days of the lord Leo, the emperor, beneath the dominion of Symbatios, the prince of princes, and afterwards came beneath the dominion of the three brothers, the aforesaid emirs, Aposebatas and Apolesphouet and Aposelmis; and in their days were brought into servitude and made tributary and fell beneath the dominion of the emperors of the Romans.

If these three cities, Chliat and Arzes and Perkri, are in the possession of the emperor, a Persian army cannot come out against Romania, because they are between Romania and Armenia, and serve as a barrier and as military halts for armies.

## 45. Of the Iberians.

The Iberians, I mean, those who belong to the curopalate, pique themselves upon their descent from the wife of Uriah, with whom David, the prophet and king, committed adultery: for they say they are descended from the children she bore to David and are related to David, the prophet and king, and consequently to the most holy Mother of God also, inasmuch as she was by descent of the seed of David. For this reason also the great ones of the Iberians take in marriage their female relatives without impediment, believing that they are preserving the ancient ordinance; and they say that they originate from Jerusalem and were warned by an oracular dream to migrate thence and to settle over toward the region of Persia, that is to say, in the country where they live now. They who were warned by the oracle and came out of Jerusalem were the former David and his brother Spandiatis, which Spandiatis had received from God a boon, as they pretend, that in battle the sword should not touch him in any member of

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114 καὶ *add.* edd. || ῎Αρζες Ba Be || ᾿Αλτζίκε edd. ᾿Αρτζικέ *coni.* V. Laurent || 116 αἱ *s. v. add.* P[1] *in textum recepcrunt* V edd. || 119 τοῦ[2] *om.* V edd. || 121 τριῶν edd.: γ′ P || ᾿Αποσεβατὰ P || 124 τῶν *om.* edd. || 125 τρία edd.: γ′ P || ᾿Αρζὲς *scr.* Moravcsik: ῎Αρζες P edd. || 126 Περκρή P || φοσσάτον P || 128 ἄπληκτα P.

**45.** 1 Περὶ τῶν ᾿Ιβήρων (π̊ *rubro atramento*) *mg. add.* P[1], *unde in textum receperunt* V edd. || 8 μεγιστάνες P || 11 χρηματισθῆναι *om.* V edd. ||

ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ ξίφος εἰς οἱονδήποτε μέλος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἄνευ
139rP τῆς καρδίας, ἣν καὶ διά τινος σκεπάσματος | ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις περιεφρού-
ρει. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπτοοῦντο τοῦτον καὶ ἐδεδίεισαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ὁ δὲ
νενίκηκέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτῶν κατεκράτησεν, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐνῴκι-
σεν Ἴβηρας εἰς τὰς δυσκολίας, τὰς νῦν παρ' αὐτῶν κρατουμένας, ἐξ
ὧν καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπλατύνθησαν καὶ ηὐξήθησαν καὶ εἰς μέγα ἔθνος
ἐγένοντο. Εἶθ' οὕτως τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρακλείου κατὰ Περσίδος ἐκστρα-
τεύσαντος, ἡνώθησαν καὶ συνεταξίδευσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔκτοτε ὑπέταξαν
τῷ φόβῳ Ἡρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον, ἤπερ τῇ ἑαυτῶν
ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμει πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἱκανὰς τῶν Περσῶν. Ἅπαξ γὰρ
139vP τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρακλείου τοὺς Πέρσας τροπωσαμένου καὶ εἰς τὸ | μηκέτι
εἶναι τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν παραστήσαντος, εὐάλωτοι καὶ εὐχείρωτοι οὐ
μόνον τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς οἱ Πέρσαι γεγόνασιν.
Διὰ δὲ τὸ κατάγεσθαι αὐτούς, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ διὰ
τὸ μεγάλην πίστιν ἔχουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Κυρίου
199Be ἡμῶν {ἡ} Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατά τινας | καιροὺς ἀφθόνως ἀποστέλ-
λουσι χρήματα τῷ πατριάρχῃ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε Χριστια-
νοῖς. Ὁ δὲ προρρηθεὶς Δαυίδ, ὁ τοῦ Σπανδιάτου ἀδελφός, ἐγέννησεν
υἱὸν τὸν Παγκράτιον, καὶ ὁ Παγκράτιος ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀσώτιον,
καὶ ὁ Ἀσώτιος ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀδρανασή, τὸν καὶ κουροπαλάτην
τιμηθέντα παρὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων. Ὁ δὲ
140rP Σπανδιάτης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ | προρρηθέντος Δαυίδ, ἐτελεύτησεν ἄτεκνος.
Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετοικήσεως αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην
παρ' αὐτῶν χώραν εἰσὶν ἔτη υ' ἢ καὶ φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἐστὶν
ἰνδικτιὼν ι', ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ͵ϛυξ' ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταν-
τίνου καὶ Ῥωμανοῦ, τῶν φιλοχρίστων καὶ πορφυρογεννήτων βασιλέων
Ῥωμαίων.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ φιλόχριστος καὶ πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἀοίδιμος
βασιλεὺς Λέων ἀκούσας, ὅτι εἰς τὸν τόπον, τὸν λεγόμενον Φασιανὴν
ἐλθόντες οἱ Σαρακηνοί, τὰς ἐκεῖσε ἐκκλησίας ἐποίησαν κάστρα, ἀπέ-
στειλεν τὸν πατρίκιον {ὁ δεῖνα} καὶ στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων τὸν
Λαλάκωνα μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κολωνείας καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Μεσο-
140vP ποταμίας | καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Χαλδίας, καὶ κατέστρεψαν τὰ τοιαῦτα
κάστρα, τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐλευθερώσαντες, ληϊσάμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
Φασιανήν, τῷ τότε καιρῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κρατουμένην. Καὶ εἶθ'
οὕτως πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν μάγιστρον Κατακαλὼν καὶ δομέστικον
τῶν σχολῶν, ὃς ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως καὶ τὰ πέριξ
200Be | αὐτῆς ληϊσάμενος καὶ τὴν χώραν τῆς Φασιανῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν κάστρα

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*F* 22 Εἶθ' οὕτως — 23 αὐτῷ: cf. Theoph. p. 309, 15.

his body save only in the heart, which he used to protect by a sort of covering in battles. On this account the Persians were dismayed at and feared him, and he overcame them and mastered them and settled his Iberian kinsmen in the difficult territories now possessed by them; whence by degrees they expanded and increased and grew into a great nation. Thereafter, when the emperor Heraclius marched against Persia, they united and campaigned with him, and as a result, through the dread inspired by Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, rather than by their own strength and power, they subdued a great number of cities and countries of the Persians. For once the emperor Heraclius had routed the Persians and had forcibly brought their empire to an end, the Persians were easily defeated and mastered, not by the Iberians only, but by the Saracens as well. And because they originated, as they themselves say, from Jerusalem, for this reason they are very loyal to it and to the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from time to time they send large sums of money to the patriarch of the holy city and to the Christians there. Now, the aforesaid David, the brother of Spandiatis, begat a son Pankratios, and Pankratios begat a son Asotios, and Asotios begat a son Adranasi, who was honoured with the rank of curopalate by Leo, the Christ-loving emperor of the Romans. But Spandiatis, the brother of the aforesaid David, died childless. And from their migration from Jerusalem to the country now inhabited by them it is 400 years, or rather 500 up to the present day, which is the 10th indiction, the year from the creation of the world 6460, in the reign of Constantine and Romanus, Christ-loving emperors of the Romans, born in the purple.

The Christ-loving and glorious emperor Leo, born in the purple, hearing that the Saracens had arrived in the place called Phasiane and had made the churches there into fortresses, sent the patrician Lalakon, military governor of the Armeniakoi, together with the military governor of Koloneia and the military governor of Mesopotamia and the military governor of Chaldia, and they destroyed these fortresses and liberated the churches and ravaged all Phasiane, at that time in the possession of the Saracens. And again afterwards he sent the magister Katakalon, the commander-in-chief, who arrived at the city of Theodosioupolis and ravaged the territory all about it, and gave up the country of Phasiane and the cities around it to the

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*V* 17 σκεπάσματος: περισκεπάσματος V edd. || 19 νενίκηκέ] *litteras* κέ *in ras. scr.* P¹ || τε *om.* edd. || 19/20 ἐνοίκησεν P || 20 δυσκολίας: δυσχωρίας *coni.* Bekker || 21 καὶ¹ *om.* Ba Be || ηὐξήθησαν *scr.* Moravcsik: ηὐξήνθησαν P ηὐξάνθησαν edd. || 29 ἐξ: ἐκ τῆς Ba Be || 30 ἔχουσιν (*etiam* Ba): ἔχειν V Me Be || 31 ἡ *om.* V edd. *secl.* Moravcsik || 39 εἰσὶν *a* P¹ *false post* ι' (40) *insertum huc transp.* Moravcsik || 40 ἔτος: ἔτη V edd. || 44 τὸν¹ *om.* Be || 46 ὁ δεῖνα *per comp.* P: *om.* edd. *secl.* Moravcsik || Ἀρμενιακῶν edd. || 51 Καταχαλὸν P ||

τῷ ὁμοίῳ ὀλέθρῳ παραδούς, ὑπέστρεψεν, μεγάλην πληγὴν ἐν τούτῳ
δοὺς τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ, τοῦ
βασιλέως ὁ μάγιστρος Ἰωάννης ὁ Κουρκούας ἀπερχόμενος κατὰ τοῦ
141rP κάστρου Τιβίου, εἰς τὴν δίοδον αὐτοῦ ἠφάνισεν τὴν πᾶσαν χώ|ραν τῆς
Φασιανῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κρατουμένην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πατρίκιος
Θεόφιλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προρρηθέντος μαγίστρου Ἰωάννου, τὸ πρῶτον
αὐτοῦ στρατηγεύοντος ἐν Χαλδίᾳ, ἐπραίδευσεν τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν
τῆς Φασιανῆς, ὡς καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν δεσποζομένην. Μέχρι
γὰρ τοῦ γεγονέναι τὸν λόγον μετὰ τοὺς Θεοδοσιουπολίτας εἰς τὴν χώραν
τῆς Φασιανῆς χωρίον οὐ συνέστη, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου.
Καὶ οἱ Ἴβηρες πάντοτε εἶχον ἀγάπην καὶ φιλίαν μετὰ τῶν Θεοδοσιου-
πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀβνικιωτῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν Μανζικιερτῶν καὶ μετὰ
πᾶσαν τὴν Περσίδα, ἀλλ' ἐν Φασιανῇ οὐδέποτε ἐπεκτήσαντο χωρία.
141vP Ὅτι πολλάκις ὁ κύρις Λέων, ὁ βασιλεὺς | καὶ ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανὸς
καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἐπεζήτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Κετζέον τοῦ ἀναλα-
βέσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν ταξάτους πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖθεν σιταρχεῖσθαι
τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἐξασφαλιζόμενοι πρός τε τὸν κουροπαλάτην καὶ
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοῦ — μετὰ τὸ παραληφθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπο-
201Be λιν — ἀνα|λαβέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο
οἱ Ἴβηρες τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν, καὶ
διὰ τὸ μὴ πορθηθῆναι τὸ κάστρον Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἀλλ' ἀντεδήλωσαν
τὸν κύριν Ῥωμανὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν, λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Εἰ τοῦτο
ποιήσωμεν, ἀτιμία ἔχομεν γενέσθαι εἰς τοὺς γείτονας ἡμῶν, οἷον εἰς
142rP τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ {εἰς τὸν} ἐξουσιαστὴν Ἀβασγίας καὶ εἰς | τὸν Βασπαρα-
κανίτην καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὑπερεξάρχοντας τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν,
ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπίστους ἔχει τοὺς Ἴβηρας, τόν τε κουροπαλάτην καὶ
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ πιστεύει αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνελάβετο
⟨τὸ⟩ κάστρον ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἂς ἀποστείλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τουρμάρ-
χην ἢ βασιλικόν τινα, καὶ ἂς καθέζηται εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Κετζέου,
καὶ ἂς θεωρῇ.» Καὶ ἐδέξαντο διὰ κελεύσεως, ὅτι· «Τί ὄφελος ἢ τουρμάρ-
χην ἢ βασιλικὸν ἀποστεῖλαι; Πάντως ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃ εἴτε τουρμάρχης,
εἴτε βασιλικός, μετὰ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα ἀνθρώπων ἔχει εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ
καθέζεσθαι ἔχει εἰς τὸ ἀπλίκτον, ὃ παρ' ὑμῶν λάβῃ· καὶ ἐπεὶ πολλαί
εἰσιν ὁδοί, αἱ εἰσάγουσαι εἰς τὸ κάστρον Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, οὐ δύναται
142vP ἀπὸ τοῦ | κάστρου βλέπειν τὰ εἰσερχόμενα καρβάνια εἰς τὸ κάστρον
Θεοδοσιουπόλεως· δύνανται δὲ εἰσέρχεσθαι καρβάνια ἐν Θεοδοσιου-
πόλει τῇ νυκτί, ἐκείνων μηδὲν νοούντων.» Ἀλλ' οὖν διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν
τοὺς Ἴβηρας πορθηθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σιταρ-

like destruction, and returned after inflicting thereby a great blow upon the Saracens. And in the reign of the lord Romanus, the emperor, the magister John Kourkouas, marching against the city of Tibi, utterly devastated in his passage the whole country of Phasiane, since it was in the possession of the Saracens. Moreover, the patrician Theophilus also, brother of the aforesaid magister John, when he was for the first time military governor of Chaldia, plundered this country of Phasiane, because then too it was controlled by the Saracens. For by the time that terms had been agreed with the Theodosioupolitans, no village had been left standing in the country of Phasiane, or about the city of Abnikon either. And the Iberians always maintained loving and friendly relations with the men of Theodosioupolis and Abnikon and Manzikiert and with all Persia, but in Phasiane they never acquired any territories.

The lord Leo, the emperor, and the lord Romanus and our own imperial majesty several times asked for the city of Ketzeon, so that we might take it over and introduce garrisons, in order to stop Theodosioupolis from being revictualled thence, assuring the curopalate and his brothers that, after Theodosioupolis had been taken, they should have this city back; but the Iberians did not consent to do this, out of their love for the Theodosioupolitans and in order that the city of Theodosioupolis might not be taken, and declared in answer to the lord Romanus and to our imperial majesty, saying: «If we do this, we shall become dishonoured in the eyes of our neighbours, such as the magister the ruler of Abasgia and the Basparakanite and the potentates of the Armenians, and they will say that 'the emperor holds the Iberians, the curopalate and his brothers, for faithless and does not trust them, and that is why he has taken over *the* city from them'; but let the emperor rather send a lieutenant-general or some imperial agent, and let him take up his quarters in the city of Ketzeon and let him watch.» And they were instructed by imperial mandate, to this effect: «What is the use of our sending either lieutenant-general or imperial agent? Even if he enters, whether he be lieutenant-general or imperial agent, he will enter with ten or a dozen men and will take up his quarters in the lodgings which you will provide for him; and since the roads leading to the city of Theodosioupolis are many, he cannot from the city see the caravans entering the city of Theodosioupolis; and caravans may enter Theodosioupolis by night, and they none the wiser.» And so, then, because the Iberians did not wish that Theodosioupolis should be taken, but rather that it should be

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*V* 55 τοῦ[1] *om.* edd. || τοῦ[2] *om.* edd. || 65 Μαντζικιερτῶν Ba Be || 67 κύρης[1] P || κῦρης[2] P || 75 κῦρην P || εἰ] *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 76 ποιήσομεν edd. || 77 εἰς τὸν *secl.* Jenkins || 81 τὸ *add.* edd. || ἀς (*sine acc.*) P || 82 ἀς (*sine acc.*) P || καθέζηται edd.: καθέζεται P || τὸ *om.* edd. || Κετζέου edd.: Κετζέος P || 83 ἀς (*sine acc.*) P || θεωρῇ Be: θεωρεῖ P || 85 δέκα edd.: ι' P || δώδεκα edd.: ιβ' P || 86 ἀπλήκτον P || ὑμῶν: ὑμῖν edd. || λάβῃ edd.: λάβει P ||

45

202Be χεῖσθαι, τούτου ἕνεκα οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, καὶ δέδωκαν τὸ κά|στρον τὸ
Κετζέον, καίτοι καὶ ὅρκον ἔγγραφον δεχόμενοι τοῦ — μετὰ τὸ παραληφθῆ-
ναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν — ἀποστραφῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.
Ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἠβουλήθησαν οἱ Ἴβηρες πραιδεῦσαι ἢ αἰχμαλωτίσαι
τὰ πέριξ τοῦ κάστρου Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἢ τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ ἢ εἰς τὸ
κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνικίου ἢ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ χωρία ἢ εἰς τὸ κάστρον Μανζικίερτ
143rP καὶ | εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν.
Ὅτι καθὼς ἐνίσταται ὁ κουροπαλάτης περὶ τῶν χωρίων τῆς
Φασιανῆς, ἐπιζητῶν ὅλην τὴν Φασιανὴν καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου,
προφασιζόμενος χρυσοβούλλια ἔχειν τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως, τοῦ κυροῦ
Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, ὧν καὶ τὰ ἴσα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέ-
στειλεν διὰ τοῦ Ζουρβανέλη πρωτοσπαθαρίου, τοῦ ἀζάτου αὐτοῦ,
ταῦτα ἐπισκεψάμενοι εὕρομεν αὐτὸν μηδεμίαν βοήθειαν ἔχοντα. Τὸ μὲν
γὰρ χρυσοβούλλιον τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἡμῶν περιέχει ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν
κουροπαλάτην, ὡς δι' ὅρκου ἐβεβαίωσεν αὐτὸν οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ ἐγγραψάμε-
νος, τοῦ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῇ πίστει τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας καὶ τοῖς μὲν
143vP ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν ἀντιμάχεσθαι, | τοὺς δὲ φίλους ὑπερασπίζεσθαι καὶ τὴν
ἀνατολὴν ὑπόσπονδον ποιῆσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν καὶ κάστρα χειρώ-
σασθαι καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς θεραπείαν ἡμῶν ἔργα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὑπεσχέθη
αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἡμῶν, ἵνα, ἐὰν φυλάξῃ τὴν τοιαύτην πιστὴν
203Be δούλωσιν καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνην, διαμείνῃ ἀμετασάλευτος | καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ
οἱ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τούτου ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ· καὶ οὐ μεταστήσει
τὰ ὅρια τῶν τόπων αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν πρώην βασιλέων τὰ σύμφωνα
στέρξει, καὶ οὐχὶ περαιτέρω ὑπερβήσεται, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ κωλύσει αὐτὸν
καταστρέψαι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν,
144rP κἄν τε δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου πολιορκηθήσονται, κἄν τε δι' | αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου ἡμῶν. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κεφάλαια περιέχουσιν τὰ χρυσοβούλλια,
ἐξ ὧν οὐδεμίαν βοήθειαν ὁ κουροπαλάτης ἔχει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πενθεροῦ
ἡμῶν διαγορεύει, ὅτι οὐ παρασαλεύσομεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ὁρίων
τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν δυνηθῇ εἴτε καὶ μόνος, εἴτε καὶ μετὰ
τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἡμῶν, πολιορκήσει καὶ καταστρέψει τὴν Θεοδοσιούπο-
λιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατασχεῖν αὐτὰ εἰς τελείαν
δεσποτείαν καὶ κυριότητα· τὸ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν περιέχει, ἵνα,
ὅσους ἂν τόπους δυνηθῇ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ μάγιστρος
144vP Ἀδρανασέ, ἐξ οἰκείας δυνάμεως καθυποτάξαι τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, | ἢ ἀπὸ
τοῦ νῦν καθυποτάξει, κατέχει ἐπὶ δεσποτείᾳ καὶ κυριότητι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ
οὔτε ἐξ οἰκείας δυνάμεως τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν κατεστρέψατο, οὔτε τὸ

*V* 95 ἐβουλήθησαν edd. || 97 Ἀβνίκου edd. || Μαντζικίερτ Ba Be || 100 ἐπιζητῶν edd.: ἐπεζήτων P || 101 χρυσοβούλλια edd.: χρυσοβούλλιον P || 105 πεμθεροῦ

revictualled, for this reason they did not obey and give up the city of Ketzeon, although they received a sworn promise in writing that after the capture of Theodosioupolis this city should revert to them.

The Iberians never consented to raid or take prisoners in the environs of the city of Theodosioupolis or in its territories, or in the city of Abnikion or the territories about it, or in the city of Manzikiert or the area controlled by it.

Whereas regarding the territories of Phasiane the curopalate persists in his demand for all Phasiane and the city of Abnikon, and alleges that he has golden bulls of the emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, and of our imperial majesty, copies of which he sent us by the hand of Zourbanelis the protospatharius, his 'azat', we examined these and found that they gave him no help. For, first, the golden bull of our father-in-law embodies a promise of this same curopalate, as he assured him on his oath and inscribed it with his own hand, that he will abide in loyalty to our imperial majesty, and fight against our foes and protect our friends, and subdue the east to our imperial majesty, and reduce cities and do great works for our comfort; and on the part of our father-in-law a promise was made to him that, if he continues in this loyal servitude and gratitude, he shall remain unshaken, both he and those of his family, in his rule and dominion; and *the emperor* will not move the boundaries of his territories, but will be content with the agreements made by former emperors and will not push beyond them; nor will he stop *the curopalate* from destroying Theodosioupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, whether he lays siege to them with his own unaided strength or with the assistance of this our army. Such are the main points contained in the golden bulls, and from them the curopalate gets no help: for that of our father-in-law lays it down that we will not disturb him from the ancient boundaries of his country, and that, if he can, whether by himself or with our army, he shall lay siege to and destroy Theodosioupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, but not so as to hold them in absolute sovereignty and lordship; while that of our own imperial majesty includes a provision that all the places of the Agarenes which both he and his nephew, the magister Adranase, may be able by their own power to reduce, or shall in future reduce, he shall hold as sovereign lord. And since by his own power he subdued neither Theodosioupolis nor

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P || 108 τούς δὲ φίλους *corr.* Moravcsik: τοῖς δὲ φίλοις P edd. || 111 αὐτῷ *corr.* Tomašić: αὐτοῖς P edd. || πεμθεροῦ P || πιστὴν: πίστιν edd. || 113 μεταστήση F || 115 στέρξει Be: στέρξη P στέρξῃ Me Ba || οὐχὶ *om.* edd. || *post* περαιτέρω *add.* μὴ edd. || ὑπερβήσηται F || 116 τὴν *bis* P || 117 δι' αὐτοῦ: διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Me Ba τοῦ *secl.* Be || 119 πεμθεροῦ P || 120 παρασαλεύομεν V edd. || 122 καταστρέψει V edd.: καταστρέψη P || 126 'Αδρανασέ *scr.* Moravcsik: 'Αδρανασαὶ P 'Αδρανασὴ edd. || 127 κατέχῃ edd. ||

45

Ἀβνίκιον, οὔτε τὸ Μαστάτον, οὐκ ὀφείλει ταῦτα κατέχειν, ὡς ὄντα
ἔνθεν τοῦ Ἔραξ ποταμοῦ, ἤτοι τοῦ Φάσιδος, διότι τὸ μὲν κάστρον τοῦ
Ἀβνίκου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἦν αὐτεξούσιον καὶ αὐτοδέσποτον, ἔχον ἴδιον
ἀμηρᾶν, καὶ πολλάκις ὁ λαὸς τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἐπραίδευσεν αὐτό,
204Be ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρωτο|σπαθάριος Ἰωάννης καὶ στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀρραβωνίτης
καὶ ὁ πατρίκιος Θεόφιλος καὶ ἀρτίως στρατηγὸς Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, καὶ
οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ μεγάλην πραῖδαν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν εἰς αὐτὸ ἠργά-
145rP σαντο, κατακαύσαντες τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ, μη|δέποτε τοῦ κουροπαλάτου
πραιδεύσαντος αὐτό. Καὶ ἡνίκα ἠφανίσθησαν τὰ τούτου χωρία παρὰ
τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, ὑπεισῆλθον οἱ Ἴβηρες, καὶ κατεκράτησαν αὐτά,
πειρώμενοι ἐκ τούτου τὸ κάστρον κρατῆσαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς πολλάκις
μηνυθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Θεοφίλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἰδών, ὅτι
οὐδαμόθεν ἔχει ἐλπίδα ζωῆς, ὑπετάγη καὶ κατένευσεν γενέσθαι δοῦλος
τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, δοὺς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὄψιδα. Τὸ δὲ Μαστάτον ὑπῆρχεν
τῶν Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν, καὶ ἡνίκα ὁ μάγιστρος Ἰωάννης ἐπολιόρκησεν
τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἑπτὰ μῆνας, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι παραλαβεῖν αὐτὴν
ἀποστείλας λαόν, παρέλαβεν τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον, καὶ εἰσήγα-
145vP γεν | ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Πετρωνᾶν τὸν Βόϊλαν, τὸν τότε
ὄντα κατεπάνω Νικοπόλεως. Ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος συνταξιδεύ-
σας τῷ αὐτῷ μαγίστρῳ ἐν Θεοδοσιουπόλει, ἡνίκα ἔμελλεν ἀναχωρεῖν,
παρεκάλεσεν, ἵνα δώσῃ αὐτῷ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, ποιήσας ἔγγραφον
ὅρκον πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδέποτε τοῦτο τοῖς Σαρα-
κηνοῖς ἐπιδοῦναι. Καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστιανὸν καὶ δοῦλον τῆς
βασιλείας ἡμῶν, πιστεύσας τῷ ὅρκῳ αὐτοῦ, δέδωκεν αὐτὸ τὸν εἰρημένον
Παγκράτιον, ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀπεχαρίσατο αὐτὸ τοῖς Θεοδοσιουπολίταις.
205Be Καὶ ἡνίκα παρελήφθη ἡ Θεοδοσιούπολις, | ὑπεισελθόντες οἱ Ἴβηρες
ἐκράτησαν αὐτό, διότι οὔτε τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον, οὔτε τοῦ
146rP Ἀβνίκου ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν | ἐπιζητεῖν. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ὁ κουροπαλάτης
πιστὸς καὶ ὀρθὸς δοῦλος καὶ φίλος ἡμῶν ἐστιν, διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παράκλη-
σιν ἵνα γένηται σύνορον τῆς Φασιανῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἔραξ, ἤτοι ὁ Φᾶσις,
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀριστερὰ μέρη, τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλυρίαν, κατέχωσιν οἱ Ἴβηρες,
τὰ δὲ δεξιά, ὅσα εἰσὶν πρὸς τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, κἄν τε κάστρα, κἄν τε
χωρία εἰσίν, ὦσιν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ δηλονότι σύνο-
ρον ἀμφοτέρων ὑπάρχοντος, καθὼς καὶ ζῶν ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης ὁ
Κουρκούας περὶ τούτου ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐξεῖπεν συμφέρον εἶναι τὸν ποταμὸν
σύνορον. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβὲς δίκαιον οὐδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν παρέχει τῷ
κουροπαλάτῃ, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἔνθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἐκεῖθεν δια-
146vP κράτησιν ἔχειν, διότι τὰ τοιαῦ|τα πάντα χωρία τῶν Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν

*V* 129 Ἀβνίκον edd. || Μαστάτον V² edd.: Ναστάτον P V F || ὀφείλει Be: ὀφείλῃ P ὀφείλη Me Ba || 132 ἀμηρὰν P || 135/6 εἰργάσαντο Be ||

Abnikion nor Mastaton, he has no right to hold them, lying as they do on this side of the Erax or Phasis river; because the city of Abnikon, on the one hand, has hitherto been independent and self-governing, under its own emir, and several times the army of our imperial majesty has raided it, yes, and the protospatharius John Arrhabonitis, the military governor, and the patrician Theophilus, who is now military governor of Theodosioupolis, and the rest of the military governors have taken great plunder and many prisoners in it, and burnt its villages, while the curopalate has never raided it at all. And when these villages had been utterly devastated by our imperial majesty, the Iberians crept in and took possession of them, and tried thereafter to possess themselves of the city. But the emir, after being several times warned by the patrician and military governor Theophilus, and seeing that he had no hope of survival from any quarter, submitted himself and consented to become the servant of our imperial majesty, and gave his son as a hostage. Mastaton, on the other hand, belonged to the Theodosioupolitans; and when the magister John had besieged Theodosioupolis seven months, because he was unable to take it he sent some men and took this same city of Mastaton and introduced into it the protospatharius Petronas Boïlas, who was then captain-general of Nicopolis. And the magister Pankratios, who had joined the campaign of this same magister at Theodosioupolis, when *the latter* was about to retire, begged him to give him this city, and made him an oath in writing that he would retain it and never give it up to the Saracens. He, as the said Pankratios was a Christian and servant of our imperial majesty, trusted to his oath and gave it him, and he gave it back again to the Theodosioupolitans. And when Theodosioupolis was taken, the Iberians crept in and took possession of *Mastaton;* for these reasons they have no authority to demand either this city of Mastaton or that of Abnikon. But since the curopalate is our faithful and upright servant and friend, at his request let the frontier of Phasiane be the river Erax or Phasis, and let the Iberians possess the parts on the left hand side towards Illyria, and all the parts on the right towards Theodosioupolis, whether cities or villages, be beneath our imperial majesty, the river, that is to say, forming the frontier between the two, just as in his lifetime John Kourkouas, of blessed memory, when asked about this, declared that it was best for the river to be the frontier. Strict justice does not allow the curopalate any authority to exercise control either on this side of the river or on the other, since all these villages of the Theodosioupolitans were enslaved and

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139 ἀμηρὰς P || 140 ἰδὼν edd.: ἰδῶς P || 141 οὐδαμόθεν: οὐδαμῶς edd. || δοῦλος γενέσθαι edd. || 143 Θεοδοσιουπολίτων P || 149 δώσῃ edd.: δώσει P || 152/3 τὸν εἰρημένον Παγκράτιον: τῷ εἰρημένῳ Παγκρατείῳ edd. || 155 τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον: τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου τοῦ Μαστάτου edd. || 159 Ἰλλυρίαν: Ἰβηρίαν *coni.* Brosset Laskin || κατέχωσιν edd. κατέχουσιν P || 162 ὁ² *om.* edd. || 163 Κουρκοῦας P || 166 Θεοδοσιουπολίτων P ||

τὰ στρατεύματα τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ᾐχμαλώτισαν καὶ ἐπυρπόλησαν, καὶ οὐδέποτε χωρὶς ἡμετέρου λαοῦ Ἴβηρες ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἐπραίδευσαν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ φίλους εἶχον αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπραγματεύοντο μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ μὲν στόματι ἤθελον πορθηθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐδαμῶς ἐβούλοντο παραληφθῆναι αὐτήν. Ἀλλ' ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κουροπαλάτην ἀγάπην ἠθέλησεν γενέσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἔραξ, ἤτοι τὸν Φᾶσιν σύνορον ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ ὀφείλουσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην διακράτησιν καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιζητεῖν.

206Be **46. Περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου.**

147rP Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ Παγκράτιος καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ ὁ Μάμπαλις, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'πανάγιος', ὑπῆρχον υἱοὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Συμβατίου, τοῦ Ἴβηρος. Καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸ Ἀρδανούτζι εἰς κληρονομίαν τῷ Παγκρατίῳ, τῷ δὲ Δαυὶδ ἔλαχεν ἑτέρα χώρα. Ὁ δὲ Παγκράτιος ἐποίησεν υἱοὺς τρεῖς, τὸν Ἀδρανασέρ, τὸν Κουρκένιον καὶ τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀσώτιον, τὸν καὶ Κισκάσην, καὶ διεμέρισεν αὐτοὺς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸ Ἀρδανούτζι τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, Κουρκενίῳ, κἀκείνου τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου, εἴασεν αὐτὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, Ἀσωτίῳ, τῷ καὶ Κισκάσῃ. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, ἐπῆρεν γαμβρὸν εἰς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν Κουρκένην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν μάγιστρον, ὅστις δυναστεύσας ἀφείλετο ἐκ τοῦ πενθεροῦ
147vP αὐτοῦ Ἀσω|τίου τὸ Ἀρδανούτζι κατὰ τυραννίδα, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ εἰς ἀντισήκωσιν τό τε Τυρόκαστρον καὶ τὴν ποταμίαν τοῦ Ἀτζαρά, τὴν οὖσαν σύνορον Ῥωμανίας εἰς Κώλωριν. Εἶχεν δὲ γυναῖκα ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου Γεωργίου καὶ ἐξουσιαστοῦ Ἀβασγίας. Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένοντο κατ' ἀλλήλων ὅ τε μάγιστρος Κουρκένιος καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Γεώργιος καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴς Ἀβασγίας, διὰ τὸ συναγωνίζεσθαι τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀσώτιον τοῦ ἐξουσιαστοῦ Ἀβασγίας δυνηθεὶς ὁ Κουρκένιος ἀφείλετο καὶ τὴν ἀντισήκωσιν, ἣν δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρδανουτζίου, καὶ ἐδίωξεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς
207Be Ἀβασγίαν. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ μαγίστρου | Κουρκενίου, κα|τελείφθη
148rP τὸ Ἀρδανούτζι τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, τῇ τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ⟨καὶ⟩ Κισκάση, θυγατρὶ ὡς πατρικὸν αὐτῆς. Ὅτε δὲ διεμέριζον τὴν χώραν τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου μεθ' ὅπλων, ὅ τε Ἀσώτιος ὁ κουροπαλάτης καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Γεώργιος, ὁ ἐξουσιαστὴς Ἀβασγίας καὶ ὁ

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V 169 εἶχον] *litteras* εἶχ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 173 Ἔραξ (*littera* ἰ *erasa*) Py Meursius Ba Be: Ἱέραξ P V || 174 ὀφείλουσιν edd.: ὀφείλωσιν P.

burnt by the armies of our imperial majesty, and never without our army did the Iberians come out and raid Theodosioupolis, but always maintained friendship with them and traded with them; and while they said they wished Theodosioupolis to be taken, in their hearts they by no means desired its capture. However, our imperial majesty, for our love of the curopalate, as has been said, has consented that the river Erax, or Phasis, shall be the frontier between the two, and they must be content with retaining this much, and demand nothing more.

## 46. Of the genealogy of the Iberians and of the city of Ardanoutzi.

Pankratios and David the Mampalis, which means 'all-holy', were sons of the elder Symbatios the Iberian. Ardanoutzi fell to the inheritance of Pankratios, and other country fell to David. Pankratios had three sons, Adranaser, Kourkenios and the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and he divided his country among them, and Ardanoutzi fell to his son Kourkenios, who, dying childless, left it to his brother Asotios, called Kiskasis. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, married his daughter to the late magister Kourkenis, who, having grown great, revolted, and deprived his father-in-law Asotios of Ardanoutzi, and gave him in exchange Tyrokastron and the river region of Atzaras, which forms the frontier of Romania at Kolorin. Now, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had to wife the sister of the magister George, ruler of Abasgia. And when the magister Kourkenios and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, fell out with one another, the patrician Asotios took the side of the ruler of Abasgia, and for that reason Kourkenios, gaining the upper hand, deprived him even of what he had given him in exchange for Ardanoutzi, and expelled him, and he departed to Abasgia. On the death of the magister Kourkenios, Ardanoutzi was left to his wife, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, as her father's heiress. Now when Asotios the curopalate and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, and the magister Pankratios, brother of the aforesaid curopalate, were dividing up the country of the magister Kourkenios by

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**46.** 2 Ἀδρανουτζίου edd. ‖ 3 *post* Δαυὶδ *add.* καὶ edd. *omittendum coni.* Brosset ‖ *post* ὃ³ *addendum* καὶ *coni.* Marquart ‖ 5 Ἀρδανούτζη P: Ἀδρανούτζη edd. ‖ 6 τρεῖς V edd.: γʹ P ‖ 8 αὐτοῖς V edd. ‖ Ἀρδανούτζι Moravcsik: Ἀδρανούτζη P edd. ‖ 12 πεμθεροῦ P ‖ 13 Ἀρδανούτζη P: Ἀδρανούτζη Ba Be ‖ 15 *ante* Ῥωμανίας *add.* τῆς edd. ‖ Κόλωρην P ‖ 20 ἀφείλετο V edd.: ἀφείλατο P ‖ 21 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. ‖ 23 Ἀρδανούτζη P: Ἀδρανούτζη edd. ‖ 24 καὶ add. Moravcsik ‖

μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προρρηθέντος κουροπαλάτου, ἦλθον εἰς συμβίβασιν, καὶ ἐπῆρεν ἕκαστος τὸ πλησιάζον αὐτῷ. Τὸ δὲ Ἀρδανούτζιν ἐπλησίαζεν τῷ Συμβατίῳ, τῷ τοῦ προρρηθέντος Δαυὶδ υἱῷ. Τότε ἐκράτησαν πάντες τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου, ἤγουν τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση, λέγοντες, ὡς ὅτι· «Σὺ γυνὴ οὖσα οὐ δύνασαι κρατεῖν τὸ κάστρον.» Τότε δέ-
148vP δωκεν ὁ Συμ|βάτιος εἰς ἀντισήκωσιν τοῦ κάστρου χωρία τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀνελάβετο τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ συγγένεια τῶν τοιούτων Ἰβήρων τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. Τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀδρανασὲ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἀρτίως Ἀσωτίου τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, ὑπῆρχον δύο ἀδελφῶν παιδία, ἤγουν ἐξαδέλφαι. Εἶχεν δὲ Συμβάτιος, ὁ τοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱός, γυναῖκα τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ μαγίστρου Παγκρατίου, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Ἀδρανασῆ, τοῦ ἀρτίως μαγίστρου, καὶ τελευτησάσης, ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἀδρανασὴ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Δαυίδ.

Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν ἐστὶν ὀχυρὸν πάνυ, ἔχει δὲ καὶ
149rP 208Be ῥαπάτιν μέγα ὡς χωρόπολιν, καὶ αἱ πραγματεῖαι |τῆς| τε Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀβασγίας καὶ ἀπὸ πάσας τὰς χώρας τὰς Ἀρμενικὰς καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκεῖσε ἀφικνοῦνται, ἔχει δὲ καὶ κομμέρκιον ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων πραγματειῶν ἄπειρον. Ἡ δὲ χώρα τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, ἤτοι τὸ Ἀρζῦν ἐστιν καὶ πολλὴ καὶ εὔφορος, καὶ ὑπάρχει κλειδὶν τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας καὶ Ἀβασγίας καὶ τῶν Μισχιῶν.

Ὅτι ὁ μακάριος βασιλεύς, ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανὸς ἀπέστειλεν τὸν πατρίκιον Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ δρουγγάριον τοῦ πλωΐμου, τῷ τότε καιρῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου τυγχάνοντος, δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον μαγιστράτου πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸν Κουρκένιον τὸν Ἴβηρα μάγιστρον. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὸν πατρίκιον Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ δρουγγά-
149vP ριον τοῦ | πλωΐμου μέχρι Νικομηδείας εἰσῆλθεν ὁ μοναχὸς Ἀγάπιος ὁ τοῦ Κυμινᾶ, ὃς ἦν τῷ τότε καιρῷ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν εὐχῆς ἕνεκα. Καὶ διερχομένου αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, κατήντησεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν. Καὶ εἶχεν ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης καλούμενος, ἔχθραν μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κουρκένη, καὶ ἐλάλησεν εἰς τὸν μοναχὸν Ἀγάπιον, ὅτι· «Ἐνορκῶ σε εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, ἵνα ἀπέλθῃς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ εἴπῃς τὸν βασιλέα, ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ καὶ παραλάβῃ τὸ κάστρον μου καὶ ἔχῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ.» Ὁ δὲ μοναχὸς Ἀγάπιος εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει, διηγήσατο τὸν βασιλέα, ὅσα ἐλάλησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πατρί-

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V 29 Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 32 ὡς *om.* V edd. || 33 ἀντισήκωσιν: συνάντησιν V edd. || 34 τοιοῦτο V edd. || Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 36 Τοῦ Δαυίδ: τοῦ Συμβατίου

force of arms, they came to an accommodation and each took what was next to him. And Ardanoutzi lay next to Symbatios, son of the aforesaid David. Then all of them seized on the widow of the magister Kourkenios, that is, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and said to her: «You, as a woman, cannot possess the city.» Then Symbatios gave the woman territories in exchange for the city, and took the city of Ardanoutzin.

These Iberians are related to one another in the following manner. The mother of David and the mother of Adranase the curopalate, father of the present curopalate Asotios, were the children of two brothers, that is to say, they were first cousins. Symbatios, the son of David, had to wife the daughter of the magister Pankratios, father of Adranasi who is now magister, and after her death Adranasi married the sister of Symbatios, son of David.

The city of Ardanoutzin is very strongly defended, and has moreover a considerable suburban area like a provincial city, and the commerce of Trapezus and of Iberia and of Abasgia and from the whole country of Armenia and Syria comes to it, and it has an enormous customs revenue from this commerce. The country of the city of Ardanoutzin, the 'Arzyn', is both extensive and fertile, and it is a key of Iberia and Abasgia and of the Mischians.

The emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, sent the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, who was at that time protospatharius and lictor, with a tunic of the magistracy in order to make Kourkenios the Iberian a magister. When the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, had reached Nicomedeia, the monk Agapios of Kyminas came on the scene, who had at that time been visiting the holy city to fulfil a vow. In his passage through Iberia he had come to the city of Ardanoutzin. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, had spoken thus to the monk Agapios: «I adjure you, by God and by the power of the honourable and life-giving Cross, to go to Constantinople and tell the emperor to send and take over my city, and have it beneath his dominion.» The monk Agapios came to Constantinople and related to the emperor all that the patrician

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*seu* ⟨Συμβατίου τοῦ υἱοῦ⟩ τοῦ Δαβὶδ *coni.* Brosset Laskin || Ἀδρανασὴ edd. || 40 Ἀδρανασή edd. || 42 Ἀδρανούτζιν Ba Be || ὀχυρόν ἐστι πάνυ V edd. || 43 ῥαπάτην P || μέγα V edd.: μέγαν P || χωρόπολιν: χωρόπουλον *sive* χωριόπουλον *coni.* Meursius || 44 τῆς$^{2}$ *om.* V edd. || πάσας τὰς χώρας τὰς Ἀρμενικὰς: πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀρμενίας edd. || 46/7 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουζίου P Ἀδρανουτζίου edd. || 47 Ἀρζήν edd. || 48 κλειδὴν P || Μισχιῶν: Μοσχιῶν *coni.* Meursius Bandurius Laskin || 49 κύρης P || 50 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντα edd. || 51 πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου τυγχάνοντος: πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ μαγγλαβίτῃ τυγχάνοντι *coni.* Brosset || 52 μαγιστράτου edd.: μαγιστράτον P || 53 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντα edd. || 55 Κυμηνὰ P || καιρῷ: χρόνῳ edd. || 57 Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 62 ἔχῃ edd.: ἔχει P ||

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150rP 209Be κιος | Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης. Τοῦ δὲ προρρηθέντος πατρι|κίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωΐμου ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τυγχάνοντος διὰ τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν τῆς προβολῆς τοῦ μαγίστρου τοῦ Κουρκένη Ἴβηρος ὑπόθεσιν, ἐκ προστάξεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδέξατο πιττάκιον τοῦ πατρικίου Συμεών, τοῦ πρωτοασηκρῆτις, ὡς ὅτι· «Κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος καταλιπεῖν σε πάσας σου τὰς δουλείας καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐν συντομίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀσώτιον, τὸν καὶ Κισκάσην λεγόμενον, καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἀγαπίου ἐδηλοποίησεν τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ ἀπο-
150vP σταλῆναι πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ οἰκεῖον τοῦ παραλαβεῖν | τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν· καὶ ἀπερχομένου σου ἐν Χαλδίᾳ, ἀναλαβοῦ ἄρχοντας χρησίμους, οὓς ἐπίστασαι εἶναι ἠνδρειωμένους καὶ πιστούς, καὶ εἴσελθε καὶ κράτησον τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.» Τοῦ δὲ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωΐμου ἀπελθόντος ἐν Χαλδίᾳ καὶ ἀναλαβομένου τουρμάρχας χρησίμους καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ λαὸν μέχρι τῶν τʹ, εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος Δαυίδ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἀρτίως κουροπαλάτου, λέγων πρὸς αὐτόν· «Ποῦ ἀπεστάλης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τί δουλείαν ὀφείλεις ἐκτελέσαι, ὅτι τοσοῦτον λαὸν ἐπιφέρῃ μετὰ σεαυτοῦ;» Ἐσκέπτοντο γὰρ διὰ τὸ
151rP ἀποθανεῖν Ἀδρανασὲ τὸν κουροπαλάτην, ὅτι μήπως | ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Κουρκένιον ὀφείλει τιμῆσαι κουροπαλάτην, ἐπειδὴ ἀναμεταξὺ οἱ τοῦ Ἀδρανασὲ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου παῖδες, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν τελευτησάντος,
210Be φιλονικίας τινὰς ἔσχον μετὰ τοῦ ἐξαδέλ|φου αὐτῶν. Διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπολῦσαι μετὰ μεγάλου κανισκίου τὸν Κουρκένιον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαιτούμενον τὸ κουροπαλατίκιν ἢ τὸ μαγιστρᾶτον, ὑπέλαβον οἱ τέσσαρες ἀδελφοί, ἤγουν οἱ τοῦ Ἀδρανασὲ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου παῖδες, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸν Κουρκένιον κουροπαλάτην ἀπέρχεται ἐκεῖσε. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος ἀπελογήσατο, ὅτι· «Διὰ τὸ μέλλειν με τιμῆσαι τὸν Κουρκένιον μάγιστρον ἐπιφέρομαι καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον
151vP λαόν.» Καὶ ἀπελθόντος | τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὴν χώραν τοῦ Κουρκενίου, ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν μάγιστρον καὶ ἀποχαιρετίσας αὐτὸν * * *, ὅτι· «Ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὸν Δαυὶδ τὸν μάγιστρον.» Εἶχεν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαυὶδ κέλευσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ξένια. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση, εἰς τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου περιέχουσάν τι, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑτέρων ὑποθέσεων. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ

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*V* 65 Κωνσταντίνου *per comp.* P: Κώσταντος edd. ‖ 67 ἐδέξατο: ἔλαβε τὸ edd. ‖ 68 πρωτοασηκρίτης *per comp.* P: ἀσηκρῆτις edd. ‖ 71 Ἀρδανούτζιν F

Asotios, called Kiskasis, had said to him. The aforesaid patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, who was at Nicomedeia on the aforesaid business of appointing Kourkenios the Iberian to be magister, received by command of the emperor a missive of the patrician Symeon, the head of the imperial chancellery, which said: «Our holy emperor commands that you leave all you are engaged upon and go in haste to the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and take over his city of Ardanoutzin, since he has declared to our holy emperor, by the mouth of the monk Agapios, that a trustworthy and familiar servant should be sent to take over his city of Ardanoutzin; go, then, to Chaldia and take some capable officers, whom you know to be brave and trustworthy, and enter and take possession of this city.» The patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, went to Chaldia and took capable lieutenant-generals and officers and men to the number of 300, and entered Iberia and fell into the hands of David, of blessed memory, brother of Asotios who is now curopalate, who said to him: «Whither have you been sent by the emperor and what task are you to perform, that you bring so many men along with you?» For they suspected that, now Adranase the curopalate was dead, the emperor must be about to honour Kourkenios with the rank of curopalate; because, in the mean time, the sons of the curopalate Adranase had, after their father's death, had certain quarrels with their cousin. And since Kourkenios had dispatched his chief man with a large gift to the emperor, requesting that he might be made curopalate or magister, the four brothers, that is, the sons of Adranase the curopalate, assumed that *the patrician Constantine* came thither to create Kourkenios curopalate. But the patrician Constantine put them off by saying: «Because I am about to honour Kourkenios with the rank of magister I bring with me so many men.» And the patrician Constantine went off to the country of Kourkenios and honoured him with the rank of magister, and, bidding him farewell, *said:* «I am going to David the magister.» For this same patrician Constantine had for David also a mandate and presents from the emperor. And he entered Ardanoutzin, the city of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and gave him the imperial mandate addressed to him, which contained nothing about the city of Ardanoutzin, but was about other matters. But

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ʼΑρδανούζην P: ʼΑδρανούτζιν edd. || 72/3 ἀποσταλῆναι: ἀποστεῖλαι edd. || 74 ʼΑδρανούτζιν edd. || 77 Κωνσταντίνου *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντος edd. || 79 τῶν *om.* edd. || 81 τί: τίνα edd. || ὀφείλεις edd.: ὀφείλῃς P || 82 τὸ Be το (*sine acc.*) P: τοῦτο V Me Ba || 83 *post* τὸν¹ *add.* καὶ edd. || 84 ὀφείλῃ edd. || 87 πρῶτον V edd.: αʹ P || αὐτοῦ *om.* V edd. || ἀπολῦσαι: ἀποστεῖλαι V edd. || 88 κουροπαλατίκην P || 88/9 μαγιστράτον P || 89 τέσσαρες edd.: δʹ P || οἱ² *om.* V edd. || 90 *ante* παῖδες *add.* οἱ V edd. || 91 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 93 Καὶ ἀπελθόντος — 95 μάγιστρον *post* ξένια (97) *transp.* edd. || 93 Κωνσταντίνου *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντος edd. || 95 *lac. ind.* εἶπεν *aut aliquid simile excidisse coniciens* Moravcsik || 96 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 98 ʼΑδρανούτζιν edd. || 99 ʼΑρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: ʼΑδρανουτζίου P edd. ||

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πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος, ὅτι· «Κἂν μὲν ἡ κέλευσις οὐδὲν περιέχει περὶ
τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, ἀλλ᾿ οὖν τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἀγαπίου πρὸς τὸν
152rP βασιλέα εἰσελθόντος καὶ ἀναγγείλαντος αὐτόν, ὅσα καὶ | παρήγγειλας
αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέστειλέν με,
ὅπως παραλάβω τὸ κάστρον καὶ εἰσαγάγω ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅνπερ περιφέρομαι
λαόν.» Καὶ ἐπειδή, καθὰ προείρηται, εἶχεν ἔχθραν ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος,
211Be ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, | τοῦ Κουρκένη, προεθυμήθη
δοῦναι τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταν-
τῖνος εἶχεν παρ᾿ ἑαυτῷ φλάμμουλα, καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν τῷ πατρικίῳ Ἀσω-
τίῳ, τῷ καὶ Κισκάσῃ. Ὁ δὲ βαλὼν αὐτὸ εἰς κοντάριον, ἐπιδέδωκεν
τῷ πατρικίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ εἰπών, ὅτι· «Ἐπίστησον αὐτὸ ἄνωθεν εἰς
τὸ τεῖχος, ἵνα γνῶσιν πάντες τοῦ βασιλέως εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον
152vP ἡμέρας τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.» Καὶ τοῦτο | ποιήσας ὁ πατρίκιος Κων-
σταντῖνος καὶ τὸ φλάμμουλον ἐπιστήσας ἄνωθεν τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοὺς
βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς εὐφημήσας, πᾶσιν ἐγένετο
γνωστόν, ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν ἀπεχαρίσατο ὁ πατρίκιος
Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, τὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ οὖν Δαυίδ, ὁ μέγας, τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ χώραν οὐκ ἐδίδου τὸν βασιλέα, κἂν τάχα συνορῇ τὴν τοῦρμαν
τοῦ Ἀκαμψῆ καὶ τῇ Μουργούλῃ. Ὁ οὖν πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνήγαγε
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαποστείλας δύο ἀναφοράς, τὴν μὲν μίαν περιέχουσαν,
ὅπως ἐτίμησεν τὸν Κουρκένην μάγιστρον, καὶ ὅπως ὁ Κουρκένιος ἀπεδέ-
ξατο τὸ μαγιστρᾶτον, καὶ εὐφήμησεν τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν περιέ-
χουσαν περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, καὶ ὅπως τοῦτο παρέλαβεν
153rP | παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση, καὶ ὅτι μεγάλην διαφο-
ρὰν καὶ ἔχθραν ἔχουσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅ τε πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος μετὰ
τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου, καὶ ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ ὁ
212Be βα|σιλεὺς βοήθειαν τοῦ ταξατεῦσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ ὅτι, εἰ
ἐνδέχεται, ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν. Ταῦτα ἰδόντες οἱ Ἴβηρες,
ὅ τε μάγιστρος Κουρκένιος καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Δαυίδ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κουρο-
παλάτου Ἀσωτίου, ἔγραψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτι· «Εἰ τοῦτο κατα-
δέξηται ἡ βασιλεία σου, καὶ εἰσέλθῃ μέσον τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν, ἐξερχόμεθα
τῆς δουλώσεως τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ γινόμεθα μετὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν,
153vP ἐπειδὴ ἔχειν ἔχομεν μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαί|ων μάχας καὶ πολέμια, καὶ βιαζό-
μενοι κινῆσαι ἔχομεν φοσσᾶτον κατά τε τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου
καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ῥωμανίας.» Ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τῶν

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*V* 101 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 102 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 103 παρήγγειλας V edd.: παρείγγειλας (*litteris* ει *in ras. scriptis*) P[1] || 104 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 108/9 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 109

the patrician Constantine said to him: «Although the mandate contains nothing about the city of Ardanoutzin, none the less the monk Agapios came to the emperor and reported to him all that you had bidden him about the city of Ardanoutzin, and therefore *the emperor* has sent me, to take over the city and introduce into it the men I bring along with me.» And since, as has been said above, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, was at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, he had made up his mind the rather to give his city to the emperor. The patrician Constantine had with him standards and he gave *one* to the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis. He put it upon a pike and gave it to the patrician Constantine, saying: «Set it up on top of the wall, that all may know that from this day this city belongs to the emperor.» The patrician Constantine did so and set the standard on top of the wall and made the customary salutations of the emperors of the Romans, so that it became known to all that the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had made a present of the city of Ardanoutzin to the emperor. Now, the elder David made no offer of his country to the emperor, notwithstanding it marched with the county of Akampsis and with Mourgouli. So then the patrician Constantine reported to the emperor in two dispatches, the one containing the news of how he had honoured Kourkenios with the rank of magister, and of how Kourkenios had accepted the magistracy and saluted the emperor; and the other containing news about the city of Ardanoutzin, and of how he had taken it over from the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and that the patrician Asotios and his son-in-law the magister Kourkenios had a great quarrel and feud with one another, and that the emperor should send succour for the garrisoning of this city, and that, should it be possible, the commander-in-chief should also come. When the Iberians, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of the curopalate Asotios, saw what was done, they wrote to the emperor: «If your imperial majesty approves this and enters our country, then we put off our servitude to your imperial majesty and make common cause with the Saracens, since we shall have fighting and hostilities with the Romans and shall, perforce, move an army against the city of Ardanoutzin and its country, and against Romania itself.» *The emperor*, having learnt

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φλάμουλα P || 110 βαλὼν: λαβὼν V edd. || *post* κοντάριον *add.* περιέθηκε καὶ V edd. || 111 Κωνσταντίνῳ *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνσταντι Ba Be || 113/4 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 114 φλάμουλλον P || 116 Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 118 τούρμαν P || 119 Ἀκαμψὴ P || Μουργούλη Be: Μούργουλη P || Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 121 Κουρκένιον edd. || 122 μαγιστράτον P || 123 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 124 καὶ Κισκάση V edd.: Κεκισκάση P || 126 τοῦ[2] *om.* edd. || 129 *post* Δαυίδ *add.* καὶ edd. || 134 φοσσάτον P || Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 135 αὐτοῦ *coni.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. ||

γραμμάτων τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀρχόντων ἀναμαθὼν καὶ παρὰ τῶν
ἀποσταλέντων παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκηκοὼς καί πτοηθείς, μήπως
γένωνται μετὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἐξαγάγωσι τὰ τῆς Περσίας φοσσᾶτα
κατὰ Ῥωμανίας, ἠρνήσατο λέγων, ὅτι· «Οὐκ ἔγραψα τὸν πρωτοσπαθά-
ριον Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ μαγγλαβίτην περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου καὶ
τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκείας ὡς εἰπεῖν
ἀφροσύνης τοῦτο ἐποίησεν.» Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς, τελείως ἀπο-
154rP θεραπεῦσαι τούτους βουλόμενος, καὶ ἐδέξατ|ο ὁ αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος
Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ μαγγλαβίτης κέλευσιν μετὰ ὕβρεων καὶ ἀπειλῶν
περιέχουσαν· «Τίς διωρίσατό σοι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; Ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔξελθε
213Be ἐκ τοῦ κάστρου, καὶ ἀναλαβοῦ Ἀσώτιον, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ τελευ|τηκότος
Ἀδρανασέ, τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, καὶ εἰσάγαγε αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα, ὅπως
τιμήσωμεν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν τοῦ κουροπαλάτου.»
Ταῦτα δεξάμενος ὁ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος, κατέλιπεν τὸν πατρίκιον
Ἀσώτιον, τὸν καὶ Κισκάσην, εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κάστρον, τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν,
κἀκεῖνος ἐξελθὼν ἀπῄει πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδ, τὸν μέγαν, καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν
αὐτῷ, ἥνπερ εἶχεν πρὸς αὐτὸν κέλευσιν, καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν
154vP εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ εὗρεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ | συνηθροισμένους τόν τε μάγιστρον
Κουρκένιον καὶ τὸν μάγιστρον Δαυίδ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀσωτίου τοῦ κουρο-
παλάτου. Καὶ ἤρξαντο φιλονικεῖν καὶ κατονειδίζειν τὸν πατρίκιον Κων-
σταντῖνον, λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Κρυπτὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τυγχάνεις,
ὅτι οὐκ ἐφανέρωσας ἡμᾶς περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, ὅτι μέλλεις
τοῦτο κρατῆσαι» καὶ ὅτι· «Οὐ συμφέρει τοῦτο κρατεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως, ἡμεῖς γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἀνηγάγομεν
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐδεξάμεθα μηδαμῶς γινώσκειν τὸν βασιλέα περὶ
τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης, ἀλλὰ σὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ
πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση.» Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος
155rP προσαπολογησάμενος τούτοις | τὰ εἰκότα, ἀνελάβετο Ἀσώτιον, τὸν
υἱὸν Ἀδρανασὲ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει,
καὶ ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κουροπαλάτης.

Τί δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔν τισι καιροῖς μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ διαφόρων
ἐθνῶν συμβεβηκότων; Ἄξιον γάρ, φίλτατε υἱέ, μηδὲ τὴν περὶ τούτων
214Be μνήμην διαφυγεῖν σε, ἵν' ἐν ὁμοίοις | καιροῖς, τῶν αὐτῶν προσπιπτόν-
των, εἴη σοι εὐχερὴς ἡ ἐπανόρθωσις διὰ τῆς προγνώσεως.

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*F* 168 ἐν ὁμοίοις — 169 προγνώσεως: cf. Thucyd. I. 22, 4.

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*V* 138 φοσσάτα P || 140 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P Me: Κώνσταντα Ba Be || καί[1]: τὸν edd. || 144 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 145 διορίσατο

of these things through the letters of the aforesaid princes and having heard them from their envoys, and being terrified lest perchance they might make common cause with the Saracens and lead out the armies of Persia against Romania, denied it, saying: «I did not write to the protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, about this city and its country, telling him to take it over, but out of his own folly, so to say, he has done this.» So spoke the emperor in his desire to give them all satisfaction; and this same protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, received a mandate couched in terms of insult and menace: «Who instructed you to do this? Come you, the rather, out of the city and take Asotios, son of the late Adranase the curopalate, and conduct him hither, so that we may honour him with his father's rank of curopalate.» On receipt of these orders, the patrician Constantine abandoned the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, in his city of Ardanoutzin, and himself took leave and departed to the elder David and gave him the mandate which he had for him, and returned and entered Iberia and found, met together in one place, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of Asotios the curopalate. And they began to quarrel with and to heap abuse upon the patrician Constantine, saying: «You are a sly and evil fellow in not revealing to us, concerning the city of Ardanoutzin, that you were about to take possession of it», and, «It is not the emperor's policy to possess himself of it, for we ourselves reported to the emperor on this affair and have received a reply that the emperor knows nothing whatsoever about this affair, but that you have done this out of love of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis.» The patrician Constantine made a reasonable defence to these charges, and took Asotios, son of Adranase the curopalate, and conducted him to Constantinople, and he was honoured by the emperor with the dignity of curopalate.

But what of events which have taken place at various times between the Romans and different nations? For it is worth while, my dearest son, that record of these things also should not escape you, in order that, should the same things come about on similar occasions, you may by foreknowledge find a ready remedy.

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P || **146** τετελευτηκότος edd. || **149** Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || **150** καὶ Κισκάσην V[1] edd.: Κεκισκάσην P V || Ἀρδανούτζιν Moravcsik: Ἀδρανούτζιν P edd. || **151** ἀπήει edd.: ἀπείη P || μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || **152** ἥνπερ εἶχεν: ἣν περιεῖχε edd. || **155/6** Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P Me: Κώνσταντα Ba Be || **156** τυγχάνεις Ba Be: τυγχάνης P || **157** Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || μέλλεις Be: μέλλης P || **158** Οὐ *om.* edd. || **162** καὶ Κισκάσῃ V edd.: Κεκισκάσῃ P || Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || **163** προσαπολογισάμενος P || **164** Ἀδρανασῆ edd. || **166** Τί: Ἴσθι Be Migne || **167** τὴν περὶ: περὶ τὴν Be.

## 47. Περὶ τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων μεταναστάσεως ἔχει ἡ ἱστορία τάδε.

Τῆς νήσου ἁλωθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν
ἀοικήτου μεινάσης, καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἰωάννου μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ
155rP αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβόντος, ἐγένετο οἰκονο|μία παρὰ
τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἕκτῃ συνόδῳ τοῦ τὴν Κύζικον
παραλαβεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς νήσου καὶ
ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χειροτονίας, ἡνίκα ἂν λείψῃ ἐπίσκοπος, πρὸς τὸ μὴ δια-
πεσεῖν τὴν αὐθεντίαν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς Κύπρου (καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς
ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Κύπριος ἦν, καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν
Κυπρίων ὁ λόγος μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἐπεκράτησεν), ὥστε καὶ ὡρίσθη
ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἕκτῃ συνόδῳ χειροτονεῖν τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κύπρου τὸν
τῆς Κυζίκου πρόεδρον, καθὼς ἐν τῷ λθ΄ κεφαλαίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας
ἕκτης συνόδου ἀναγέγραπται.

Μετὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ἔτη θελήσει Θεοῦ ἐκινήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς πάλιν οἰκίσαι
156rP τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν | πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμουμνῆν τοῦ Βαγδὰδ τρεῖς
τῶν ἐνδόξων Κυπρίων, αὐτόχθονας τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου τυγχάνοντας, τοὺς
λεγομένους Φαγγουμεῖς, μετὰ καὶ βασιλικοῦ τινος ἀγχίνου τε καὶ ἐνδό-
215Be ξου, γράψας | τῷ ἀμερμουμνῇ, ἵνα τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα λαὸν τῆς νήσου
Κύπρου ἀπολύσῃ εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. Καὶ ὑπακούσας ὁ ἀμερμουμνῆς
τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως γραφῇ, ἀπέστειλε κατὰ πάσας τὰς Συρίας ἐνδόξους
Σαρακηνούς, καὶ ἐπεσώρευσεν πάντας τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ διεπέρασεν
εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. Ἀπέστειλεν δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς βασιλικόν, καὶ διεπέρα-
σεν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ῥωμανίᾳ οἰκήσαντας, ἤγουν ἔν τε τῇ Κυζίκῳ καὶ τῷ
156vP Κιβυρραιωτῶν καὶ τῷ Θρᾳκησίων, καὶ ἐνῳκίσθη | ἡ νῆσος.

## 48. Κεφάλαιον λθ΄ τῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης συνόδου, τῆς ἐν τῷ Τρούλλῳ τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου γεγονυίας.

Τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου, τοῦ τῆς Κυπρίων νήσου προέδρου, ἅμα τῷ οἰκείῳ λαῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλησπόντιον ἐπαρχίαν —

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*F* 48. 3 Τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ — 21 χειροτονηθήσεται: Canon XXXIX. VII. Conc. ed. Mansi XI. c. 961. = ed. Ralles—Potles II. p. 395.

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*V* 47. 1/2 ἔχει ἡ ἱστορία τάδε: ἡ ἱστορία ὧδε πως ἔχει V || 4 ἀοικήτου (*littera* ν *erasa*) Px V edd.: ἀνοικήτου P || 9 καὶ γὰρ — 11 ἐπεκράτησεν *in parenthesi posuit* Be || 10 ὁ² *om.* edd. || Κυπρίος P || 11 ὁρίσθη P || 13 λθ΄

## 47. Of the migration of the Cypriots the story is as follows.

When the island was captured by the Saracens and remained uninhabited seven years, and the archbishop John came with his folk to the imperial city, a dispensation was made by the emperor Justinian in the holy sixth synod that he, with his bishops and the folk of the island, should take over Cyzicus and should make his appointments whenever a bishopric should fall vacant, to the end that the authority and rights of Cyprus might not be interrupted (for the emperor Justinian himself also was a Cypriot, as from the Cypriots of olden days the tale has persisted unto this day); and so it was ordained in the holy sixth synod that the archbishop of Cyprus should appoint the president of Cyzicus, as it is recorded in the 39th chapter of the same holy sixth synod.

But after seven years, by God's will the emperor was moved to populate Cyprus again, and he sent to the commander of the faithful of Bagdad three of the illustrious Cypriots, natives of the same island, called Phangoumeis, in charge of an imperial agent both intelligent and illustrious, and wrote to the commander of the faithful asking him to dismiss the folk of the island of Cyprus that were in Syria to their own place. The commander of the faithful obeyed the emperor's epistle, and sent illustrious Saracens to all the parts of Syria and gathered together all the Cypriots and carried them over to their own place. And the emperor, for his part, sent an imperial agent and carried over those who had settled in Romania, that is, at Cyzicus and in the Kibyrrhaiote and Thrakesian *provinces*, and the island was populated.

## 48. Chapter 39 of the holy sixth synod, held in the Domed Hall of the Great Palace.

Whereas our brother and fellow-minister John, president of the isle of the Cypriots, because of the barbarian assaults and to the end that they

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Ba Be: τϑ′ P ‖ 15 ἑπτὰ edd.: ζ′ P ‖ οἰκίσαι Be: οἰκεῖσαι P οἰκῆσαι V Me Ba ‖ 16 ἀμερμουμνὴν P ‖ 19 ἀμερμουμνὴ P ‖ ἐν *om.* Be ‖ 20 ἀπολύσῃ Be: ἀπολύσει P ‖ 21 πάσας τὰς Συρίας: πάσης τῆς Συρίας Be πάσας τῆς Συρίας Me Ba ‖ 25 Κιβυρραιωτῶν edd.: Κιβυρρωτῶν P ‖ Θρᾳκησίων *corr.* Moravcsik: Θρακήσιν P Θρακησίῳ edd. ‖ ἐνοικίσϑη P.

48. 2 Τρουλλῶ P ‖ γεγονυίας: γενομένης V edd. ‖ 3 Κυπρίων Mansi Ralles-Potles: Κυπρίου P Κύπρου Be Ralles-Potles *in apparatu* ‖ 4 Ἑλλησπόντιον Meursius Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: Ἐλίσπονδον P ‖ 5 τὰς βαρβαρικὰς

## 48

διά τε τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἐφόδους, διά τε τὸ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἐλευθερωθῆναι δουλείας καὶ καθαρῶς τοῖς σκήπτροις τοῦ Χριστιανικωτάτου κράτους ὑποταγῆναι — τῆς εἰρημένης μεταναστάντος νήσου προνοίᾳ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ καὶ μόχθῳ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως, συνορῶμεν, ὥστε ἀκαινοτόμητα διαφυλαχθῆναι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ 157rP τὸ πρότερον συνελθόντων θεοφόρων πατέρων τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ προ|γεγραμ- 216Be μένου ἀνδρὸς παρασχεθέντα προνόμια, | ὥστε τὴν νέαν Ἰουστινιανούπολιν τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς Κωνσταντινέων πόλεως καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ καθιστάμενον θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον πάντων προεδρεύειν ⟨τῶν⟩ τῆς Ἑλλησποντίων ἐπαρχίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν (τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔθη καὶ οἱ θεοφόροι ἡμῶν πατέρες παραφυλάττεσθαι διεγνώκασιν), τοῦ τῆς Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπισκόπου ὑποκειμένου τῷ προέδρῳ τῆς εἰρημένης Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως, μιμήσει τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ἐπισκόπων τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν λεχθέντα θεοφιλέστατον πρόεδρον Ἰωάννην, ἀφ' οὗ, χρείας 157vP καλούσης, καὶ ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος | χειροτονηθήσεται.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐθνῶν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς σοι διετυπώσαμεν καὶ προεξεθέμεθα, δίκαιον μὴ μόνον περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ πάσης τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς κατά τινας χρόνους καινοτομηθέντων σαφῆ κεκτῆσθαί σε τὴν εἴδησιν, ὡς ἂν ἡ περὶ τῶν ἐγγυτέρω καὶ οἰκείων γνῶσις πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἐν σοὶ διαμένουσα ποθεινότερον ἀναδείξῃ πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ καὶ Πωγωνάτου καλουμένου, Καλλίνικός τις ἀπὸ Ἡλιουπόλεως Ῥωμαίοις 217Be προσφυγών, τὸ διὰ τῶν σιφώνων ἐκφερόμενον πῦρ | ὑγρὸν κατεσκεύασεν, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλον ἐν Κυζίκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι καταφλέξαν- 158rP τες | τὴν νίκην ἤραντο.

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*F* 28 Ἰστέον — 32 ἤραντο: cf. Theoph. p. 354, 13—17; Leo Gramm., ed. Bonn. p. 160, 6—10; Theod. Melit., ed. Tafel p. 110, 14—18; Cedr., ed. Bonn. I. p. 765, 11—15; Zon. XIV. 20., ed. Bonn. III. p. 223, 16—224,4.

might be free from slavery to the infidel and be subject unfeignedly to the sceptre of his most Christian majesty, hath with his own folk migrated from the said isle to the province of Hellespont, by the providence and mercy of God and by the labour of our Christ-loving and pious emperor; we do resolve: that the privileges accorded unto the throne of the aforesaid by the fathers inspired of God at their sometimes meeting in Ephesus shall be preserved uninjured; that the new Justinianoupolis shall have the right of the city of the Constantinians; and that the most pious bishop who is set over it shall preside over all *the bishops* of the province of Hellespont, and shall be appointed by his own bishops, according to the ancient custom (for our fathers inspired of God have resolved that the practices in each church are to be preserved), the bishop of the city of the Cyzicenes being subject to the president of the said Justinianoupolis in like manner as are all the rest of the bishops under the said most pious president John, by whom as need shall arise the bishop also of the same city of the Cyzicenes shall be appointed.

But now that we have thus accurately formulated and set before you the matters concerning foreign nations, it is right that you should be certainly informed about reforms introduced, not only in the affairs of our city, but at various times over all the empire of the Romans, to the end that knowledge of things closer at hand and domestic may abide with you preeminently and may show you more worthy of affection to your subjects.

In the time of Constantine, son of Constantine, called Pogonatus, one Callinicus fled from Helioupolis to the Romans and manufactured the liquid fire which is projected through the tubes, by the aid of which the Romans gutted the fleet of the Saracens at Cyzicus, and gained the victory.

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*V* Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ P || ἐθνικῆς edd. Mansi Ralles-Potles: ἐθνηκούς P || 6 τοῖς σκήπτροις edd. Mansi Ralles-Potles: τοῖς Κύπροις P || 7 μεταναστάντος edd.: μεταστάντος P Mansi Ralles-Potles *in apparatu* || 11 παρασχεθέντα προνόμια edd. Mansi Ralles-Potles: πραχθέντα προνοία P || 12 Κωνσταντινέων πόλεως: Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Me Mansi Ralles-Potles || 13 τῶν *add.* Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles || 14 Ἑλλησποντίων Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: Ἐλισπόντων P || 15 τὰ γὰρ — 16 διεγνώκασιν *in parenthesi posuit* Be || 15 ἔθη Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: ἔθνη P || 19 ἀφ': ὑφ' Mansi Ralles-Potles || 24 πάσης τῆς V edd.: πᾶσι τῆ P || ἀρχῆς V edd.: ἀρχὴ P || 28 Κωνσταντίνου[2] F: Κωνσταντίου P V F[1] edd. || 30 σιφόνων P || πῦρ ὑγρὸν: πῦρ θαλάσσιον Theoph.

## 49. Ὁ ζητῶν, ὅπως τῇ τῶν Πατρῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ Σκλάβοι δουλεύειν καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι ἐτάχθησαν, ἐκ τῆς παρούσης μανθανέτω γραφῆς.

Νικηφόρος τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα ἐκράτει, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ
θέματι ὄντες Πελοποννήσου ἀπόστασιν ἐννοήσαντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὰς
τῶν γειτόνων οἰκίας τῶν Γραικῶν ἐξεπόρθουν καὶ εἰς ἁρπαγὴν ἐτίθεντο,
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῆς τῶν Πατρῶν ὁρμήσαντες πόλεως,
τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους πεδία κατέστρεφόν τε καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκουν, μεθ'
ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ Ἀφρικοὺς Σαρακηνούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ χρόνος ἱκανὸς
158ᵛP διῆλθεν, καὶ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ἔνδοθεν τοῦ τείχους | γίνεσθαι
ἤρξατο, ὕδατός τε καὶ τροφῶν, βουλὴν βουλεύονται εἰς συμβιβάσεις τε
ἐλθεῖν καὶ λόγους ἀπαθείας λαβεῖν καὶ τηνικαῦτα τὴν πόλιν ὑποτάξαι
αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ τηνικαῦτα στρατηγὸς ὑπῆρχεν πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ
θέματος ἐν κάστρῳ Κορίνθου, καὶ προσδοκία ἦν τοῦ παραγενέσθαι
αὐτὸν καὶ καταπολεμῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Σκλαβήνων, ὡς καὶ πρώην
καταμηνυθέντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς καταδρομῆς αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόν-
των, ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οἰκήτορες πρότερον ἀποσταλῆναι
218Be σκοπὸν εἰς τὰ ἀνατολικώτερα τῶν ὀρέων καὶ ἀπο|σκοπεῦσαι καὶ γνῶναι,
εἰ ἄρα παραγίνεται ὁ στρατηγός, παραγγείλαντες καὶ σημεῖον δεδωκότες
159ʳP τῷ ἀποσταλμένῳ, ἵνα, εἰ | μὲν ἴδοι ἐρχόμενον τὸν στρατηγόν, ἐν τῇ
ὑποστροφῇ αὐτοῦ κλίνῃ τὸ φλάμμουλον, ὅπως γνῶσιν τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ, εἰ δὲ μή γε, κατέχειν ὀρθὸν τὸ φλάμμουλον πρὸς τὸ μὴ
ἔχειν αὐτοὺς προσδοκίαν ⟨τοῦ⟩ τοῦ λοιποῦ παραγίνεσθαι τὸν στρατηγόν.
Τοῦ οὖν σκοποῦ ἀπελθόντος καὶ μαθόντος μὴ παραγίνεσθαι τὸν στρατηγόν,
ὑπέστρεφεν ὀρθὸν κατέχων τὸ φλάμμουλον. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐδοκή-
σαντος διὰ πρεσβειῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου, τοῦ ἵππου ὀλισθή-
σαντος καὶ τοῦ ἐπιβάτου ὑποπεπτωκότος, ἔκλινεν τὸ φλάμμουλον, καὶ
οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οἰκήτορες ἰδόντες τὸ γεγονὸς σημεῖον καὶ νομίσαντες
ἐξ ἅπαντος παραγίνεσθαι τὸν στρατηγόν, ἤνοιξαν τὰς πύλας τοῦ κάστρου,
159ᵛP καὶ ἐξῆλθον | θαρσαλέοι κατὰ τῶν Σκλαβήνων, καὶ εἶδον τὸν πρωτόκλη-
τον ἀπόστολον ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ἵππῳ ἐπικαθήμενον καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπερχό-
μενον κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ δὴ τρέψας τούτους κατὰ κράτος καὶ
διασκορπίσας καὶ ἀπελάσας πόρρω τοῦ κάστρου φυγάδας ἐποίησεν. Οἱ
δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες καὶ καταπλαγέντες καὶ ἔκθαμβοι γεγονότες ἐπὶ
τῇ κατ' αὐτῶν κραταιᾷ ἐπελεύσει τοῦ ἀηττήτου καὶ ἀκαταγωνίστου
ὁπλίτου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ταξιάρχου καὶ τροπαιούχου καὶ νικηφόρου

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*F* **49.** 4 Νικηφόρος — 75 αὐτούς: cf. Synodalis epistola patriarchae Nicolai III Grammatici, ed. Migne, P. G. 119. c. 877 D—880 A. = ed. Ralles—Potles, V. p. 72.

## 49. He who enquires how the Slavs were put in servitude and subjection to the church of Patras, let him learn from the present passage.

Nicephorus was holding the sceptre of the Romans, and these *Slavs* who were in the province of Peloponnesus decided to revolt, and first proceeded to sack the dwellings of their neighbours, the Greeks, and gave them up to rapine, and next they moved against the inhabitants of the city of Patras and ravaged the plains before its wall and laid siege to itself, having with them African Saracens also. And when a considerable time had gone by and there began to be dearth of necessaries, both water and foodstuffs, among those within the wall, they took counsel among themselves to come to terms of composition and to obtain promises of immunity and then to surrender the city to their yoke. And so, as the then military governor was at the extremity of the province in the city of Corinth, and it had been expected that he would come and defeat the nation of the Slavenes, since he had received early intelligence of their assault from the nobles, the inhabitants of the city resolved that a scout should first be sent to the eastern side of the mountains and spy out and discover if the military governor were in fact coming, and they instructed and gave a signal to their envoy, that if he were to see the military governor coming, he should on his way back dip the standard, so they might know of the coming of the military governor, but if not, to hold the standard erect, so they might for the future not expect the military governor to come. So the scout went off and found that the military governor was not coming, and began to come back, holding the standard erect. But, as it pleased God through the intercession of the holy apostle Andrew, the horse slipped and the rider fell off and dipped the standard, and the inhabitants of the city, seeing the signal given and believing that the military governor was coming undoubtedly, opened the gates of the city and sallied forth bravely against the Slavenes; and they saw the first-called apostle, revealed to their eyes, mounted upon a horse and charging upon the barbarians, yea, and he totally routed them and scattered them and drave them far off from the city and made them to flee. And the barbarians saw and were amazed and confounded at the violent assault upon them of the invincible and unconquerable warrior and captain and marshal, the triumphant and victorious first-called apostle Andrew,

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*V* **49.** 2 Σκλαβοὶ edd. || 5 τὰς V edd.: τοῦ P || 8 κατέστρεφόν τε: κατεστρέφοντο V edd. || 9 *ante* Σαρακηνούς *add.* καὶ edd. || 13 αὐτοῖς V edd. || 15 Σκλαβηνῶν Be Σκλαβινῶν Me Ba || 18 σκοπὸν edd.: σκοποὺς P || 20 ἀπεσταλμένῳ edd. || 21 κλίνῃ Ba Be; κλήνει P || φλάμουλον P || 22 φλάμουλον P || 23 τοῦ *add.* Moravcsik || 25 φλάμουλον P || 27 φλάμουλον P || 28 ἰδόντες edd.: ἰδότες P || 30 Σκλαβηνῶν edd. || 34 ἰδόντες V edd.: εἰδότες P || καὶ[2] *om.* edd. ||

49

πρωτοκλήτου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου, ἐταράχθησαν, ἐσαλεύθησαν, τρόμος
ἐπελάβετο αὐτούς, καὶ προσέφυγον εἰς τὸν πάνσεπτον ναὸν αὐτοῦ.
160rP Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καταλα-
219Be βόντος καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῦ ἀποστόλου μα|θόντος, κατεμήνυσεν τῷ βασι-
λεῖ Νικηφόρῳ τήν τε ἔφοδον τῶν Σκλαβήνων καὶ τὴν προνομὴν καὶ
αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ ἀφανισμὸν καὶ τὴν λεηλασίαν καὶ τἄλλα δεινά, ὅσα
καταδραμόντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀχαΐας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν πολυήμε-
ρον πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ κάστρου διηνεκῆ ἐπίθε-
σιν, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον καὶ
τὴν κατὰ κράτος νίκην, τὴν γενομένην παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, καὶ ὡς
160vP ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ὡράθη ἐπιτρέχων καὶ διώκων | τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ
νῶτον καὶ τροπούμενος αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βαρβάρους αἰσθέσθαι
τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
προσφυγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν σεβάσμιον ναὸν αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα
ἀναμαθὼν παρεκελεύσατο οὕτως· «Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον καὶ ἡ κατὰ
κράτος νίκη παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου γέγονεν, ὀφειλόμενον καθέστηκεν
πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκστρατείαν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τὰ σκῦλα
αὐτῷ ἀποδοθῆναι.» Καὶ διωρίσατο αὐτούς τε τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ
πάσης τῆς φαμιλίας καὶ συγγενείας καὶ πάντων τῶν προσηκόντων
αὐτοῖς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πάσης τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτῶν, ἀφορισθῆναι εἰς τὸν ναὸν
161rP τοῦ | ἀποστόλου ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Πατρῶν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ πρωτόκλητος καὶ
μαθητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν τῆς ἀθλήσεως διήνυσεν ἀγῶνα, δεδωκὼς
περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ σιγίλλιον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μητροπόλει.

Ταῦτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἀρχαιότεροι ἀνήγγειλαν, παραδόντες
220Be ἀγράφως χρόνῳ τε καὶ βίῳ τοῖς ὕστερον, ὅπως | ἂν κατὰ τὸν προφήτην
γνῷ γενεὰ ἡ ἐρχομένη τὸ γεγονὸς θαῦμα διὰ πρεσβειῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου,
καὶ ἀναστήσονται καὶ ἀπαγγελοῦσιν αὐτὸ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ
ἐπιλάθωνται τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ πρεσβειῶν τοῦ
ἀποστόλου. Ἔκτοτε δὲ οἱ ἀφορισθέντες Σκλαβῆνοι ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν
161vP ἀποστελλομένους πρέσβεις | ὡς ὁμήρους διατρέφουσιν, ἔχοντες ἰδίους
καὶ τραπεζοποιοὺς καὶ μαγείρους καὶ πάντας τοὺς παρασκευάζοντας
τὰ τῆς τραπέζης βρώματα, τῆς μητροπόλεως εἰς ταῦτα μηδὲν καινοτο-
μουμένης, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκλαβῆνοι ἀπὸ διανομῆς καὶ συνδοσίας τῆς
ὁμάδος αὐτῶν ἐπισυνάγουσιν τὰς τοιαύτας χρείας. Ἐποίησεν δὲ καὶ
σιγίλλιον Λέων, ὁ ἀείμνηστος καὶ σοφώτατος βασιλεύς, λεπτομερῶς

*F* 62 γνῷ — 64 εὐεργεσιῶν: Psalm. 77, 6—7, cf. Psalm. 21, 31.

and were thrown into disorder and shaken, and trembling gat hold upon them and they fled for refuge in his most sacred temple.

Now when the military governor arrived on the third day after the rout and learnt of the victory of the apostle, he reported to the emperor Nicephorus upon the onset of the Slavenes and the foraging and enslaving and destroying and the plundering and all the other horrors which in their incursion they had inflicted on the regions of Achaea; and also upon the siege of many days and the sustained assault on the inhabitants of the city; and in like manner upon the visitation and aid in battle and the rout and the total victory won by the apostle, and how he had been seen revealed to their eyes charging upon and pursuing the rear of the foe and routing them, so that the barbarians themselves were aware that the apostle had visited us and was aiding us in the battle, and therefore had fled for refuge to his hallowed temple. The emperor, learning of these things, gave orders to this effect: «Since the rout and total victory were achieved by the apostle, it is our duty to render to him the whole expeditionary force of the foe and the booty and the spoils.» And he ordained that the foemen themselves, with all their families and relations and all who belonged to them, and all their property as well, should be set apart for the temple of the apostle in the metropolis of Patras, where the first-called and disciple of Christ had performed this exploit in the contest; and he issued a bull concerning these matters in that same metropolis.

These things the older and more ancient narrated, handing them down in unwritten tradition to them who lived in the after time, so that, as the prophet says, the coming generation might know the miracle wrought through the intercession of the apostle, and might rise up and declare it to their sons, that they might not forget the benefits done by God through the intercession of the apostle. And from that time the Slavenes who were set apart in the metropolis have maintained like hostages the military governors and the imperial agents and all the envoys sent from foreign nations, and they have their own waiters and cooks and servants of all kinds who prepare foods for the table; and the metropolis interferes in none of these matters, for the Slavenes themselves collect the necessary funds by apportionment and subscription among their unit. And Leo, too, the ever-memorable and most wise emperor, issued a bull containing a detailed

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*V* 39 τρίτη edd.: γ′ P || 41 Σκλαβηνῶν edd. || 45 τὸ *om.* edd. || 47 ὀράθη P || 48 ὡς: ὥστε edd. || αἴσθεσθαι V edd.: αἴθεσθαι P αἴδεσθαι *coni.* Jenkins || 50 αὐτοῦ ναόν V edd. || 53 ἐκστρατιὰν P || 55 φαμηλίας P || 59 σιγίλλον Be || αὐτῇ] *litteram* ῇ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 63 ἀναστήσονται F Ba Be: ἀναστήσωνται P || 64 ὧν: ἃς V || 65 Σκλαβηνοὶ edd. || 70 Σκλαβηνοὶ edd. || 72 σοφώτατος: ἀοίδιμος edd.

περιέχον τό, τί ὀφείλουσιν παρέχειν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐναπογραφόμενοι τῷ μητροπολίτῃ, καὶ μὴ ἀπαργυρίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄλλως πως κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἄδικον ζημιοῦσθαι αὐτούς.

## 50. Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θέματι Πελοποννήσου Σκλάβων, τῶν τε Μηλιγγῶν καὶ Ἐζεριτῶν καὶ περὶ
162rP τῶν τελουμένων παρ' | αὐτῶν πάκτων, ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ κάστρου Μαΐνης καὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένου πάκτου.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου Σκλάβοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
221Be τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοφίλου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, | Μιχαήλ, ἀποστατήσαντες
γεγόνασιν ἰδιόρρυθμοι, λεηλασίας καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς καὶ πραίδας καὶ
ἐμπρησμοὺς καὶ κλοπὰς ἐργαζόμενοι. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαήλ, τοῦ
υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου, ἀπεστάλη ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Θεόκτιστος, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην
ὁ τῶν Βρυεννίων, στρατηγὸς ἐν τῷ θέματι Πελοποννήσου μετὰ δυνά-
μεως καὶ ἰσχύος πολλῆς, ἤγουν Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
162vP δυτικῶν θεμάτων τοῦ πολεμῆ|σαι καὶ καθυποτάξαι αὐτούς. Καὶ πάντας
μὲν τοὺς Σκλάβους καὶ λοιποὺς ἀνυποτάκτους τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου ὑπέταξε καὶ ἐχειρώσατο, μόνοι δὲ οἱ Ἐζερῖται καὶ οἱ Μηλιγγοὶ κατελείφθησαν ὑπὸ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ Ἕλος. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐκεῖσε μέγα καὶ ὑψηλότατον, καλούμενον Πενταδάκτυλος, καὶ εἰσέρχεται ὥσπερ τράχηλος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἕως πολλοῦ διαστήματος, διὰ δὲ τὸ εἶναι τὸν τόπον δύσκολον κατῴκησαν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους, ἐν μὲν τῷ ἑνὶ μέρει οἱ Μηλιγγοί, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ μέρει οἱ Ἐζερῖται. Καὶ ὁ μὲν προρρηθεὶς πρωτοσπαθάριος Θεόκτιστος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πελοποννήσου δυνηθεὶς καὶ τούτους καθυποτάξαι, ἐξέθετο
163rP τοῖς μὲν Μηλιγγοῖς νομίσματα ξ', | τοῖς δὲ Ἐζερίταις νομίσματα τ',
ἅτινα καὶ ἐτέλουν, αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, καθὼς παρὰ τῶν ἐντοπίων διασώζεται μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡ τοιαύτη φήμη. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ, τοῦ βασιλέως, στρατηγῶν ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος
222Be Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρωτεύων εἰς | τὸ αὐτὸ θέμα ἀνήγαγεν πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν
κύριν Ῥωμανὸν περί τε τῶν Μηλιγγῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐζεριτῶν, ὅτι ἀποστατήσαντες οὐ πείθονται οὔτε τῷ στρατηγῷ, οὔτε βασιλικῇ κελεύσει ὑπείκουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ὥσπερ αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοδέσποτοι, καὶ οὔτε παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δέχονται ἄρχοντα, οὔτε συνταξιδεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπείκουσιν, οὔτε ἄλλην τοῦ δημοσίου δουλείαν ἐκτελεῖν πείθονται. Καὶ μέχρι τοῦ

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*V* **50.** 2 Μηλιγγῶν *scr.* Moravcsik: Μιλήγγων P Me Μιληγγῶν Ba Be || 4 *post*

account of what these same persons who are ascribed to the metropolitan are liable to provide, and forbidding him to exploit them or in any other way to hurt them unjustly at his whim.

## 50. Of the Slavs in the province of Peloponnesus, the Milingoi and Ezeritai, and of the tribute paid by them, and in like manner of the inhabitants of the city of Maïna and of the tribute paid by them.

The Slavs of the province of Peloponnesus revolted in the days of the emperor Theophilus and his son Michael, and became independent, and plundered and enslaved and pillaged and burnt and stole. And in the reign of Michael, the son of Theophilus, the protospatharius Theoctistus, surnamed Bryennius, was sent as military governor to the province of Peloponnesus with a great power and force, viz., of Thracians and Macedonians and the rest of the western provinces, to war upon and subdue them. He subdued and mastered all the Slavs and other insubordinates of the province of Peloponnesus, and only the Ezeritai and the Milingoi were left, towards Lacedaemonia and Helos. And since there is there a great and very high mountain called Pentadaktylos, which runs like a neck a long distance out into the sea, and because the place is difficult, they settled upon the flanks of this same mountain, the Milingoi in one part, and in the other part the Ezeritai. The aforesaid protospatharius Theoctistus, the military governor of Peloponnesus, having succeded in reducing these too, fixed *a tribute of* 60 nomismata for the Milingoi, and of 300 nomismata for the Ezeritai, and this they used to pay while he was military governor, as this report of it is preserved to this day by the local inhabitants. But in the reign of the lord Romanus the emperor, the protospatharius John Proteuon, military governor in this same province, reported to the same lord Romanus concerning both Milingoi and Ezeritai, that they had rebelled and neither obeyed the military governor nor regarded the imperial mandate, but were practically independent and self-governing, and neither accepted a head man at the hand of the military governor, nor heeded orders for military service under him, nor would pay other dues to the treasury. While his

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κάστρου *add.* τοῦ edd. || Μαΐνης *scr.* Moravcsik: Μαινῆς P Μαϊνῆς edd. || 5 τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένου πάκτου: τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένων πάκτων edd. || 11 Βροιενίων P || 15 'Εζερεῖται P || Μιληγγοὶ P edd. || 16 Ἔλος P || 19 δὲ *om.* Be || 20 Μιληγγοὶ P edd. || 20 μέρει² *om.* edd. || 22 ἐξέθετο (*etiam* Bandurius): ἐπέθετο edd. || 23 Μιληγγοῖς P Ba Be Μιλιγγοί *mg.* P[s] || 27 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ: ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Be || θέμα V Me: θέματι P Ba Be || 28 κῦρην P || Μηλίγγων P Μιληγγῶν Ba Be ||

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163ᵛP ἀνελθεῖν τὴν ἀναφορὰν αὐτοῦ | συνέβη προβληθῆναι τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Κρινίτην τὸν Ἀροτρᾶν στρατηγὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, τῆς δὲ ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἰωάννου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Πελοποννήσου τοῦ Πρωτεύοντος καταλαβούσης καὶ κατ' ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ἀναγνωσθείσης καὶ περιεχούσης τὴν ἀποστασίαν τῶν προρρηθέντων Σκλάβων καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰς βασιλικὰς προστάξεις δυσπείθειαν ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπείθειαν, ἐδέξατο ὁ αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος Κρινίτης, ἵνα, ἐπεὶ εἰς τοσαύτην ἤλασαν ἀποστασίαν καὶ ἀπείθειαν, ἐκστρατεύσῃ κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ καταπολεμήσῃ καὶ ὑποτάξῃ καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσῃ αὐτούς. Ἀρξάμενος οὖν πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ μηνὸς Μαρτίου καὶ κατακαύσας
164ʳP τὰ θέρη αὐτῶν καὶ ληϊσάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν | γῆν αὐτῶν, ἔσχεν αὐτοὺς ἀνθισταμένους καὶ ἀντέχοντας μέχρι μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου, ἀπὸ τότε δὲ ἰδόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξολόθρευσιν, ᾐτήσαντο λόγον καὶ τοῦ ὑποταγῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ τυχεῖν συμπαθείας, ὑπὲρ ὧν πρώην ἐπλημμέλησαν. Ὁ οὖν
223Be προρρηθεὶς πρωτοσπαθάριος | καὶ στρατηγὸς ὁ Κρινίτης ἐξέθετο αὐτοῖς πάκτα πλείονα, ὧν ἐτέλουν, τοῖς μὲν Μηλιγγοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ξ' νομισμάτων, ὧν πρότερον ἐτέλουν, νομίσματα φμ', ὡς εἶναι τὸ πᾶν πάκτον αὐτῶν νομίσματα χ', τοῖς δὲ Ἐζερίταις ἀπὸ τῶν τ' νομισμάτων, ὧν πρότερον ἐτέλουν, ἕτερα νομίσματα τ', ὡς εἶναι τὸ πᾶν πάκτον αὐτῶν νομίσματα χ', ἅτινα καὶ ἀπήτησεν καὶ εἰσεκόμισεν ὁ αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος Κρινίτης ἐν τῷ θεοφυλάκτῳ κοιτῶνι. Τοῦ δὲ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Κρινίτου ἐν
164ᵛP τῷ θέματι μετατεθέντος | Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Βάρδα τοῦ Πλατυπόδη προβληθέντος στρατηγοῦ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ τῆς ἀταξίας γεναμένης καὶ στάσεως παρὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Βάρδα τοῦ Πλατυπόδη καὶ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίων καὶ ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Λέοντα τὸν Ἀγέλαστον ἀποδιωξάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος, καὶ εὐθέως γενομένης καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκλαβησιάνων ἐπιθέσεως κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος, ἀπέστειλαν οἱ αὐτοὶ Σκλάβοι, οἵ τε Μηλιγγοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἐζερῖται, πρὸς τὸν κύριν Ῥωμανόν, τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαιτούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τοῦ συμπαθηθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰς προσθήκας τῶν πάκτων καὶ τελεῖν αὐτούς, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον ἐτέλουν. Ἐπεὶ δέ, καθὼς προείρηται, εἰσῆλθον οἱ Σκλαβησιάνοι ἐν τῷ θέματι
165ʳP | Πελοποννήσου, δεδιὼς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ προστεθέντες τοῖς Σθλάβοις παντελῆ ἐξολόθρευσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος ἐργάσωνται, ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς χρυσοβούλλιον τοῦ τελεῖν αὐτοὺς πάκτα, ὡς καὶ πρότερον,
224Be | τοὺς μὲν Μηλιγγοὺς ξ' νομίσματα, τοὺς δὲ Ἐζερίτας ⟨νομίσματα⟩ τ'. Αὕτη οὖν ἐστιν ἡ αἰτία τῆς προσθήκης καὶ τῆς ἐκκοπῆς τῶν πάκτων τῶν τε Μηλιγγῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐζεριτῶν.

report was on its way, it happened that the protospatharius Krinitis Arotras was appointed military governor in Peloponnesus, and when the report of the protospatharius John Proteuon, military governor of Peloponnesus, arrived and was read in the presence of the emperor, the lord Romanus, and was *found* to contain *news of* the revolt of the aforesaid Slavs and of their reluctant obedience, or, more properly, their disobedience to the imperial commands, this same protospatharius Krinitis was instructed, since they had gone so far in revolt and disobedience, to march against them and defeat and subdue and exterminate them. And so, beginning his war upon them in the month of March and burning down their crops and plundering all their land, he kept them to defence and resistance until the month of November, and then, seeing that they were being exterminated, they begged to negotiate for their submission and pardon for their past misdoings. And so the aforesaid protospatharius Krinitis, the military governor, fixed upon them tributes greater than they had been paying: upon the Milingoi 540 nomismata on top of the 60 nomismata which they had paid before, so that their total tribute was 600 nomismata, and upon the Ezeritai another 300 nomismata on top of the 300 nomismata they had paid before, so that their total tribute was 600 nomismata, which this same protospatharius Krinitis exacted and conveyed to the *Treasury of the* Bedchamber guarded of God. But when the protospatharius Krinitis was transferred to the province of Hellas and the protospatharius Bardas Platypodis was appointed military governor in Peloponnesus, and disorder and strife were aroused by this same protospatharius Bardas Platypodis and by protospatharii and nobles who took his part, and they expelled the protospatharius Leo Agelastos from the province, and straight away the Slavesians made an attack upon this same province, then these same Slavs, both Milingoi and Ezeritai, sent to the lord Romanus, the emperor, requesting and praying that the increments to their tribute should be forgiven them, and that they should pay what they had paid before. And since, as has been said above, the Slavesians had entered the province of Peloponnesus, the emperor, fearing lest they might join forces with the Slavs and bring about the total destruction of this same province, issued for *the latter* a golden bull providing that they should pay as before, the Milingoi 60 nomismata, and the Ezeritai 300 *nomismata*. Such, then, is the cause of the increase of the tribute of the Milingoi and Ezeritai, and of its remission.

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*V* 38 τὴν *om.* edd. || 41 καταπολεμήσῃ Ba Be: καταπολεμίσει P καταπολεμήσει V || ὑποτάξῃ Ba Be: ὑποτάξει P || ἐξολοθρεύσει V || 42 αὐτούς: αὐτὸς Me || 45 καὶ *om.* V edd. || 46 αὐτοὺς *scr.* Moravcsik: αὐτοῖς P(?) V edd.: αὐτ`ς (*inter* τ *et* ς *duabus litteris erasis*) $P^y$ || 48 Μιληγγοῖς Ba Be || 55 Πλατοιπόδη P || 56 γενομένης edd. || 59 Σκλαβισιάνων P: Σκλαβησιανῶν edd. || 61 Μιληγγοὶ edd. || κῦρην P || 64 Ἐπεὶ δέ: Ἐπειδὴ Migne || Σκλαβισιάνοι P: Σκλαβησιανοὶ edd. || 66 Σκλάβοις edd. || 67 τοῦ τελεῖν αὐτούς: ἵνα τελῶσι τὰ V edd. || 68 Μιληγγοὺς edd. || νομίσματα² *add.* edd. || 70 τε *om.* edd. || Μιληγγῶν edd. || Ἐζερίτων P ||

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Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ κάστρου Μαΐνης οἰκήτορες οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς
γενεᾶς τῶν προρρηθέντων Σκλάβων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρων Ῥωμαίων,
οἳ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ τῶν ἐντοπίων Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύονται διὰ
τὸ ἐν τοῖς προπαλαιοῖς χρόνοις εἰδωλολάτρας εἶναι καὶ προσκυνητὰς
τῶν εἰδώλων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἵτινες ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας
165ᵛP τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Βασιλείου | βαπτισθέντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγόνασιν. Ὁ δὲ
τόπος, ἐν ᾧ οἰκοῦσιν, ἐστὶν ἄνυδρος καὶ ἀπρόσοδος, ἐλαιοφόρος δέ, ὅθεν
καὶ τὴν παραμυθίαν ἔχουσιν. Διάκειται δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος εἰς ἄκραν
τοῦ Μαλέα, ἤγουν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ Ἐζεροῦ πρὸς τὴν παραθαλασσίαν. Διὰ
δὲ τὸ τελείως ὑποτεταγμένους εἶναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντα παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δέχεσθαι καὶ πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ὑπείκειν ταῖς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προστάξεσιν παρέχουσιν πάκτον ἐκ παλαιτάτου χρόνου νομίσματα υ'.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Καππαδοκίας στρατηγὶς τὸ παλαιὸν τοῦρμα ἦν τῆς
τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν στρατηγίδος.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Κεφαλληνίας στρατηγίς, ἤγουν τὰ νησία, τοῦρμα
ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς στρατηγίδος Λαγουβαρδίας, ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος, τοῦ
φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, γέγονεν στρατηγίς.

225Be
166ʳP Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Κα|λαβρίας στρατηγὶς δουκᾶτον ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν
τῆς στρατηγίδος Σικελίας.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ στρατηγὶς τοῦρμα ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν
τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων στρατηγίδος.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ἀπὸ τοῦ
θέματος τῶν Βουκελλαρίων εἰς τὸ Καππαδοκῶν θέμα μετετέθησαν
ταῦτα τὰ βάνδα, ἤτοι ἡ τοποτηρησία Βάρετας, ἡ τοποτηρησία Βαλβαδώνας,
ἡ τοποτηρησία Ἄσπονας καὶ ἡ τοποτηρησία Ἀκαρκοῦς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
θέματος τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν εἰς τὸ Καππαδοκῶν θέμα μετετέθησαν ταῦτα
τὰ βάνδα, ἤτοι ἡ τοποτηρησία τῆς Εὐδοκιάδος, ἡ τοποτηρησία τοῦ Ἁγίου
Ἀγαπητοῦ, ἡ τοποτηρησία Ἀφραζείας, καὶ ἐγένοντο ταῦτα τὰ ἑπτὰ
βάνδα, ἤτοι τὰ τῶν Βουκελλαρίων τέσσαρα καὶ τρία τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν,
166ᵛP τοῦρμα | μία, ἡ νῦν τὰ Κόμματα λεγομένη.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ἀπὸ τοῦ
θέματος τῶν Βουκελλαρίων εἰς τὸ θέμα Χαρσιανοῦ μετετέθησαν ταῦτα
τὰ βάνδα, ἤτοι ἡ τοποτηρησία τοῦ Μυριοκεφάλου, ἡ τοποτηρησία τοῦ
Τιμίου Σταυροῦ καὶ ἡ τοποτηρησία Βερινουπόλεως, καὶ ἐγένοντο τοῦρμα
ἡ νῦν Σανίανα λεγομένη. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων εἰς τὸ
τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ θέμα μετετέθησαν ταῦτα τὰ βάνδα, ἤτοι ἡ τοῦ Κωμοδρόμου τοποτηρησία, ἡ τοποτηρησία Τάβιας, καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦρμαν τοῦ
Χαρσιανοῦ τὴν εἰρημένην προσετέθησαν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν
226Be εἰς τὸ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ θέμα ταῦτα τὰ | βάνδα μετετέθησαν, ἤτοι ἡ τοῦρμα
Κασῆς ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου καὶ ἡ τοποτηρησία Νύσσης μετὰ τῆς Καισαρείας.

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The inhabitants of the city of Maïna are not of the race of the aforesaid Slavs, but of the ancient Romans, and even to this day they are called 'Hellenes' by the local inhabitants, because in the very ancient times they were idolaters and worshippers of images after the fashion of the ancient Hellenes; and they were baptized and became Christians in the reign of the glorious Basil. The place where they live is waterless and inaccessible, but bears the olive, whence their comfort is. This place is situated on the tip of Malea, that is, beyond Ezeron towards the coast. Seeing that they are perfectly submissive and accept a head man from the military governor, and heed and obey the commands of the military governor, they have paid from very ancient times a tribute of 400 nomismata.

The province of Cappadocia was of old a county of the province of the Anatolikoi.

The province of Kephallenia, or the Islands, was of old a county of the province of Lombardy, but became a province in the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign.

The province of Calabria was of old a duchy of the province of Sicily.

The province of Charsianon was of old a county of the province of the Armeniakoi.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the following hundreds were transferred from the province of the Boukellarioi to the province of the Cappadocians, viz., the garrison of Bareta, the garrison of Balbadona, the garrison of Aspona and the garrison of Akarkous; and from the province of the Anatolikoi to the province of the Cappadocians were transferred the following hundreds, viz., the garrison of Eudokias, the garrison of Haghios Agapitos, the garrison of Aphrazeia; and these seven hundreds, that is, the four of the Boukellarioi and three of the Anatolikoi, became one county, now called the Kommata.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the following hundreds were transferred from the province of the Boukellarioi to the province of Charsianon, viz., the garrison of Myriokephalon, the garrison of Timios Stauros and the garrison of Berinoupolis, and they became the county now called Saniana. And from the province of the Armeniakoi to the province of Charsianon were transferred the following hundreds, viz., the garrison of Komodromos, the garrison of Tabia, and were added to the said county of Charsianon. From the province of the Cappadocians to the province of Charsianon the following hundreds were transferred, viz., the county of Kasi in toto and the garrison of Nyssa with Caesareia.

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*V* 79 τὴν *om.* Be || 82 ἐκ παλαιτάτου edd.: ἔκπαλαι τὰ τοῦ P || 83 *post* ἡ *add.* τῆς edd. || 86 Λογουβαρδίας Ba Be || 88 Καλαβρίας V edd.: Καλαβρία P || δουκάτον P || 90 τούρμα P || 91 Ἀρμενιακῶν Be || 94 Βαλβαδῶνας P: Βαλβαδῶνος V edd. || 85 Ἀκαρκοὺς P || 98 ἑπτὰ edd.: ζʹ P || 99 τέσσαρα edd.: δʹ P || τρία edd.: γʹ P || 100 τούρμα P || 105 Σανιάνα edd. || Ἀρμενιακῶν edd. || 106/7 Κομοδρόμου P || 107 Ταβίας V edd. || τούρμαν P || 109 τούρμα P || 110 Νύσης P ||

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167rP Ἰστέον, ὅτι τοῖς παρελ|θοῦσιν χρόνοις τὸ τοῦ Χοζάνου θέμα ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἦν, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀσμοσάτου θέμα καὶ αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἦν. Τὸ δὲ Χανζὶτ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμανόπολις κλεισοῦραι τῶν Μελιτηνιατῶν ὑπῆρχον. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Φατιλάνου πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖθεν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ὑπῆρχον, τὸ δὲ Τεκῆς ἦν τοῦ Μανουήλ. Ἡ δὲ Κάμαχα ἡ τοῦρμα ἄκρα Κολωνείας ἦν, ἡ δὲ τῆς Κελτζηνῆς τοῦρμα ὑπὸ τὴν Χαλδίαν ἦν. Ἡ δὲ Μεσοποταμία τῷ τότε καιρῷ θέμα οὐκ ἦν. Λέων δέ, ὁ φιλόχριστος καὶ ἀείμνηστος βασιλεύς, τὸν Μανουὴλ ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τεκῆς μετὰ λόγου ἐξήγαγεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτὸν εἰσήγαγεν, καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριον πεποίηκεν. Ἔχει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Μανουὴλ υἱοὺς τέσσαρας, τὸν Παγκρατούκαν, τὸν Ἰαχνούκαν, τὸν Μουδάφαρ καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην.
167vP Καὶ τὸν μὲν Παγκρα|τούκαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱκανᾶτον πεποίηκεν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν εἰς τοὺς Βουκελλαρίους, τὸν δὲ Ἰαχνούκαν εἰς Νικόπολιν στρατηγὸν ἐποίησεν, τὸν δὲ Μουδάφαρ καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι δέδωκεν γῆν βασιλικήν, ἅπαντας ἀξιώμασιν τιμήσας καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς εὐεργεσίας πολλάς. Καὶ ἐποίησεν θέμα τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, καὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐκεῖνον τὸν Χαρσιανίτην στρατηγὸν προεβάλετο, καὶ τότε δέδωκεν τὴν τῆς Καμάχας τοῦρμαν ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα εἶναι τῆς Μεσοποταμίας,
227Bo εἶθ' | οὕτως καὶ τὴν Κελτζηνῆς τοῦρμαν ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα καὶ αὐτὴν Μεσοποταμίας ἐποίησεν. Ἀρτίως δὲ ταῦτα πάντα γεγονότα ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν, εἰς τὸ Μεσοποταμίας θέμα ἐπὶ Ῥωμανοῦ δεσπότου
168rP προσετέθη ἥ τε Ῥωμανόπολις καὶ τὸ | Χανζίτ.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ἡ Λάρισσα τοῦρμα τῆς Σεβαστείας ἦν, τὸ δὲ Κυμβαλαῖος ἦν τοῦρμα τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ, τὸ δὲ Συμπόσιον ἦν ἐρημία πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Λυκανδοῦ παρακείμενον. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, Εὐστάθιος ὁ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξορίας ἀνακληθεὶς εἰς τὸ Χαρσιανὸν στρατηγὸς προεχειρίσθη, ὁ δὲ Μελίας εἰς τὴν Μελιτηνὴν ἔτι πρόσφυγος ἦν, καὶ ὁ Βαασάκιος μετὰ τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε Κρικορίκη καὶ τοῦ Παζουνῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἰσμαὴλ ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἐκεῖνος, οἵτινες καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν προρρηθέντα Ἀργυρὸν ἔγραψαν διὰ τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου λόγον λαβεῖν καὶ ἐξελθεῖν καὶ τὸν μὲν Βαασάκιον καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
168vP αὐτοῦ | εἰς Λάρισσαν καθεσθῆναι καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν τὸν Βαασάκιον Λαρίσσης κλεισουριάρχην, ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν, τὸν δὲ Ἰσμαὴλ κλεισουριάρχην εἰς τὸ Συμπόσιον, ὃ καὶ γέγονεν, τὸν δὲ Μελίαν εἰς Εὐφράτειαν εἰς τὰ Τρυπία εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν γενέσθαι τουρμάρχην, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. Ἐξελθόντων δὲ τῶν Μελιτηνιατῶν καὶ τὸν Ἰσμαὴλ ἐκεῖνον ἀνελόντων, ἔμενεν τὸ

*F* 120 Ἔχει — 126 Μεσοποταμίαν: cf. De Them. p. 31, 1—5 (= ed. Pertusi p. 73, IX 3—6).

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In past times the province of Chozanon was beneath the Saracens and in like manner the province of Asmosaton also was beneath the Saracens. Chanzit and Romanopolis were frontier passes of the Melitenians. And from the mountain of Phatilanon all beyond belonged to the Saracens; Tekis belonged to Manuel. Kamacha was the extreme county of Kolonia, and the county of Keltzini was under Chaldia. Mesopotamia was not a province at that time. But Leo, the Christ-loving and ever-memorable emperor, brought the late Manuel out of Tekis upon a promise *of immunity*, and brought him to Constantinople and made him protospatharius. This same Manuel has four sons, Pankratoukas, Iachnoukas, Moudaphar and John. Pankratoukas the emperor made commander of the Hicanati and thereafter military governor of the Boukellarioi, and Iachnoukas he made military governor of Nicopolis, and to Moudaphar and John he gave crown land at Trapezus, and he honoured them all with dignities and conferred on them many benefits. And he made Mesopotamia a province and appointed the late Orestes, the Charsianite, to be military governor of it, and then gave the county of Kamacha to be under the province of Mesopotamia, and thereafter put the county of Keltzini also beneath the province of Mesopotamia. All these being now beneath the dominion of the Romans, in the time of the sovereign Romanus Romanopolis and Chanzit were added to the province of Mesopotamia.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, Larissa was a county of Sebasteia, and Kymbalaios was a county of Charsianon, and Symposion was a desert adjacent to the region of Lykandos. And in the reign of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, Eustathius Argyrus was recalled from banishment and appointed military governor of Charsianon, while Melias was still a refugee at Melitene, as was Baasakios with his two brothers Krikorikios and Pazounis, and also the late Ismael the Armenian; these wrote to *the emperor* and to the aforesaid Argyrus, asking that they might receive a promise *of immunity* in form of a golden bull and might come out, and that Baasakios and his brothers might have their seat at Larissa and Baasakios be named frontier warden of Larissa, which was done; and that Ismael should be frontier warden of Symposion, which was done; and that Melias should be made lieutenant-general of Euphrateia, of the Trypia, *and* of the Desert, and that was done. But since the Melitenians came out and did away

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*V* 113 κλησοῦραι P: κλεισοῦρα edd. || 114 Μελιτινιατῶν] *litteras* νιατ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 115 ὑπῆρχεν edd. || 116 τούρμα P || Κελτζινῆς P || τούρμα P || 118 ἀείμνηστος: ἀοίδιμος edd. || 120 Ἔχει: εἶχε *coni.* Jenkins || 121 Ἰαχνοῦκαν P || 122 ἱκανάτον P || 123 Ἰαχνοῦκαν P || 128 τούρμαν P || 129 Κελτζινῆς P || τούρμαν P || *post* αὐτὴν *add.* τῆς edd. || 130/1 ἐξουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων edd. || 134 Κυμβαλαίος P Κυμβαλαιὸς edd. || 135 Λικανδοῦ P || 138 προεχειρίσθη *coni.* Moravcsik: παρεχωρίσθη P ἐχωρίσθη edd. || 143 τὸν μὲν Be || 144 κλησουριάρχην P || 145 Εὐφράτιαν P || 147 Μελιτινιατῶν P ||

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Συμπόσιον ἔρημον. Τοῦ δὲ Βαασακίου, ὅτι προδοσίαν μελετᾶ, διαβλη-
228Be θέν|τος καὶ ἐξορισθέντος, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς Σεβαστείας ἡ Λάρισσα τοῦρμα ἐγένετο, στρατηγοῦ προβληθέντος ἐκεῖσε τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ υἱοῦ Εὐσταθίου, τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα μαγίστρου γεγονότος καὶ δομεστίκου
169rP τῶν σχολῶν. Ὁ δὲ Μελίας εἰς Εὐφράτειαν καθεζόμενος, ὁ|πότε καὶ προεβλήθη Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Δοὺξ εἰς τὸ Χαρσιανόν, κατῆλθεν οὗτος ὁ προρρηθεὶς Μελίας, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν κάστρον τὴν Λυκανδὸν ἐκράτησεν, καὶ ἔκτισεν αὐτὸ καὶ ὠχυροποίησεν, καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἐκαθέσθη, καὶ ὠνομάσθη παρὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως, κλεισοῦρα. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διεπέρασεν ἀπὸ Λυκανδοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Τζαμανδοῦ, κἀκεῖσε τὸ νῦν ὂν κάστρον ἔκτισεν, καὶ ὡσαύτως κἀκεῖνο κλεισοῦρα ἐκαλεῖτο. Ἐκράτησεν δὲ καὶ τὸ Συμπόσιον, ποιήσας αὐτὸ τουρμαρχᾶτον. Ἐπὶ δὲ Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, τοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, συνούσης αὐτῷ καὶ Ζωῆς τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, γέγονεν ἡ Λυκανδὸς στρατηγίς, καὶ πρῶτος Λυκανδοῦ στρατηγὸς ὠνομάσθη ὁ πατρίκιος Μελίας, δηλονότι τῷ τότε
169vP καιρῷ αὐτοῦ κλεισουράρχου ἐν Λυ|κανδῷ τυγχάνοντος. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Μελίας — διά τε τὴν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ῥωμαίων πίστιν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ ἀπείρους αὐτοῦ κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν ἀνδραγαθίας — μετέπειτα μάγιστρος ἐτιμήθη.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Ἄβαρα τοῦρμα ἦν ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα Σεβαστείας, ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥωμανοῦ δεσπότου γέγονεν κλεισοῦρα.

229Be Ἰστέον, ὅτι τύπος ἐκράτησεν παλαιὸς τὸν κατεπάνω Μαρ|δαϊτῶν Ἀτταλείας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δηλονότι προβάλλεσθαι, διὸ καὶ παρὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως, κατεπάνω προεβλήθη Σταυράκιος ὁ Πλατὺς ἐπονομαζόμενος, ὃς χρόνους μὲν διέπρεψεν ἱκανούς, οὐχὶ καλῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλη διέθηκεν. Τοῦ γὰρ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Εὐσταθίου
170rP καὶ ἀσηκρῆτις ἐν τῷ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν θέματι | ἐκ προσώπου ἀποσταλέντος, φθόνοι τινὲς ἀναμεταξὺ τούτων καὶ μάχαι γεγόνασιν· ὅ τε γὰρ Σταυράκιος ὁ Πλατὺς εἰς τὸν πατρίκιον Ἡμέριον καὶ λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου θαρρῶν, ὡς ἅτε παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα μεσιτευθείς, τῷ ἐκ προσώπου Εὐσταθίῳ ἀντέπιπτεν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐναντίως εἶχεν, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἑώρα ἔξω τοῦ δέοντός τι διαπραττόμενον ἢ καὶ προστάττοντα, ὅ τε δὲ πάλιν ὁ ἐκ προσώπου Εὐστάθιος πρὸς τὸ Σταυράκιον διέκειτο ἐχθρωδῶς, καὶ πολλὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιθέσεις καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπλάττετο. Ὅθεν αἰτίας ὁ προρρηθεὶς Εὐστάθιος κατὰ τοῦ Σταυρακίου ἀνήγαγεν, ὡς· «Τὸ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν θέμα δύο στρατηγοὺς ἔχειν οὐ δύναται, δηλονότι ἐμὲ καὶ Σταυράκιον, τὸν κατεπάνω Μαρδαϊτῶν, ἄλλα γὰρ ἐμοῦ

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*V* 152 καὶ *om.* V edd. || 154 Μελείας P || Λικανδὸν P || 155 ὀνομάσθη P || 156 κλεισούρα P || 157 Λικανδοῦ P || 159 τουρμαρχάτον P || 160 τοῦ τὸ:

with that Ismael, Symposion remained deserted. And when Baasakios was accused of plotting treachery and exiled, Larissa became once more a county under Sebasteia, and Leo Argyrus, son of Eustathius, was appointed military governor there, he who afterwards became magister and commander-in-chief. But Melias had his seat at Euphrateia, and when Constantine Dux had been appointed in Charsianon, this Melias aforesaid came down and took possession of the ancient city of Lykandos and built it up and fortified it and took his seat there, and it was named a frontier pass by Leo, the Christ-loving emperor. After this he crossed from Lykandos to the mountain of Tzamandos and there built the city which is there now, and similarly this too was designated a frontier pass. And he took possession of Symposion also and made it into a county. And in the first reign of Constantine the Christ-loving sovereign, when his mother Zoë was associated with him, Lykandos became a province, and the first military governor to be nominated was the patrician Melias, who was, of course, at that time frontier warden of Lykandos. And this same Melias, both for the loyalty that was in him toward the emperor of the Romans and for his many and infinite feats of daring against the Saracens, was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister.

Abara used to be a county under the province of Sebasteia, but in the time of the sovereign Romanus it became a frontier pass.

By old-established rule the captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia was appointed of course by the emperor; and therefore by Leo, the emperor, of most blessed memory, Stauracius, surnamed Platys, was appointed captain-general, who gave splendid service for several years, but disposed things ill at his ending. For when the protospatharius Eustathius, of the imperial chancellery, was sent as deputy *military governor* to the province of the Kibyrrhaiotai, certain jealousies and broils arose between them: and sometimes Stauracius Platys, who relied upon the patrician Himerius, the foreign minister, as one who had been his intermediary with the emperor, would fall foul of the deputy Eustathius and indeed flatly oppose him in matters where he saw him acting or giving orders beyond his competence; and sometimes, on the other hand, the deputy Eustathius would be at odds with Stauracius and would devise many assaults and artful accusations against him. For this reason the aforesaid Eustathius reported unfavourably on Stauracius, saying: «The province of the Kibyrrhaiotai cannot have two military governors, me, that is, and Stauracius, captain-general of the

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τοῦτο edd. τὸ *coni*. Bekker || **161** Λικανδὸς P || **162** Λικανδοῦ P || ὀνομάσθη P || Μελίας P V edd.: Μελείας (*littera* ε *rubro atramento addita*) P⁸ *mg*. P⁸ || **163** κλεισουριάρχου Ba Be || Λικανδῷ P || **164** Μελίας P V edd.: Μελείας (*littera* ε *rubro atramento addita*) P⁸ *mg*. P⁸ || **172** διέπρεψεν: διέτριψεν Be || ἱκανούς V edd.: ἱκανῶς P || **174** ἀσηκρίτης P || **178** ἐκ προσώπου Ba Be: ἐκπροσώπου P ἐκπροσώπω Pˣ V || **183** Κιβυρραιωτῶν edd.: Κιβυρρωτῶν P || **184** *post* καὶ *add*. τὸν edd. ||

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170vP προ|στάττοντος καὶ διοικεῖν ἐθέλοντος, ἄλλα ποιεῖν ὁ κατεπάνω Μαρ-
δαϊτῶν βούλεται, καὶ αὐτεξούσιος ὢν τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα μανικῶς δια-
πράττεται.» Ἀνήγαγεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας ψευδολογίας τινάς, καὶ πολλὰς
μηχανὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ συνερράψατο, τὰς μὲν πιθανῶς συνθείς, τὰς δὲ
συκοφαντικῶς τε καὶ μανικῶς ἀναπλασάμενος. Καὶ οὗτος δηλονότι τῷ
230Be πατρικίῳ Ἡμερίῳ καὶ λογοθέτῃ | τοῦ δρόμου θαρρῶν ταῦτα ἔγραψεν,
ἐπειδὴ τῷ τότε καιρῷ φίλος Εὐσταθίου μᾶλλον ἦν ὁ πατρίκιος Ἡμέριος,
ἤπερ Σταυρακίου, κἂν ὕστερον ἐχθρανθέντες ἀμφότεροι ἔχθρας ἀνάμεστοι
καὶ μανίας πλήρεις γεγόνασιν. Τὴν οὖν τοιαύτην ἀναφορὰν Εὐσταθίου
δεξάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῇ αἰτήσει τοῦ πατρικίου Ἡμερίου πεισθείς,
171rP | δέδωκεν τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου κατεπάνω ἐξουσίαν τῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ
Εὐσταθίῳ καὶ ἐκ προσώπου. Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου βασιλέως τὸν βίον ἀπὸ
τῶν κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἄνω μετηλλαχότος, Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ,
τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατὴς γεγονώς, ὡς πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ
μακαρίου βασιλέως καὶ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ προβληθέντας ἔν τισιν ἀρχαῖς
διεδέξατο, χαιρεκάκοις καὶ κακοβούλοις ἀνδράσιν πεισθείς, οὕτω δὴ καὶ
τὸν προρρηθέντα Εὐστάθιον διεδέξατο, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἕτερον.
Ὁ γὰρ Χασὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ ἐκ Σαρακηνῶν τῷ γένει ὁρμώμενος, Σαρακηνὸς
δὲ τῷ ὄντι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ διατελῶν, ὁ τοῦ
πατρικίου Δαμιανοῦ δοῦλος, ἐπεὶ πολλὴν παρρησίαν εἶχεν τῷ τότε καιρῷ
171vP ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος | οὗτος Χασὲ πρὸς τὸν κύριν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν βασιλέα,
ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Νικήτας, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Χασέ, ὁ καὶ
τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν στρατηγὸς γεγονὼς παρὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου βασιλέως, ὁ Νικήτας οὖν οὗτος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προρρηθέντος Χασέ,
τὸν βασιλέα ᾐτήσατο, ὅτι· «Ὡς ἀρχαῖόν σου φίλον εὐεργετεῖν με πρέπον
231Be ἐστίν, ἓν δὲ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν σου αἴτημα ἔχω, | καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν
εἰσακοῦσαί μου». Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως διαπορουμένου καὶ ἀντερωτῶντος,
τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο τὸ αἴτημα, καὶ ὅπερ ἐὰν ἐστιν, ὑπακοῦσαι ὑποσχομένου,
ὁ προρρηθεὶς Νικήτας ᾐτήσατο, ὅτι· «Τὸν υἱόν μου, αἰτοῦμαι, ἵνα ποιήσῃ
ἡ βασιλεία σου κατεπάνω τῶν Μαρδαϊτῶν Ἀτταλείας», οὗτινος ὁ βασι-
172rP λεὺς τῇ αἰτήσει πεισθείς, ἐπὶ προε|λεύσεως εἰσαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσο-
τρικλίνου τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Νικήτα, τὸν σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτον
Ἀβέρκιον, προεβάλετο αὐτὸν κατεπάνω τῶν Μαρδαϊτῶν Ἀτταλείας,
καθὼς καὶ ὁ μακάριος Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς πρότερον Σταυράκιον τὸν Πλατὺν
ἐπονομαζόμενον. Καὶ ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆθεν παλαιὸς ἔχων τύπος, καθὼς ἐν
ἀρχαῖς εἴρηται, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως προβάλλεσθαι τὸν κατεπάνω Μαρ-
δαϊτῶν.

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*V* 188 συνθεῖς] *litteras in ras. scr.* P[1] || 189 οὗτος (*littera* ω *partim erasa accentuque correcto*) P[x] V edd.: οὕτως P || 191 ἐπεὶ δὴ P: Ἐπὶ δὲ edd. ||

Mardaïtes; for while I give one set of orders and try to administer them, the captain-general of the Mardaïtes will do something different, and being his own master acts wildly as he sees fit.» He reported other false charges besides, and concocted many artful accusations against him, composing some that had an air of probability and inventing others that were calumnious and wild. These things he wrote down, relying of course upon the patrician Himerius, the foreign minister. And at that time the patrician Himerius was more friendly with Eustathius than with Stauracius, though afterwards the two fell out and became full of enmity and replete with fury. The emperor, then, received this report of Eustathius and, acceding to the request of the patrician Himerius, gave the authority of this captain-general to the protospatharius Eustathius, the deputy. But when the emperor, of blessed memory, exchanged the things below for the things above, Alexander his brother took the position of senior emperor, and as he superseded all who had been appointed to any commands by the emperor his brother, of blessed memory, being thereto persuaded by malicious and foolish men, so he superseded the aforesaid Eustathius also, and made another in his stead. For the late Chase, who sprang from the race of the Saracens and continued a true Saracen in thought and manners and religion, the slave of the patrician Damian, this protospatharius Chase had at that time great freedom of intercourse with the lord Alexander the emperor, as had also the protospatharius Niketas, the brother of Chase, who was made military governor of the Kibyrrhaiotai by this lord Alexander the emperor; this Niketas, then, brother of the aforesaid Chase, made a request to the emperor, saying: «As I am your old friend, it is fitting you should do me a favour; and I have a thing to request of your imperial majesty, and it is right that you should grant it to me.» The emperor being taken by surprise and asking in his turn what this request might be and promising to grant it whatever it was, the aforesaid Niketas made his request, saying: «I request that your imperial majesty should make my son captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia»; and the emperor, acceding to his request, on the occasion of a procession introduced into the Chrysotriclinus the son of the protospatharius Niketas, the spatharocandidate Abercius, and appointed him captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia, just as Leo the emperor, of blessed memory, had previously appointed Stauracius, surnamed Platys. It is the old rule, established from the beginning, as was said at the start, that the captain-general of the Mardaïtes is appointed by the emperor.

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192 ἐχθρανθέντες Be: ἔχθραν θέντες P || 193 Εὐσταθίου] *litteras* σταθ *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 196 καὶ: τῷ edd. || ἐκ προσώπου Ba Be: ἐκπροσώπω P || Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου βασιλέως Be: τῶ δὲ μακαρίω βασιλεῖ P || 198 ὡς Meursius Be: ὃς P || 205 κῦριν P || 207 τοῦ αὐτοῦ V edd. || 208 *ante* βασιλέως *add.* τοῦ edd. || 213 ποιήσῃ Ba Be ποιήσῃ V Me: ποιήσει P || 216 σπαθαροκανδιδάτον P ||

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Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Θεοφίλου παρακοιμώμενος γέγονεν
Σχολαστίκιος ὀστιάριος, ἐπὶ δὲ Μιχαήλ, υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου, παρακοιμώμενος
Δαμιανὸς πατρίκιος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν παρακοιμώ-
μενος Βασίλειος, ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεύς. Ἐπὶ δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλο-
172vP χρίστου δεσπότου, παρακοιμώμενος | οὐ γέγονεν δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς αὐτοῦ
βασιλείας. Ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, παρακοιμώμενος
γέγονεν Σαμωνᾶς ὁ πατρίκιος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως
γέγονεν Κωνσταντῖνος πατρίκιος. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέως γέγονεν
232Be παρακοιμώμενος πατρίκιος Βαρβᾶτος, ἐπὶ δὲ | Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ
φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, γέγονεν πάλιν Κωνσταντῖνος πατρίκιος, ὁ προρρη-
θεὶς ἐπὶ Λέοντος δεσπότου, ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥωμανοῦ δεσπότου Θεοφάνης πατρί-
κιος, ἐπὶ δὲ Κωνσταντίνου πάλιν τὸ δεύτερον γέγονεν Βασίλειος
πατρίκιος.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ ἀειμνήστου βασι-
λέως, ἦν ὁ Κτενᾶς ἐκεῖνος γέρων, κληρικὸς πάνυ πλούσιος, ὅστις ἦν καὶ
δομέστικος εἰς τὴν Νέαν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὑπῆρχεν δὲ τεχνίτης εἰς τὸ ᾆσμα,
173rP οἷος τῷ τότε καιρῷ ἕτερος οὐκ ἦν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Κτενᾶς τὸν πατρί|κιον
Σαμωνᾶν ἐδυσώπησεν, τῷ τότε καιρῷ παρακοιμωμένου αὐτοῦ ὄντος,
μεσιτεῦσαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ γενέσθαι πρωτοσπαθάριον καὶ
φορεῖν ἐπικούτζουλον καὶ προέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν Λαυσιακὸν καὶ καθέζε-
σθαι ὡς πρωτοσπαθάριον καὶ ῥογεύεσθαι αὐτὸν λίτραν μίαν καὶ ὑπὲρ
τῆς τοιαύτης ἀντιλήψεως δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ λίτρας τεσσαράκοντα. Ὁ δὲ
βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, λέγων τῶν ἀδυνάτων τυγχάνειν,
καί· «Εἰς μεγάλην ἀδοξίαν τῆς βασιλείας μου κληρικὸν γενέσθαι πρω-
τοσπαθάριον.» Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Κτενᾶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Σαμωνᾶ
ταῦτα, προσέθηκεν εἰς τὰς τεσσαράκοντα λίτρας καὶ σχολαρίκια ζυγὴν
μίαν, ἐκτιμηθεῖσαν λίτρας δέκα καὶ τραπεζίου ἀσήμιν ἔνζωδον διάχρυσον
ἀνάγλυφον, ἐκτιμηθὲν καὶ αὐτὸ λίτρας δέκα. Καὶ δυσωπηθεὶς ὁ βασι-
173vP λεὺς τῇ παρακλήσει | τοῦ πατρικίου Σαμωνᾶ καὶ παρακοιμωμένου,
233Be ἀνελάβετο τὰς τεσσαράκοντα τοῦ | χρυσίου λίτρας καὶ τὴν ζυγὴν τὰ
σχολαρίκια καὶ τοῦ τραπεζίου τὸ ἀνάγλυφον καὶ διάχρυσον ἀσήμιν, ὡς
γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν δόμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κτενᾶ λίτρας ἑξήκοντα. Τότε ἐποίησεν
αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρωτοσπαθάριον, καὶ ἐρογεύθη τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ λίτραν
μίαν. Ἔζησεν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Κτενᾶς μετὰ τὸ τιμηθῆναι αὐτὸν πρωτοσπα-
θάριον ἔτη δύο καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν· ἐρογεύθη δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη ἀνὰ λίτραν μίαν.

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*V* 224 τοῦτον edd.: τοῦτο P || 225 *ante* Βασιλείου *add.* τοῦ edd. || τοῦ *om.* edd. ||
226 αὐτοῦ τῆς V edd. || 229 *ante* πατρίκιος *add.* ὁ V edd. || *ante* βασιλέως *add.*

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In the time of the emperor Theophilus, Scholasticius the door-keeper was chamberlain, and in the time of Michael, son of Theophilus, the patrician Damian was chamberlain and after him, in the same reign, Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, was chamberlain. In the time of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, there was no chamberlain during all his reign. In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the patrician Samonas was chamberlain, and after him, in the time of the same emperor, the patrician Constantine. In the time of Alexander the emperor, the patrician Barbatus was chamberlain; and in the time of Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign, the patrician Constantine, mentioned before in the time of the sovereign Leo, was *chamberlain* again; and in the time of the sovereign Romanus, the patrician Theophanes; and in the second reign of Constantine, the patrician Basil.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving and ever-memorable emperor, lived the late Ktenas, an aged cleric of great wealth, who was precentor of the New Church and was skilled in singing as was no other at that time. This same Ktenas besought the patrician Samonas, who was at that time chamberlain, to intercede for him with the emperor so that he might be made protospatharius and wear the shirt and go in procession to the Lausiacus and take his seat as protospatharius and receive a stipend of one pound, and in respect of this remuneration might give the emperor forty pounds. But the emperor could not bring himself to do this, saying that it was out of his power, and «to the great disgrace of my imperial majesty if a cleric becomes protospatharius». On hearing this from the patrician Samonas, this same Ktenas added to the forty pounds a pair of ear-rings valued at ten pounds, and a silver table with animals on it in gold relief, also valued at ten pounds. And the emperor, besought by the request of the patrician Samonas, the chamberlain, took the forty pounds of gold and the pair of ear-rings and the table with its gold on silver relief work, so that the total gift of the same Ktenas amounted to sixty pounds. Then the emperor made him protospatharius, and he received a stipend on that occasion of one pound. After being honoured with the rank of protospatharius this same Ktenas lived two years and then died; and he received a stipend of one pound for each of the two years.

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τοῦ edd. || 233 πάλιν *om.* edd. || δεύτερον edd.: β′ P || 243 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: σαράκοντα P || 244 τοῦτο Meursius Ba Be: τοῦτον P || 247 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: μ′ P || 248 δέκα edd.: ι′ P || τραπεζίου P V Ba Be: τραπέζιον P$^y$ || ἀσίμην P || ἔνζωδον Be: ἔνζοδον (*littera* ζ *in ras. scripta*) P[1] Ba ἔνδοξον V || 249 δέκα edd.: ι′ P || 251 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: μ′ P || 252 ἀσίμην P || 253 λίτρας V edd.: λίτραι P || ἑξήκοντα edd.: ξ′ P || 256 δύο[1] edd.: β′ P.

## 51. Περὶ τοῦ, τίνι τρόπῳ γέγονεν τὸ βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον, καὶ περὶ τῶν πρωτοκαράβων τοῦ αὐτοῦ δρομωνίου, καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τῆς φιάλης.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ σοφωτάτου 174rP βασιλέως, οὐκ ἦν βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον, | ἐν ᾧ εἰσήρχετο ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' εἰς ῥούσιον ἀγράριον εἰσήρχετο, πλὴν ἐπὶ Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ὅτε ἀπῆλθεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰ θέρμα τῆς Προύσης, καὶ πάλιν ὅτε ἀπῆλθεν θεάσασθαι τὸ γεφύριον τοῦ Ῥηγίου, δηλονότι τῇ κελεύσει αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίᾳ κτιζόμενον, εἰς δρομώνιον εἰσῆλθεν, καὶ ἕτερον δρομώνιον ἠκολούθει ὄπισθεν. Οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσελθόντες ἐλάται ὑπῆρχον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀγραρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Στενιτῶν πλωΐμων. 234Be Τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν εἶχεν καὶ τὸ Στε|νὸν χελάνδια βασιλικοπλώϊμα μέχρι τῶν δέκα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μακάριος βασιλεὺς ὅλα τὰ πλείονα αὐτοῦ μεταστασίματα εἰς τὰς Πηγὰς ἐποίει διὰ τὸ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα 174vP παλάτια, ὁμοίως καὶ | εἰς τὸ Ἕβδομον καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱερείαν καὶ εἰς τὸν Βρύαν, εἰσήρχετο εἰς ἀγράριον κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον. Ὅτε δὲ εἰς μακρότερον ἀπῄει πρόκενσον, οἷον εἰς τὰ θέρμα τῆς Προύσης καὶ εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν τοῦ Ῥηγίου τῆς γεφύρας, εἰσῄει, καθὼς προείρηται, εἰς δρομώνιον, καὶ ἠκολούθει ἕτερον δρομώνιον διὰ τὸ καὶ πλείονας ἄρχοντας εἰσέρχεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους εἰς τὸ δεύτερον δρομώνιον. Ὁ δὲ ἀοίδιμος καὶ σοφώτατος Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς φιλοτιμότερόν πως πρὸς τοὺς μαγίστρους καὶ πατρικίους καὶ οἰκείους συγκλητικοὺς διακείμενος καὶ θέλων ἀεὶ τούτοις συγχαίρεσθαι, λογισάμενος μὴ ἐπαρκεῖν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν πλειόνων ἀρχόντων τὸ ἀγράριον, ἐποίησεν δρομώνιον, 175rP καὶ δὴ ἀπαύστως εἰσήρχετο ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅπου δ' ἂν | ἐβούλετο ἀπελθεῖν. Συνήρχοντο δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ, οἵους ἂν ἐβούλετο τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀπό τε μαγίστρων καὶ πατρικίων. Κατὰ τύπον γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγραρίῳ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος εἰσήρχετο μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ μὴ ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης καὶ ὁ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλωΐμου καὶ ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ὁ ἑταιρειάρχης καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς καὶ ὁ τῶν δεήσεων, καὶ ὅτε παρῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ ὁ παρακοιμώμενος καὶ ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος 235Be καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοιτωνιτῶν, οὓς ἂν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ | βασιλεύς. Δι' οὖν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐποίησεν Λέων, ὁ ἀοίδιμος καὶ σοφώτατος βασιλεύς, τὸ δρομώνιον, καὶ μετά τινα καιρὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἕτερον δρομώνιον, ὃ καὶ δεύτερον προσηγορεύθη καὶ ἀκόλουθος ὠνομάσθη. Καὶ γὰρ εἰς

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*V* **51.** 3 δρομωνίου edd.: δρόμωνος P || 8 ἀπῆλθεν *corr.* Jenkins: ἐπῆλθεν P edd. || 9 Ῥιγίου P || 10 κτιζόμενον edd.: κτιζομένου P || 12 Στενίτων P || 13 καὶ *om.* edd. || βασιλικοπλώϊμα: βασιλικὰ πλώϊμα edd. || 14 δέκα edd.:

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## 51. Why the imperial galley came to be made, and of the steersmen of this same galley, and all about the protospatharius of the basin.

Until the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, there was no imperial galley for the emperor to embark in, but he used to embark in a scarlet barge; except that, in the time of the Christ-loving sovereign Basil, when this same emperor visited the hot baths of Prousa, and again when he went to inspect the bridge of Rhegion that was, of course, being built by his mandate and providence, he embarked in a galley, and another galley followed behind. And the rowers who embarked in it were taken from the imperial barge and from the sailors of the Stenon. For of old the Stenon too had up to ten ships of war of the imperial navy. But since the emperor, of blessed memory, on most of his progresses always went to Pegai because of the palace he had built there, and in like manner to Hebdomon and to Hiereia and to Bryas, he used to embark in a barge, according to the old rule. But when he was going on a longer progress, to the hot baths of Prousa, for example, and to inspect the bridge of Rhegion, he would embark, as was said above, in a galley, and another galley would follow, so that more nobles could embark with the emperor, and the rest in the second galley. But the glorious and most wise Leo, the emperor, who was rather more hospitably inclined towards magisters and patricians and familiars of senatorial rank, and who always wished them to share his pleasure in this, reckoned that the barge was inadequate for the reception of a larger number of nobles, and constructed a galley, and would invariably embark in it wherever he desired to go. And there would go with him whomsoever he might desire of the nobles, both of magisters and patricians. For in the barge it used to be the rule that none other embarked with the emperor except the colonel of the watch and the lord admiral and the foreign minister and the commander of the company and the private secretary and the secretary of the pleas and, when he was present in Constantinople, the commander-in-chief also, and the chamberlain and the master of the wardrobe and of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber whomsoever the emperor commanded. For this reason, then, Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, constructed the galley, and, some while after, he constructed another galley as well, which was known as the 'second' and christened 'Attaché'. For this emperor, of blessed memory, would go on distant

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ι′ P || 14/5 μεταστασήματα P || 16 Ἱερείαν Moravcsik: Ἱερίαν Ba Be Εἰρίαν P Me Ἡρία Meursius || 16 τὸν: τὴν edd. || 17 Βροίαν P || *post* εἰς[1] *add.* τὸ edd. || 19 γέφυρας P || 20 διὰ τὸ *coni.* Bekker: διότι P edd. || 21 δεύτερον edd.: β′ P || 24 τούτοις *coni.* Jenkins; τοῦτο P edd. || 31 παρῆν] παρεῖν (*littera* ει *in ras. scripta*) P[1] || 33 κοιτωνίτων P edd. || 36 δεύτερον edd.: β′ P || ἀκολούθως V edd. || ὀνομάσθη P ||

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175ᵛP μακρόκενσα | ἀπήει ὁ μακάριος οὗτος βασιλεύς, οἷον εἰς Νικομήδειαν,
εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον, εἰς τὰ Πύθια, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπετηδεύσατο τὰ δύο
δρομώνια εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων
αὐτοῦ. Πολλάκις γὰρ ἐξερχομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ πλησίον πρόκενσα,
τὴν μίαν οὐσίαν κατελίμπανεν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον πρὸς φύλαξιν τοῦ
παλατίου διὰ τὸ τὸ τάγμα τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἐπικρατήσαντα παλαιὸν
τύπον μετὰ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν ταξιδεύειν, καὶ ἐναπομένοντες
εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ⟨οὐ⟩ συνεξιοῦσι κατὰ τύπον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰς
τὰ πρόκενσα.

Ὅτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν βασιλικὸν ὀφφίκιον ἦν τῷ πρωτο-
σπαθαρίῳ τῆς φιάλης· οὗτος δὲ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης ἐπεκράτει
176ʳP καὶ εἶχεν ὑπ' αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς ἐλάτας | τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀγραρίων,
ῥουσίων τε καὶ μαύρων, ἄνευ τῶν ἀγραρίων τῆς αὐγούστης· τὰ γὰρ
ἀγράρια τῆς αὐγούστης, τά τε ῥούσια καὶ μαῦρα, ἐπεκράτει καὶ ἐξου-
σίαζεν ὁ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς αὐγούστης. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος,
τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως, καινουργηθέντα τὰ δρομώνια
236Be κελεύσει βασιλικῇ, εἶχεν ὁ αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης | καὶ τῶν
τοιούτων δρομωνίων τοὺς ἐλάτας ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν. Ὁ οὖν προρ-
ρηθεὶς πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ καθ'
ἑκάστην δείλην ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ τύπου κατήρχετο καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐν τῇ
φιάλῃ (διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐλέγετο πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης), καὶ
τὰς ἀναμεταξὺ δίκας τῶν ἐλατῶν τῶν τε ἀγραρίων καὶ τῶν δρομωνίων,
176ᵛP τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξουσιαζομένων, ἔκρινεν καὶ κατὰ τὸ δί|καιον ἐδίκαζέν
τε καὶ ἐδιοίκει. Καὶ ἡνίκα παρὰ τὸ δέον εὕρισκέν τινα ἢ ἐργαζόμενον
ἤ τινα ἀδικοῦντα ἢ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν δουλείαν βαγεύοντα, τοῦτον διὰ μαγγλα-
βίων σφοδρῶν ἐπεξήρχετο. Καὶ καθ' ὃν εἴρηται τρόπον, πάντες οἱ τῶν
δρομωνίων ἐλάται καὶ οἱ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγραρίων, τῶν τε ῥουσίων
καὶ τῶν μαύρων, ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν ὑπῆρχον τοῦ πρωτοσπα-
θαρίου τῆς φιάλης. Τὰ δὲ τῆς αὐγούστης ἀγράρια, τά τε ῥούσια καὶ
μαῦρα, ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν ὑπῆρχον τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς
αὐγούστης, δηλονότι τὸν λόγον τῶν ἀγραρίων τούτων ποιοῦντος τοῦ
τῆς τραπέζης οὐχὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐγοῦσταν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. Ἐπὶ
δὲ Λέοντος, τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως, ἦν πρωτοσπαθάριος
177ʳP τῆς | φιάλης ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Ἰωάννης, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην ὁ Θαλάσσων,
καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γέγονεν ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος ὁ Ποδάρων, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον
ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Λέων ὁ Ἀρμένης, ὁ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἀρσενίου
237Be καὶ μαγγλαβίτου πατήρ. Οὗτοι δέ, ὅ τε ὁ πρωτο|σπαθάριος ὁ Ποδάρων
καὶ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Λέων ὁ Ἀρμένης, πρωτελάται γεγόνασιν τοῦ
πατρικίου Νάσαρ καὶ δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωΐμου, καὶ ἐπὶ Βασιλείου,

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progresses, to Nicomedeia, for instance, to Olympus, to Pythia, and therefore he had the two galleys specially made for the service and recreation of himself and his nobles. For when he went out on a short progress, he used often to leave one of the complements behind in the hippodrome to guard the palace; because the brigade of the Arithmos, according to the old rule which has grown into force, goes out on active service under the commander-in-chief and they, *this complement*, stay behind in the hippodrome and do *not* go out on progress with the emperors in the ordinary way.

From time immemorial the protospatharius of the basin has been an imperial appointment; and this protospatharius of the basin used to control and have beneath him all the oarsmen of the imperial barges, both scarlet and black, except for the barges of the Augusta: for the barges of the Augusta, both scarlet and black, were controlled by and under the authority of the master of the Augusta's table. In the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, when the new galleys were constructed by imperial mandate, this same protospatharius of the basin had beneath his authority the oarsmen of these galleys also. Now, the aforesaid protospatharius of the basin would by ancient rule go down every day in the afternoon and take his seat in the basin (for which reason he was called the protospatharius of the basin), and would judge cases arising between the oarsmen, both of the barges and of the galleys, over whom he had authority, and would give sentence and administer according to the law. And whenever he found anyone acting beyond his competence or wronging another or remiss in his own work, he would punish him with a sound cudgelling. And, as has been said, all the oarsmen of the galleys and of the emperor's barges, both scarlet and black, were beneath the hand and the supervision of the protospatharius of the basin. But the barges of the Augusta, both scarlet and black, were beneath the hand and the supervision of the master of the Augusta's table, though of course the master of the table accounted for these barges not to the Augusta, but to the emperor. In the time of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, the protospatharius John, surnamed Thalasson, was protospatharius of the basin, and after him the protospatharius Podaron, and after him the protospatharius Leo Armenius, father of the protospatharius Arsenius, the lictor. These, the protospatharius Podaron and the protospatharius Leo Armenius, had been chief oarsmen of the patrician Nasar, the lord admiral, and in the time of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, were

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*V* 42 τὸ[2] *om.* edd. || 42/3 κατὰ τὸν ἐπικρατήσαντα παλαιὸν τύπον: κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον ἐπεκράτησαν V || 43 ἐναπομένοντες (*etiam* V[1]): ἐναπομένοντος V Me || 44 οὐ *add.* Moravcsik || 56 δείλην V edd.: δήλης P || 58 ἐλάτων P || 60 ἢ <μὴ> ἐργαζόμενον *coni.* Kyriakides || 61/2 μαγλαβίων P || 62 ἐπεξήρχετο F Be: ὑπεξήρχετο P || καθ' ὃν edd.: καθὰ P || 63 τε *om.* edd. || 64 ἐφορίαν P: θεωρίαν edd. || 66 χεῖρα F edd.: χεῖραν P || ἐφορίαν P || 68 αὐγούσταν P || 70 πρωτοσπαθάριος *om.* edd. || 73 ὁ[3] *om.* Ba Be || 74 πρωτοσπαθάριος *om.* Ba Be ||

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τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ἀνῆξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλωΐμου, καὶ γεγόνασιν
πρωτελάται τοῦ ἀγραρίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος,
τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως, ἡνίκα καὶ τὰ δρομώνια ἐποίησεν,
διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς
πρωτοκαράβους. Καὶ περιστάσεως γενομένης, εἰσήγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
177ᵛP τῶν δύο δρομωνίων τοὺς ἐλάτας μετὰ τῶν δύο πρωτοκα|ράβων τοῦ
πρώτου δρομωνίου εἰς χελάνδια πλώϊμα, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐξόπλισιν πολλὴν
καὶ ἀναγκαίαν, οἷον σκουτάρια, δόρκας, κλιβάνια κάλλιστα καὶ ἄλλα,
ὅσα ἐπιδέονται πλώϊμοι στρατιῶται ἐπιφέρεσθαι, καὶ ἀνελάβετο αὐτοὺς
ὁ πατρίκιος Εὐστάθιος καὶ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλωΐμου μετὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
στόλου, καὶ ἀπῄει κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
διὰ τὸ ἀποβλέπειν τὸν πατρίκιον Εὐστάθιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τοῦ πλωΐμου
πρὸς πόλεμον τῶν ἐναντίων. Καὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐκυβέρνα τὸ βασιλικὸν
δρομώνιον Μιχαὴλ ὁ γέρων καὶ ⟨Μιχαὴλ⟩ ὁ συνετὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὄντων αὐτῶν
τῷ τότε καιρῷ πρωτελατῶν. Οἱ δὲ ἐλαύνοντες εἰς τὰ δρομώνια ἕως τῆς
178ʳP ἐλεύσεως τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐλατῶν ὑπῆρχον Στενῖται ἐκ τῶν | οὐσιῶν
τοῦ Στενοῦ. Ὅτε δὲ ὑπέστρεψαν ἐκ τοῦ ταξιδίου, πάλιν ἦσαν εἰς τὴν
ἰδίαν δουλείαν, καθὼς καὶ προϋπῆρχον. Τότε οἱονεὶ φιλοτιμούμενος
ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον τὸν Ποδάρωνα διὰ τὸ ἀνδραγαθῆσαι
238Be αὐτὸν καὶ εὐδοκιμῆσαι | ὑπὲρ πάντας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μαρτυρηθῆναι
καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Εὐσταθίου καὶ δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωΐμου
ἕτερον τοιοῦτον μὴ εἶναι εἰς τὸ πλώϊμον ἐπί τε ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ διεγέρσει
καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εὐνοίᾳ καὶ
ὀρθῇ πίστει, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τῆς
φιάλης. Διὰ δὲ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀγράμματον προστάξει τοῦ βασιλέως
κατήρχετο κριτὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου, καὶ συνεκαθέζετο μετὰ αὐτοῦ
178ᵛP ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ, καὶ ἔκρινεν τοὺς ἐλάτας. | Τὰ δὲ αὐγουστιατικὰ ἀγράρια,
καθὼς προείρηται, ἐπεκράτει ὁ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς αὐγούστης. Μετὰ
τοῦτο δὲ προεβάλετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τόν τε Ποδάρωνα καὶ τὸν Λέοντα τὸν
Ἀρμένην τοποτηρητὰς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλωΐμου, πρωτοκαράβους δὲ τοῦ
δρομωνίου αὐτοῦ προεβάλετο τὸν Μιχαὴλ ἐκεῖνον τὸν γέροντα, πρωτελάτην τῷ τότε καιρῷ τοῦ δρομωνίου τυγχάνοντα, δευτεροελάτην δὲ γεγονότα τοῦ ἀγραρίου Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, καὶ τὸν
ἕτερον Μιχαήλ, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην ὁ Βαρκαλᾶς, ὅστις ἦν πρότερον εἰς τὸ
πλώϊμον πρωτελάτης τοῦ δρουγγαρίου Εὐσταθίου καὶ πατρικίου, ὅτε
ἐπέρασεν τοὺς Τούρκους, καὶ κατεπολέμησεν τὸν Συμεών, τὸν ἄρχοντα
Βουλγαρίας. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Συμεών, ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας, μαθὼν τὴν τοῦ
179ʳP πλω|ΐμου πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄφιξιν, καὶ ὅτι μέλλει τὸ πλώϊμον τοὺς
Τούρκους κατ' αὐτοῦ περᾶσαι, ἐποίησεν λέσας, ἤτοι πλοκοὺς ἰσχυροὺς
πάνυ καὶ στερεμνίους, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς Τούρκους ἀντιπερνᾶν,

promoted from the navy and became chief oarsmen of the barge of the emperor; and in the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, when he constructed the galleys, he made them steersmen for their bravery and seamanship. And when a crisis arose, the emperor seconded the oarsmen of the two galleys, together with the two steersmen of the first galley, to ships of war of the navy, giving them much needful equipment, such as shields, leather targes, very fine coats of mail and everything else that naval personnel require to take with them; and the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, took them with the imperial fleet and went off against the enemy. All this the emperor did because the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, was intending to engage the enemy. And in their stead the imperial galley was steered by Michael the elder and the late *Michael* the clever, who were at that time chief oarsmen. And pending the return of the imperial oarsmen, those who rowed the galleys were Stenites from the complements of the Stenon. But when they returned from the campaign, they resumed the same employment that they had been in before. Then the emperor, to reward, as it were, the protospatharius Podaron because of the bravery he had shown and because he had approved himself above all others in the battle and had received a personal testimonial from the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, that there was in the navy none other like him for bravery and energy and the other virtues, and particularly for affection and upright loyalty toward the emperor, gave to him the authority of the protospatharius of the basin. But because he was illiterate, by order of the emperor a judge from the hippodrome used to go down and take his seat with him in the basin and judge the oarsmen. But the barges of the Augusta, as has been said before, were in the control of the master of the Augusta's table. After this, the emperor appointed Podaron and Leo Armenius to be vice-admirals of the imperial navy, and as steersmen of his galley he appointed the late Michael the elder, who was at that time chief oarsmen of the galley, and had been second oarsman of the barge of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, and the other Michael, surnamed Barkalas, who had previously served in the navy as chief oarsmen of the lord admiral, the patrician Eustathius, when he carried the Turks across and defeated Symeon, prince of Bulgaria. Now this Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, on learning that the navy had arrived in the river, and that the navy was about to carry over the Turks against him, constructed mantlets or wicker fencing, very strong and tough, so that the Turks might not be able to cross over, and by this device the Turks were

*V* 88 τῶν P[1] V edd.: τὸν P || 89 *post* καὶ *alterum* Μιχαὴλ *addendum coniecit* Moravcsik || δ² *om.* V edd. || αὐτῶν: αὐτῷ V Me || 90 πρωτελάτων P || 91 ἐλάτων P || Στενεῖται P || 97 πλώϊμον] *litteras* πλω *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 98 *post* τῇ *add.* τὸν P *del.* P[1] || 100 δὲ: τε edd. || 101 ἀπὸ: ἐπὶ *coni.* Zachariä v. Lingenthal || 102 αὐγουστιακὰ V edd. || 106 δρομωνίου] *litteras* μων *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 107 τοῦ *om.* edd. || 109 ὁ *om.* edd. || 111 κατεπολέμισεν P || 114 πλοκὰς V edd. || || ἰσχυρὰς Ba Be || 115 ἀντιπερᾶν V edd. ||

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239Be | δι' ἣν ἐπίνοιαν καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὸ πρῶτον περᾶσαι. Ὁ οὖν
προρρηθεὶς Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βαρκαλᾶς μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων δύο πλωΐμων ἀναλαβό-
μενοι τὰ σκουτάρια καὶ σπαθία αὐτῶν, ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ῥωμαλέῳ ὁρμήματι
ἐκπηδήσαντες τοῦ χελανδίου, κατέκοψαν τὰς λέσας, ἤτοι τοὺς πλοκούς,
καὶ ἤνοιξαν τὸν πόρον τοὺς Τούρκους. Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Βαρκαλᾶν οἱ
Τοῦρκοι ἰδόντες καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον αὐτοῦ ὑπερθαυμάσαντες, ὅτι μόνος τῶν
δύο προπορευόμενος πλωΐμων πρῶτος κατέκοψεν τὸν πλοκόν, θαυμά-
179vP σαντες εἶπον, ὅτι | τοῦτον ἔπρεπεν ὀνομάζεσθαι πατρίκιον καὶ εἶναι
κεφαλὴν τοῦ πλωΐμου. Τὴν οὖν τοῦ Βαρκαλοῦ ἀνδρειότητα ἀκούσας ὁ
βασιλεύς, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν δευτεροελάτην εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον.
Εἶθ' οὕτως τοῦ Ποδάρωνος καὶ τοῦ Λέοντος γενομένων τοποτηρητῶν,
προεβλήθη ὁ Μιχαὴλ ὁ γέρων καὶ οὗτος ὁ Βαρκαλᾶς πρωτοκάραβοι τοῦ
δρομωνίου.

Ὅτι ὁ προρρηθεὶς Λέων ὁ Ἀρμένης, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου
Ἀρσενίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου, τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, τελευτᾷ τοποτηρητὴς
ὢν εἰς τὸ πλώϊμον, ὁ δὲ πρωτοσπαθάριος ὁ Ποδάρων μετά τινας χρόνους
προεβλήθη στρατηγὸς ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν.

Ὅτι τοῦ Ποδάρωνος γεγονότος τοποτηρητοῦ, προεβλήθη πρωτο-
σπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Θεοφύλακτος ὁ Βιμβιλίδης,
180rP ἀνεψιὸς τυγχάνων τοῦ | πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἰωάννου, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην
240Be Θαλάσσων, καὶ διήρκεσεν ἐν ἔτεσί τισιν | τῆς πρώτης αὐτοκρατορίας
Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου. Τούτου
οὖν τελευτήσαντος, — διὰ τὸ ὑπεργηρᾶσαι τὸν προρρηθέντα Μιχαὴλ τὸν
γέροντα καὶ ἐν πολλῶν ἐτῶν περιόδοις διατρίψαι ἐν τῇ τοῦ πρωτοκαρά-
βου ὑπουργίᾳ — ἐτιμήθη τῇ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ἀξίᾳ καὶ προεβλήθη
καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης. Καὶ εἰσερχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν
τῇ φιάλῃ ἐν τῷ δρομωνίῳ καὶ ἀπιόντος εἴτε ἐν προκένσῳ, εἴτε ἀλλαχοῦ,
ἵστατο ὁ καλὸς ἐκεῖνος γέρων καὶ ἀείμνηστος κατὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης
ἐμπειρίαν μέσον τοῦ δρομωνίου, προθυμοποιῶν καὶ προτρεπόμενος τοὺς
180vP τοῦ δρομωνίου ἐλάτας γενναιότερον καὶ ἀνδρικώτερον ἐλαύνειν τε | καὶ
κωπηλατεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τότε πρωτοκαράβοις ὑποτιθέμενος κατὰ
τὴν δυσκρασίαν καὶ πνεῦσιν τῶν ἀνέμων τὴν βασίλειον ναῦν πηδαλιουχεῖν
τε καὶ κυβερνᾶν. Τούτου οὖν τελευτήσαντος, — διὰ τὸ νήπιον τυγχάνειν
τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀδιάκριτον τοῦ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ παρα-
κοιμωμένου — γέγονεν ὁ Θεόδοτος ἐκεῖνος πρωτοκάραβος, τῷ τότε
καιρῷ πρωτελάτης ὤν, τιμηθεὶς κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς κανδιδᾶτος,
στράτωρ, σπαθάριος, σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρωτο-
σπαθάριος καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης, ὃς ἦν γαμβρὸς τοῦ προρρη-
θέντος Μιχαήλ, τοῦ γέροντος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ τύπου ποτὲ ἐγεγό-
νει ἢ ἐτιμήθη πρωτοκάραβος τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοσπαθάριος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

at first prevented from crossing. So the aforesaid Michael Barkalas and two other sailors took up their shields and swords, and leaping down from the warship with a brave and powerful rush, cut down the mantlets or wicker fences and opened the passage for the Turks. The Turks, who watched this Barkalas and exceedingly admired his bravery because he, by himself, advancing in front of the two sailors, was first to cut down the fencing, said in their admiration that this man ought to be named patrician and be head of the navy. So the emperor, on hearing of the bravery of Barkalas, made him second oarsman in the imperial galley. Thereafter, when Podaron and Leo became vice-admirals, Michael the elder and this Barkalas were appointed steersmen of the galley.

The aforesaid Leo Armenius, father of the late protospatharius Arsenius, the lictor, died a vice-admiral of the navy; but the protospatharius Podaron was after some years appointed military governor in the province of the Kibyrrhaiotai.

When Podaron became vice-admiral, the protospatharius Theophylact Bimbilidis was appointed protospatharius of the basin, who was nephew of the protospatharius John, surnamed Thalasson, and he lasted during a few years of the first reign of Constantine the Porphyrogenitus, the Christ-loving sovereign. On his death, since Michael the elder aforesaid was grown very old indeed and had given many long years of service as steersman, he was honoured with the rank of protospatharius and was also appointed protospatharius of the basin. And when the emperor embarked on the galley in the basin and set out either upon a progress or somewhere else, that good old man, ever memorable for his seamanship, would take his stand amidships of the galley, inspiring und urging the oarsmen of the galley to pull and row more bravely and manfully, and at the same time instructing the steersmen of the day how to manage the rudders and steer the imperial vessel when the winds were blowing distemperately. Well, he died; and, owing to the infancy of the emperor and the indiscretion of the patrician and chamberlain Constantine, the late Theodotus, at that time chief oarsmen, was made steersman, and was at sundry times honoured with the ranks of candidate, strator, spatharius, spatharocandidate, and afterwards protospatharius and protospatharius of the basin; he was son-in-law of the aforesaid Michael the elder. For by ancient rule a steersman of the emperor had never been made, or honoured with the

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*V* **116** Τούρκοι P || **120** τοὺς *om.* edd. || Τούρκοις V edd. || **121** Τούρκοι P || **123** καὶ εἶναι edd.: εἶναι . καὶ P || **125** δρομώνιον βασιλικὸν edd.: δρομώνιον ⟨τὸ⟩ βασιλικὸν *coni.* Bekker || **139** ἐν: εἰς edd. || περιόδοις Moravcsik: περιόδους P edd. || **144** ἐμπειρίαν] *litteras* ει *in ras. scr.* P[1] || **145** ἀνδρεικώτερον (*litteris* ει *in ras. scriptis*) P[1]: ἀνδρειότερον edd. || **147** ναῦν V edd.: ναῦ P || **151** κανδιδάτος P || **152** σπαθαροκανδιδάτος P ||

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241Be 181rP σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος, ἀλλ' | ἢ κανδιδᾶτος ἢ στράτωρ | ἢ τὸ πολὺ σπαθά-
ριος. Ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος, τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως, οὗτος
μόνος ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἐτιμήθη σπαθάριος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος.
Διὰ δὲ τὸ νήπιον τυγχάνειν τὸν βασιλέα, καθὼς εἴρηται, καὶ τὸ ἀδιάκρι-
τον τοῦ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ παρακοιμωμένου γεγόνασιν οἱ
πρωτοκάραβοι σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτοι, καὶ οὗτος ὁ Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσπαθά-
ριος. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ἀνελθόντος ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ
καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰπεῖν, ἐγκρατοῦς γενομένου, τὸν μὲν
Θεόδοτον διὰ τὴν πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον, τὸν φιλόχριστον δεσπότην καὶ
βασιλέα, εὔνοιαν οὐ μόνον διεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διὰ δαρμοῦ καὶ κουρᾶς
ἐπεξῆλθε τιμωρίαν, καὶ ἐν διηνεκεῖ παρέπεμψεν ἐξορίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τῷ
181vP τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο, | ἐάσας τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ πρωτοκάραβον Κωνσταντῖ-
νον ἐκεῖνον τὸν Λωρικᾶτον διὰ τὸ διὰ φόβον εὐνοϊκῶς διακεῖσθαι πρὸς
αὐτὸν καὶ ὅρκῳ ἰδιοχείρῳ ἐξαρνησάμενον τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Κων-
σταντῖνον εὔνοιαν καὶ ἀγάπην, ὃν πρῶτον μὲν σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτον
ἐτίμησεν, καὶ πρῶτον πρωτοκάραβον ποιήσας καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριον
τῆς φιάλης προβαλόμενος, μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριον ἐτίμησεν.
Οὗτος οὖν δι' ὑπομνήσεως τοῦ κληρικοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ κατὰ συγχώρησιν
Θεοῦ ῥέκτωρος γεγονότος, ὑπέθετο τῷ μακαρίτῃ βασιλεῖ, τῷ κυρῷ
Ῥωμανῷ, ὅτι· «Ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Θεοφύλακτος καὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς
242Be αὐγούστης, ἐπεὶ προβολὴ καὶ ἀντίληψις τῆς | μητρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως
τυγχάνει καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους δεσπότας
182rP καὶ εὐεργέ|τας προσπαθεῖν. Καὶ τίς ἡ χρεία τὸν λαὸν τῶν ἀγραρίων
τῆς φιάλης ἐν δυσὶν ἐξουσίαις διαιρεῖσθαι; Δύναται γὰρ ὁ τῆς τραπέζης
τῆς αὐγούστης τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν αὐγοῦσταν εὐνοίᾳ κρατού-
μενος, ἐξαπατῆσαι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατουμένους αὐγουστιατικοὺς ἀγρα-
ριώτας, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν δρομωνίων ἐλάτας, καὶ μελετήσουσίν
τινα ἐπανάστασιν κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας σου.» Ταῦτα εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν
κακὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ σκολιὸν ῥέκτωρα καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα. Εὔκολον
γὰρ ἡ κουφότης καὶ ἀδιάκριτος γνώμη πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ κακούργως λεγό-
μενον καὶ ὑποτιθέμενον ἀποπλανᾶσθαι καὶ ἐκκυλίεσθαι. Καὶ εἰπὼν
182vP πείθει καὶ πείσας, δίδοται αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τῶν αὐγου|στιατικῶν ἀγραρίων
ἐξουσία. Καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐπεκράτησεν τὸ τὸν πρωτοκάραβον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
δρομωνίου ἐπέχειν καὶ ἐξουσιάζειν πάντας τοὺς ἐλάτας τῶν τε δρομωνίων

*V* 156 σπαθαροκανδιδάτος P ‖ κανδιδάτος P ‖ 158 σπαθαροκανδιδάτος P ‖ 159 νήπιον — καὶ τὸ *om.* Be ‖ 160 καὶ *om.* V edd. ‖ 161 σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι P ‖ 163 ἐγκρατοῦς edd.: ἐγκρατῶς P ‖ 165 ⟨οὐ⟩ διεδέξατο *coni.* Meursius ‖ 166 ἐπεξῆλθε *corr.* Jenkins: ὑπεξῆλθε P edd. ‖ παρέπεμπεν V edd. ‖ 168 φόβου

rank of protospatharius, or even of spatharocandidate, but was either a candidate or a strator, or at the most, a spatharius. And in the time of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, this Michael alone was honoured with the rank of spatharius and subsequently of spatharocandidate. But owing, as has been said, to the infancy of the emperor and to the indiscretion of the patrician Constantine, the chamberlain, steersmen became spatharocandidates, and this Michael a protospatharius. But when the emperor lord Romanus ascended into the palace and, somehow or other, possessed himself of the throne, he superseded Theodotus because of his affection for Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign and emperor, and not only that but he punished him with flogging and tonsuring and dismissed him to perpetual banishment, in which he came to the end of his life; but his colleague in the steersmanship, the late Constantine Loricatus, *the emperor lord Romanus* let be, because *Loricatus* was affectionately disposed towards him through fear and had renounced, by an oath written in his own hand, his affection and love toward the emperor Constantine; him *the emperor lord Romanus* first honoured with the rank of spatharocandidate, and, after making him first steersman and appointing him protospatharius of the basin, honoured him shortly afterwards with the rank of protospatharius. Now, this man, by means of a memorial to the cleric John, whom God had allowed to become rector, put before the emperor, of blessed memory, the lord Romanus, this suggestion: «The protospatharius Theophylact, master of the Augusta's table, since he is an appointment and a support of the mother of the emperor and of the emperor himself, must necessarily be in sympathy with his own masters and benefactors. Besides, what need is there for the men of the barges of the basin to be divided between two authorities? For the master of the Augusta's table, governed by his affection towards the emperor and the Augusta, may mislead the sailors of the barges of the Augusta, who are under his control, and perhaps even the oarsmen of the galleys, and they will plan a rising against your imperial majesty.» With these words he won over that evil and crooked rector, and through him the emperor. For it is easy for a light head and indiscreet heart to be seduced and fall towards every malicious word and hint. He spoke and won them over, and, having won them over, was given the authority over the barges of the Augusta also. And since then it has become the rule for the steersman of the imperial galley to have charge of and exercise authority

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edd. || 169 ἐξαρνησάμενον edd.: ἐξαρνησαμένου P || 170 σπαθαροκανδιδάτον P || 174 ῥέκτωρος *scr.* Moravcsik: ῥαίκτωρος (*litteris* αι *in ras. scriptis*) P¹ V edd. || βασιλεῖ, τῷ: τῷ βασιλεῖ Be || 180 τὴν αὐγοῦσταν Moravcsik: τὴν αὐγούστην edd. τῇ αὐγούστῃ P || 182 μελετήσουσίν *coni.* Moravcsik: μελετήσωσίν P μελετήσωσί edd. || 184 ῥέκτωρα *scr.* Moravcsik: ῥαίκτωρα P edd. || 188 τὸν πρωτοκάραβον Meursius Ba Be: τῶν πρωτοκαράβων P ||

βασιλικῶν τε καὶ αὐγουστιατικῶν ἀγραρίων καὶ εἶναι καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριον τῆς φιάλης.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ ἀειμνήστου βασιλέως, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς δύσεως θεμάτων λογαρίου ἀπαίτησις διὰ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Λέοντος καὶ γεγονότος στρατηγοῦ τοῦ Τζικάνη ἐκ τῶν αἱρουμένων μὴ ταξιδεύειν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ ἀειμνήστου
243Be Λέοντος ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς δύσεως θεμάτων | λογαρίου ἀπαίτησις διὰ τοῦ μαγίστρου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλαδᾶ, τῷ τότε πατρικίου αὐτοῦ ὄντος.

183rP Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμανοῦ δεσπότου, βουληθέντος ταξιδεῦσαι τοὺς Πελοποννησαίους ἐν Λαγουβαρδίᾳ, τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πρωτεύοντος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τότε στρατηγοῦντος, ᾑρετίσαντο οἱ αὐτοὶ Πελοποννησαῖοι μὴ ταξιδεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι ἱππάρια χίλια ἐστρωμένα καὶ χαλινωμένα καὶ λογάριον κεντηνάριον ἕν, ἅπερ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας παρέσχον.

## 52. Ἡ γενομένη ἀπαίτησις τῶν ἱππαρίων ἐν τῷ θέματι Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ Ῥωμανοῦ δεσπότου, καθὼς προείρηται.

Ὁ μητροπολίτης Κορίνθου ἱππάρια τέσσαρα· ὁ μητροπολίτης Πατρῶν ἱππάρια τέσσαρα· οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πάντες τοῦ θέματος ἀνὰ ἱππάρια δύο· οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἀνὰ ἱππάρια τρία· οἱ σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτοι
183vP ἀνὰ ἱππάρια δύο· | οἱ σπαθάριοι, οἱ στράτωρες ἀνὰ ἱππαρίου ἑνός· τὰ βασιλικὰ καὶ πατριαρχικὰ μοναστήρια ἀνὰ ἱππάρια δύο· τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν, μητροπόλεων καὶ ἐπισκοπῶν μοναστήρια ἀνὰ ἱππάρια δύο·
244Be τὰ ἄπορα μοναστήρια σύνδυο ἱππάριον ἕν. Οἱ δὲ ἔχοντες βα|σιλικὰ ἀξιώματα, πλώϊμοι, κογχυλευταί, χαρτοποιοὶ ἱππάρια οὐ δεδώκασιν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς Πελοποννήσου ἀπῃτήθησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ ταξιδίου ἀνὰ νομίσματα πέντε, οἱ δὲ παντελῶς ἄποροι σύνδυο νομίσματα πέντε, ἐξ ὧν συνέστη καὶ τὸ προρρηθὲν διὰ χαράγματος κεντηνάριον ἕν.

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*V* 192 ἀειμνήστου καὶ φιλοχρίστου edd. || 200 Πελοποννησέους P: Πελοποννησίους F[1] edd. || Λογουβαρδίᾳ Ba Be || 102 Πελοποννησέοι P: Πελοποννήσιοι F edd. || μὴ *s. v. add.* P[1] *in textum receperunt* V edd. || 204 καὶ *om.* V edd. || προθυμίας] *litteras* θυμ *in ras. scr.* P[1].

over all the oarsmen, both of the imperial galleys and of the barges of the Augusta, and to be also protospatharius of the basin.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving and ever-memorable emperor, a demand was made from the provinces of the west, through the protospatharius Leo Tzikanes, the ex-military governor, for ready money from those who opted against military service.

And again, in the time of the same Christ-loving and ever-memorable Leo, ready money was demanded from the provinces of the west, through the magister John Eladas, who was then patrician.

And again in the time of the sovereign Romanus, who desired the Peloponnesians to do military service in Lombardy, the protospatharius John Proteuon being then military governor in Peloponnesus, these same Peloponnesians opted against military service, but to give *instead* a thousand horses, with saddles and bridles, and one hundred pounds in ready money, and these they supplied with great readiness.

## 52. Demand made for horses in the province of Peloponnesus in the time of the sovereign Romanus, as stated above.

The metropolitan of Corinth, four horses; the metropolitan of Patras, four horses; all the bishops of the province, two horses each; the protospatharii, three horses each; the spatharocandidates, two horses each; the spatharii, the strators, one horse each; the imperial and patriarchal monasteries, two horses each; the archiepiscopal, metropolitan and episcopal monasteries, two horses each; the monasteries without means, one horse between two. Holders of imperial dignities, sailors, purple-fishers, parchment-makers did not provide horses.

A demand was made for five nomismata per head from the whole military force of Peloponnesus in respect of this military service, and from those absolutely without means of five nomismata from every two, and from this was made up the aforesaid one hundred pounds in coined money.

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**52.** 4 τέσσαρα edd.: δ′ P ‖ 5 τέσσαρα edd.: δ′ P ‖ 6 τρία edd.: γ′ P ‖ σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι P ‖ 7 στράτορες P ‖ 8/9 ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν *coni.* Moravcsik: ἀρχιεπισκόπων P edd. ‖ 9 ἐπισκόπων edd. ‖ 10 σὺν δύο P ‖ 11 κονχυλευταὶ P ‖ 13 πέντε *scr.* Moravcsik: ε′ P edd. ‖ σὺν δύο P ‖ 14 πέντε *scr.* Moravcsik: ε′ P edd.

## 53. Ἱστορία περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Χερσῶνος.

Βασιλεύοντος Δοικλητιανοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν δὲ τῇ Χερσωνιτῶν
184rP στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ πρωτεύοντος Θεμιστοῦ, τοῦ Θεμιστοῦ, | Σαυρόματος, ὁ ἐκ τῶν Βοσποριανῶν, Κρισκορόνου δὲ παῖς γενόμενος, συναθροίσας Σαρμάτας τοὺς τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην οἰκοῦντας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ καταλαβὼν ⟨τὴν⟩ τῶν Λαζῶν χώραν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε, φθάζει καὶ ἕως τοῦ Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ. Μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός, πορθεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν Λαζῶν χώραν καὶ τὴν Ποντικήν, ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖσε στρατὸν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι Σαρμάταις βουλόμενος. Ἦν δὲ ἔξαρχος τοῦ στρατοῦ Κώνστας τριβοῦνος, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἅλυν ὁ Κώνστας σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, ἐκαθέσθη ἐκεῖσε, κωλύων Σαρμάτας ἀντιπερᾶσαι τὸν Ἅλυν. Καὶ μὴ δυναμένου αὐτοῦ ἀντιπαρατά-
245Be 184vP ξασθαι αὐτούς, | ἐβουλεύετο καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ | Κώνστας μηδαμῶς ἄλλως δύνασθαι τοὺς Σαρμάτας ἐκδιῶξαι, εἰ μήτι γε τῶν πλησιοχώρων τῆς Βοσποριανῶν καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης τινὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκπεμφθῆναι εἰς πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τούτων φαμιλίας ἐκπορθῆσαι, ὅπως ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Σαυρόματος ὑποστρέψῃ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ταῦτα μηνῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἀποστεῖλαι κατὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν καὶ τούτους διεγεῖραι κατὰ τῶν Σαρματῶν, ὡς πλησιοχώρων αὐτῶν ὄντων, καὶ πολεμῆσαι τὰς αὐτῶν φαμιλίας πρὸς τὸ τὸν Σαυρόματον ἀκούσαντα τὸ τάχος ὑποστρέψαι ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἀπέστειλεν
185rP | εὐθέως κατὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν, προτρεπόμενος συμμαχῆσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπελθόντας τὴν Βοσποριανῶν καὶ Σαρματῶν χώραν ἐκπορθῆσαι καὶ τὰς τούτων φαμιλίας αἰχμαλωτίσαι. Στεφανηφοροῦντος δὲ τότε καὶ πρωτεύοντος τῆς Χερσωνιτῶν Χρήστου, τοῦ Παπίου, οἱ Χερσωνῖται τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ῥήμασιν ἀσμένως ὑπακούσαντες, ἐμηχανῶντο λοιπόν, ποίῳ τρόπῳ δυνηθεῖεν τήν τε τοῦ Σαυρομάτου πόλιν Βόσπορον καὶ τὰ τῆς Μαιώτιδος καστέλλια παραλαβεῖν. Καὶ συναθροίσαντες τοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων καστελλίων ἄνδρας καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἅρματα πολεμικὰ καὶ ἐνθέντες ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς λεγομένας χειροβολίστρας, παρεγένοντο κατὰ
185vP | τὴν Βοσποριανῶν πόλιν, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἐγκρύμματα διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς
246Be ὀλιγοστοὶ προσῆψαν τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πόλει, | καὶ τειχομαχήσαντες ἀπὸ ὄρθρου ἕως ὥρας τρίτης, ἐτεκμήραντο τοῦ φυγεῖν, μὴ προδείξαντες

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*V* **53.** 4 Κρισκορόνου *coni.* Bekker: Κρίσκων. Ὅρου P Κρισκωνόρου Be || 5 τούς *om.* edd. || ἐστρατ{οπεδ}εύσατο Migne || 6 τὴν *add.* Be || πολεμίσας P || 8 *ante* πορθεῖσθαι *addendum* καὶ *coni.* Jenkins || 11 ἐκαθέσθη: κατέστη Be || 13 αὐτοῖς edd. || ἄλλως V edd.: ἄλλος P || 14 μήτοι P || 16 φαμηλίας P || ἐκπορθῆσαι F ἐκπορθεῖσαι P V: ἐκπορθεῖσθαι edd. || 17 Σαυρόματος *scr.*

## 53. Story of the city of Cherson.

When Diocletian was emperor in Rome, and Themistus, son of Themistus, was chief magistrate and primate in the country of the Chersonites, Sauromatus the Bosporian, son of Criscoronus, gathered together the Sarmatians who dwelt on the Maeotic lake and marched against the Romans, and, having occupied *the* country of the Lazi and defeated those who were there, arrived as far as the Halys river. The emperor Diocletian, learning this, that the country of the Lazi and the Pontic land were being laid waste, sent thither an army with intent to oppose the Sarmatians. The commander of the army was Constans the tribune, and Constans, having reached the Halys with the army, sat down there and prevented the Sarmatians from crossing the Halys. And being unable himself to oppose them, Constans resolved in his own mind that in no other way could he expel the Sarmatians except perhaps if some of the neighbours of the Bosporians and of the Maeotic lake were sent out to make war upon them and plunder their families, in order that Sauromatus might hear of it and retire from the war; and to communicate this in a message to the emperor, so that *the emperor* should send to the Chersonites and rouse them against the Sarmatians, their neighbours, and to attack their families, so that Sauromatus, when he heard of it, might speedily retire from the war. Hearing this, the emperor Diocletian at once sent to the Chersonites bidding them to join him in the war and to go and plunder the country of the Bosporians and Sarmatians and take their families captive. The chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was at that time Chrestus, son of Papias, and the Chersonites willingly obeyed the words of the emperor and therefore set about devising in what manner they might be able to capture the city of Sauromatus, Bosporus, and the forts of the Maeotis. They gathered together the men of the neighbouring forts and constructed military waggons and placed in them the so-called arbalests, and they arrived at the city of the Bosporians and, after laying an ambush while it was night, a handful of them joined battle at the city; and having fought at the wall from dawn till the third hour, they made a show of flight, not

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Moravcsik: Σαυρομάτος P Σαυρομάτας edd. || ὑποστρέψη Ba Be: ὑποστρέ(ψη?) *per comp.* P ὑποστρέψη V Me || μηνῦσαι *coni.* Jenkins: μηνύση edd. μηνύσει P ἐμήνυσε *coni.* Bekker || 18 ἀποστεῖλαι *coni.* Bekker: ἀπέστειλε P edd. || καὶ τούτους διήγειρεν *bis* P || διεγεῖραι coni. Bekker: διήγειρεν P διήγειρε edd. || 19 Σαρματῶν Migne: Σαρμάτων P edd. || 20 φαμηλίας P || Σαυρομάταν edd. || 23 ἀπελθόντας Be: ἀπελθόντες P || Σαρματῶν Migne: Σαρμάτων P edd. || 24 φαμηλίας P || αἰχμαλωτίσαι] *litteras* αἰχμα *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 25 *post* Χερσωνιτῶν *add.* χώρας V edd. || Χρίστου P || 32 ὀλίγιστοι Be || 33 προδείξαντες *corr.* Moravcsik: προσδείξαντες P *coni.* Bekker: προσδέξαντες edd. ||

τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἅρμασι κατασκευασμένας χειροβολίστρας. Καὶ δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ
Βοσπόρῳ νομισάντων ὡς δι' ὀλιγότητα ἡττημένους φεύγειν τοὺς Χερσω-
νίτας, καταθαρρήσαντες ἑαυτῶν ἐξῄεσαν πρὸς δίωξιν αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ
Χερσωνῖται ἠρέμα, φησί, φεύγοντες ταῖς χειροβολίστραις τοὺς διώκον-
τας ἀνήλισκον Βοσποριανούς, ἀναστάντες δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐνεδρεύοντες Χερσω-
186rP νῖται, καὶ περικυκλώσαντες τοὺς Βοσποριανούς, πάντας αὐτοὺς | κατέσφα-
ξαν, καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες κατέλαβον τὴν Βόσπορον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς
τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην καστέλλια καὶ πάσας τὰς φαμιλίας ⟨τῶν⟩
Σαυρομάτων, καὶ ἐκαθέζοντο ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ, μηδένα τοῦ λοιποῦ κατα-
σφάζοντες, πλὴν τῶν πολεμησάντων, καὶ ἐχόμενοι Βοσπόρου, ἐφύλαττον
αὐτήν. Ἡμερῶν δέ τινων διαγενομένων, λέγει Χρῆστος, ὁ τοῦ Παπίου
ταῖς τῶν Σαυρομάτων γυναιξίν, ὅτι· «Ἡμεῖς οὐκ εἴχαμεν χρείαν ὑμᾶς
πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Σαυρόματος ἀπῆλθεν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώραν
πορθῆσαι, τούτου χάριν προτραπέντες ἡμεῖς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥω-
186vP μαίων, ὡς ὑπήκοοι αὐτοῦ ὄντες, ἐπο|λεμήσαμεν ὑμᾶς. Ἐὰν οὖν θέλετε
ζῆσαι ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν, δεῦτε ἀποστείλωμεν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν κύριον
ὑμῶν, Σαυρόματον, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι εἰρήνην μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐπ' ὄψεσι τῶν πρέσβεων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι τῶν ἐκεῖσε, καὶ ἡμεῖς
247Be ἀφίομεν ὑμᾶς, | καὶ ἀπερχόμεθα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν, οὕτω μέντοι, προπέμ-
ποντος Σαυρομάτου ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἡμῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων
ἀνθρώπων μηνύοντος ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ οὕτως ἀφίομεν ὑμᾶς
καὶ ἀναχωροῦμεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκιμάσῃ Σαυρόματος δόλῳ τινὶ ἔρχεσθαι,
ὡς νομίζων ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα συγκλεῖσαι καὶ πολεμῆσαι, καὶ γνῶμεν τοῦτο
διὰ τῶν σκουλκατώρων ἡμῶν, πάντας ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου
187rP κατασφάξομεν, καὶ οὕτως | ἀναχωροῦμεν τῶν ἐντεῦθεν. Καὶ τί τὸ λοιπὸν
Σαυρομάτῳ ὄφελος, τῆς φαμιλίας αὐτοῦ πάσης καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολλυ-
μένης;» Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες Σαυρομάτου ταῦτα ἀκούσασαι, σπουδαίως τοῦτο
γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασαν. Καὶ δὴ ἀποστέλλουσιν οἱ Χερσωνῖται μετὰ
Βοσποριανῶν καὶ ἰδίους πέντε πρέσβεις πρὸς Σαυρόματον, μηνύοντες
αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα καὶ λεχθέντα. Καὶ δὴ τῶν πρέσβεων καταλαβόντων
τὸν Σαυρόματον κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ τόπους, ἀνήγγειλαν
αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ τῶν Βοσποριανῶν παρὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν.
Ὁ δὲ ἐν πολλῇ στενώσει γενόμενος, ὡς δῆθεν, φησί, βουλόμενος τοὺς
187vP τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν | πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἀναπαῦσαι, λέγει αὐτοῖς·
«Ἐπειδὴ κοπωμένοι ἐστέ, θέλω ὑμᾶς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀναπαῆναι, καὶ
εἶθ' οὕτως πάντα τὰ ὑφ' ὑμῶν λεχθέντα ποιήσω· *** ἐντεῦθεν ἀπέλθατε

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V 34 κατεσκευασμένας Ba Be || τῇ Ba Be: τῷ P || 41 φαμηλίας P || τῶν *add.* edd. || 42 Σαυροματῶν V edd. || 43 Βοσπόρου: τὴν Βόσπορον edd. || 44 Χρίστος P || 45 Σαυροματῶν edd. || εἴχαμεν: ἔχομεν edd. || 48 θέλητε

having exposed the arbalests they had made, that were in their waggons. Those in Bosporus of course supposed that the Chersonites had been beaten owing to their small numbers and were in flight, and, with complete confidence in themselves, they sallied forth to pursue them. But the Chersonites, as it appears, retiring gradually, destroyed the pursuing Bosporians with the arbalests, and the Chersonites besides who lay in ambush started up and surrounded the Bosporians and put them all to the sword, and, returning, captured Bosporus and in like manner also the forts on the Maeotic lake and all the families of *the* Sarmatians; and they took up their quarters in Bosporus, putting none to the sword thereafter save those who had fought, and they held on to Bosporus and guarded it. After some days interval, Chrestus, son of Papias, said to the women of the Sarmatians: «We ourselves had no need to make war upon you, but since Sauromatus has gone off to ravage the country of the Romans, we, being for this reason bidden by the emperor of the Romans, whose subjects we are, have made war on you. So now, if you would live in your city, come, let us send envoys to your lord Sauromatus, so that he may conclude peace with the Romans in sight of our envoys and withdraw from those parts, and we will leave you and go off to our city; but only when Sauromatus so escorts our envoys hither and sends us with his own men the news of the peace, then so will we leave you and withdraw; but if Sauromatus so much as tries to proceed by any trickery, believing he may cut us off here and attack us, and we get to know of it through our scouts, we will put all of you, both small and great, to the sword and so withdraw hence. And what good will Sauromatus get of it hereafter, if all his family and the city are destroyed?» Hearing this, the women of Sauromatus made preparations to carry it out with alacrity. And with the Bosporians the Chersonites sent to Sauromatus five envoys of their own, to inform him of what had been done and said. Well, when the envoys reached Sauromatus, in the region of the Halys river, they reported to him all that had been done against the Bosporians by the Chersonites. He was in great perturbation, and, pretending to desire, as it appears, that the envoys of the Chersonites should take rest after their journey, said to them: «Since you are fatigued, I desire you to rest yourselves a few days and then I will do all that you have said; *** go

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edd. || 49 ἀποστείλωμεν Moravcsik ἀποστείλομεν P: ἀποστέλλωμεν edd. || 51 ἐπ' ὄψεσιν edd.: ἐφόψεσι P || 52 ἀφίομεν *scr.* Moravcsik: ἀφίωμεν P ἀφίεμεν Be ἀφίημεν Me Ba || 53 Σαυρομάτου *coni.* Bekker: Σαυρόματος P edd. || 54 μηνύοντος *coni.* Moravcsik: μηνύων P edd. || ἀφίομεν *scr.* Moravcsik: ἀφίωμεν P edd. || 57 σκουλκατόρων edd. || 59 φαμηλίας P || 60 Σαυρωμάτου P || 62 πέντε edd.: ε' P || Σαυρώματον P || 64 Σαυρώματον P || 65 Χερσωνίτων P || 67 Χερσωνίτων P || 68 κοπομένοι P: κοπώμενοι edd. || 69 ὑμῶν V edd.: ἡμῶν P || *post* ποιήσω *lac. coni.* Jenkins || ἀπέλθετε edd. ||

πρὸς τοὺς Ῥώμης, καὶ μάθετε παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ πείθεσθε, ὅτι ἀληθεύω
ὑμῖν καὶ οὐ ψεύδομαι.» Τῶν δὲ Χερσωνιτῶν ἀπελθόντων πρὸς Κώνσταν
248Be | μετὰ καὶ πρέσβεων τοῦ Σαυρομάτου, ἐπύθοντο τὰ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν γενό-
μενα, ἀνήγγειλαν δὲ τῷ Κώνστᾳ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν
Βοσποριανῶν καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην γενόμενα, καὶ τό, πῶς τὰς
φαμιλίας Σαυρομάτου παρέλαβον, καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτῃ εἰς εἰρήνην
188rP ἦλθεν ὁ Σαυρόματος. | Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κώνστας πάνυ ἐλυπήθη, καὶ
λέγει τοῖς Χερσωνίταις· «Καὶ τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος λοιπὸν τῆς ὑμετέρας
συμμαχίας, ἀφ' ἧς ἐγὼ ἐποίησα πάκτα δοῦναι αὐτοῖς χρυσίον τοσοῦτον;»
Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Χερσωνῖται· «Μὴ λυπηθῇς, δέσποτα, καὶ ἐὰν θέλῃς,
ἡμεῖς ἀναλύομεν τὸ περὶ τῆς δόσεως πάκτον». Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Κώνστας·
«Καὶ πῶς δυνατόν;» Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Χερσωνῖται· «Δήλωσον καὶ
αὐτὸς τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ, ὅτι· Ῥὰ μὲν ἤδη μεταξὺ ἡμῶν γενόμενα πάκτα
κεκράτηνται· ἐπεὶ οὖν τῇ αἰτίᾳ τῇ σῇ κἀγὼ ἀναλώματα καὶ ζημίας
πολλὰς ἐποίησα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἕως τῶν ὧδε, δός μοι καὶ
188vP σὺ ταῦτα, κἀγώ σοι ἀποδίδωμι τὰς φαμιλίας σου | πάσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν
σου.'» Περιχαρὴς δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Κώνστας ἐμήνυσεν ταῦτα τῷ Σαυρο-
μάτῳ, Ὁ δὲ Σαυρόματος ἀκούσας καὶ λυπηθεὶς σφόδρα, μηνύει τῷ
Κώνστᾳ λέγων, ὅτι· «Οὐ θέλω δοῦναι τίποτ' οὖν, οὐδὲ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ
μόνον ἀπόστειλόν μοι τοὺς Χερσωνίτας, ἵνα τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχωρήσω.»
Λέγουσιν οἱ Χερσωνῖται τῷ Κώνστᾳ· «Μὴ ἀπολύσῃς ἡμᾶς, ἕως ἂν πάντας
249Be τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπολάβῃς.» Τότε μηνύει ὁ | Κώνστας τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ
λέγων, ὅτι· «Ἀπόστειλόν μοι πάντας, οὓς ἔχεις, αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ ἀπολύω
τοὺς Χερσωνίτας.» Ὁ δὲ Σαυρόματος ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἄκων καὶ μὴ
βουλόμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἅπαντας, οὓς εἶχεν, αἰχμαλώτους ἕως ἑνός. Ἀπολα-
189rP βὼν οὖν ὁ Κώνστας ἅπαν|τας τοὺς πραιδευθέντας, δύο τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν
πρέσβεις κατασχὼν παρ' ἑαυτῷ, τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν Σαυρό-
ματον, ὅστις Σαυρόματος παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς προαπέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς
τῶν Λαζῶν χώρας μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ παραδοῦναι
αὐτούς τήν τε Βόσπορον καὶ τὰς φαμιλίας αὐτῶν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ⟨ὁ⟩ Σαυρό-
ματος τὴν πορείαν μετὰ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ ἐν καταστάσει ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς
τὸ †ἀθροίλους† τοὺς Χερσωνίτας παραδοῦναι τὰς φαμιλίας καὶ ἀναχωρῆ-
σαι. Οἱ δὲ Χερσωνῖται τοὺς οἰκείους πρέσβεις ὑποδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ Βο-
σπόρῳ, καὶ μεμαθηκότες τὰ γενόμενα ἅπαντα ὑπὸ Κώνσταντος καὶ τοῦ
Σαυρομάτου, παρέδωκαν τοῦ Σαυρομάτου ἄνθρωπον τήν τε Βόσπορον
189vP καὶ | τὰ τῆς Μαιώτιδος καστέλλια καὶ τὰς φαμιλίας πάσας ἀβλαβεῖς,

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*V* 70 Ῥώμης: Ῥωμαίους **F** || **71** οὐ: μὴ edd. || Κώνσταντα edd. || **72** Σαυρωμάτου **P** || ἐποίθοντο **P** || **73** τὴν (*etiam* **Bandurius**): τῶν **V** edd. ⟨τὴν⟩ τῶν *coni.* **Bekker** || **75** φαμηλίας **P** || Σαυρωμάτου **P** || **76** Σαυρώματος **P** || **82** Σαυρωμάτω

hence to the men of Rome and learn of them and be persuaded that my words to you are truth and that I do not lie.» The Chersonites went off to Constans together with envoys of Sauromatus, and learnt what had gone on between them, and reported to Constans all that had been done by them in the country of the Bosporians and at the Maeotic lake, and how they had captured the families of Sauromatus, and that Sauromatus had through this necessity been brought to make peace. On hearing this, Constans was quite cast down, and said to the Chersonites: «And what good, then, is your alliance to me, now that I have made agreements to give them so much gold?» The Chersonites said to him: «Be not cast down, my lord: if you wish, we will dissolve the agreement for your payment.» Constans said to them: «How is it possible?» The Chersonites said to him: «Do you, for your part, thus declare to Sauromatus: 'The agreements already made between us hold good; and now, since on your account I too have incurred expenses and great losses on my way hither from Rome with the army, do you, for your part, pay me these, and I will give you back all your families and your city'.» Constans was overjoyed and sent this message to Sauromatus. Sauromatus, when he heard it, was exceedingly downcast, and sent to Constans a message saying: «I will neither pay nor take anything at all; do you but send me the Chersonites, that I may withdraw hence.» The Chersonites said to Constans: «Do not dismiss us until you get back all the prisoners.» Then Constans sent a message to Sauromatus saying: «Send me all whom you hold prisoners, and I will dismiss the Chersonites.» Sauromatus, when he heard it, unwillingly and against his desire dismissed all the prisoners whom he held, to the last one of them. So then Constans, having got back all those who had been taken in the forays, kept with him two envoys of the Chersonites and sent the others to Sauromatus, and Sauromatus received them and sent them on ahead out of the country of the Lazi, together with some of his own men, to whom might be handed over Bosporus and their families. Sauromatus himself put his march with his nation in train, so that the Chersonites might *honestly* hand over the families and withdraw. The Chersonites, having received their own envoys in Bosporus and having learnt all that had been done by Constans and Sauromatus, handed over to Sauromatus' agent both Bosporus and the forts of the Maeotis and all the families, unharmed, and came in peace to the country

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P || 84 τῶν *om.* edd. || 85 φαμηλίας P || 86/7 Σαυρωμάτω P || 87 Σαυρώματος P || 91 Σαυρωμάτω P || 92 *post* οὓς *add.* ἂν V edd. || 93 Χερσωνίτας] *litteras* χερσωνιτα *in ras. scr.* P[1] || Σαυρωμάτος P || 94 *post* οὓς *add.* ἂν edd. || 95 Χερσωνίτων P || 96/7 Σαυρώματον P || 97 Σαυρώματος P || 99 αὐτοῖς edd. || φαμηλίας P || ὁ *add.* Moravcsik || 99/100 Σαυρώματος P 101 ἀθροίλους *intra cruces posuit inter* ἀθροι *et* λους *aliquid excidisse coniciens* Moravcsik: ἀδόλως *coni.* Jenkins ἀθρόους ὅλους *vel* ἀθρόως ὅλας *coni.* Kyriakides ἀθρόως ὅλας *coni.* Dujčev ἀθορύβους *coni.* Trypanis || φαμηλίας P || 103 γενόμενα edd.: γινόμενα P || 104 Σαυρωμάτου P || Σαυρωμάτου P || ἄνθρωπον *per comp.* P: ἀνθρώπῳ Ba Be || 105 φαμηλίας P ||

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καὶ κατέλαβον ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κώνστας, ἀναχωρήσαντος τοῦ Σαυρομάτου ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν τόπων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν γενόμενα, προσαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς δύο αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, οὕστινας ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εὐχαριστήσας, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· «Τί θέλετε παράσχω ὑμῖν τε καὶ τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν
250Be ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐνοίας τε καὶ | συμμαχίας;» Οἱ δὲ εἶπον τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι· «Ἡμεῖς, δέσποτα, οὐδὲν ἕτερον θέλομεν, εἰ μήτι γε τοῦτο μόνον αἰτοῦμεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε δεξιὰς ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀτελείας παρασχέσθαι ἡμῖν
190rP ὑπὸ | τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν.» Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀσμένως ὑποκύψας τῇ αἰτήσει αὐτῶν, ἀφθόνως παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τοιαύτας τῆς ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ ἀτελείας δεξιάς, ἀποστείλας αὐτοὺς μετὰ καὶ δώρων πλείστων κατὰ τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν, ὡς γνησίους ὄντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηκόους τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας. Ὁ δὲ Κώνστας μεγάλως καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποδεχθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ, ὡς ἀνδρείως παραταξάμενος κατὰ τὸν τῶν Σαυρομάτων πόλεμον καὶ περιφανὴς καὶ ἔνδοξος γενόμενος, μετ' ὀλίγον τινὰ χρόνον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνεδείχθη βασιλείας, Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐπαναγαγόντος.

Κώνστα δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐβασίλευσεν Κωνσταντῖνος,
190vP | ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, ἀντιστάσεως αὐτῷ ὑπό τινων ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ γενομένης, ὑπεμνήσθη τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, Κώνστα λεχθὲν περὶ τῆς τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν χώραν καὶ μαχήσασθαι τοῖς ἀνθεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ. Στεφανηφοροῦντος δὲ τότε καὶ πρωτεύοντος τῆς Χερσωνιτῶν Διογένους, τοῦ Διογένους, οἱ Χερσωνῖται τὴν κέλευσιν ἀσμένως πειθαρχήσαντες, πάσῃ σπουδῇ κατασκευάσαντες τά τε πολεμικὰ ἄρ-
251Be ματα καὶ τὰς χειροβολίστρας, καταλαμβάνουσι | τὸν Ἴστρον ποταμὸν
191rP καὶ τοῦτον περάσαντες, ἀντεπαρατάξαντο τοῖς ἀνθεστηκόσιν, καὶ ἐ|τροπώσαντο αὐτούς. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενομένην τροπήν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην ἀπιέναι, τοὺς δὲ τούτων πρωτεύοντας προσκαλεσάμενος κατὰ τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ εὐχαριστήσας τὰ μέγιστα, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· «Ἐπειδὴ καὶ νῦν εὐνοϊκῶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκάμετε, καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν προγόνων τῆς ἡμετέρας θειότητος, ἰδοὺ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπικυροῦντες τὰς ἤδη ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἀτελείᾳ δοθείσας ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας δεξιάς, παρέχομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν μετὰ καὶ χλαμύδος βασιλικῆς καὶ φιβλατούρας καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως μετὰ καὶ
191vP ἐγγράφου ἡ|μῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀτελείας ὑμῶν τε καὶ τῶν πλωΐμων ὑμῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν γνησιότητα τῆς ὑμῶν εὐνοίας δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ

of the Chersonites, Constans, too, on the withdrawel of Sauromatus from the Roman territories, himself set out for Rome, and reported to the emperor all that had been done by the Chersonites; and he brought their two envoys also, whom the emperor saw and bounteously entertained and thanked most gratefully, and then said to them: «What will you that I should grant to you and your city in return for this affection and alliance?» They said to the emperor: «We, my lord, wish for nothing else, but request this one thing only, that your majesty should grant us pledges of freedom and immunity from tribute.» The emperor gladly acceded to their request and ungrudgingly granted them these pledges of freedom and of immunity from tribute, and sent them to the country of the Chersonites with very many gifts besides, as true subjects of the empire of the Romans. Constans too was grandly entertained by the emperor Diocletian for his brave support in the war of the Sarmatians, and became noble and illustrious and after a short while was proclaimed emperor of the Romans, when Diocletian had retired to Nicomedeia.

On the death of Constans, his son Constantine became emperor at Rome, and when he came to Byzantium, and certain of those in Scythia revolted against him, he called to mind what had been said by his father Constans concerning the affection of the Chersonites and their alliance, and he sent envoys to the country of the Chersonites, with instructions that they should go to the country of the Scythians and fight those who had revolted against him. The chief magistrate and primate of the Chersonites was at that time Diogenes, son of Diogenes, and the Chersonites gladly obeyed the imperial mandate and with all zeal constructed the military waggons and the arbalests and arrived at the Ister river and, having crossed it, arrayed themselves against the rebels and routed them. The emperor, learning of the victory won by them, bade them go back to their country, but their primates he invited to the city of Byzantium and, after thanking them most gratefully, he said to them: «Since now too you have laboured loyally on our behalf, as in the time of the pious forbears of our divine majesty, see, we too do ratify the pledges of freedom and immunity from tribute already granted to you in the city of the Romans by our imperial government; and for our part we give you besides a golden statue with imperial cloak and clasp and a golden crown, for the beautifying of your city, and thereto our charter of freedom and immunity from tribute for you and for your sailors; and, for the purity of your affection, we give you also golden

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*V* 107 Σαυρωμάτου P || 116 τε *om.* edd. || 121 Σαυρωμάτων P Σαυροματῶν Migne || 122 ἀνεδείχθη (*coni. etiam* Bekker): ἀνεδέχθη edd. || 127 λεχθὲν V edd.: λεχθήσει (*littera* ϑ *in ras. scripta*) P[1] || 129 αὐτούς *om.* edd. || 130 τῆς edd.: τῇ P || 134 ἀντιπαρετάξαντο Migne || 142 ἀνδρίαντα P ||

δακτυλίους χρυσοῦς, ἐκτυποῦντας τὰς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβεῖς εἰκόνας, δι' ὧν τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν μελλούσας ἀποστέλλεσθαι ἡμῖν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀναφοράς τε καὶ δεήσεις σφραγίζοντες ταύτας, γνωρίμους ἡμῖν ἀποδείκνυτε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πρέσβεις, πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ παρέχομεν ὑμῖν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος νεῦρόν τε καὶ κάνναβον, σίδηρόν τε καὶ ἔλαιον ὑπὲρ κατασκευῆς τῶν βαλλιστρῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ δίδομεν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἀποτροφὴν ὑμῶν χιλίας ἀννώνας, ἐφ' ᾧ τε εἶναι ὑμᾶς βαλλισταρίους, λεγόμενον, ὡς τὰς τοιαύτας
252Be 192rP σιτήσεις τε καὶ συνη|θείας πάσας καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τῶν | ἐντεῦθεν μέλλομεν ὑμῖν ἀποστέλλειν κατὰ τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν.» Οἱ δὲ Χερσωνῖται τὰς τοιαύτας εἰληφότες ἀννώνας, εἰς ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τὰ τούτων τέκνα διαμερίσαντες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν συνεστήσαντο· διὰ τὸ καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν τὰ τούτων τέκνα κατὰ τῶν γονέων τῆς στρατείας συμπλήρωσιν ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ κατατάσσονται. Ἐφοδίοις δὲ καὶ δώροις πλείστοις τότε τιμηθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ τε Διογένους καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, κατέλαβον τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν ἀποκομίζοντες καὶ τὰς θείας φιλοτιμίας.

Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τινὰς τοῦ ταῦτα γεγονέναι Σαυρόματος, ὁ ἔγγονος Σαυρομάτου, τοῦ Κρισκορόνου, τοῦ πολεμήσαντος τὴν Λαζικήν, συν-
192vP αθροί|σας πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης, ἐπανέστη τοῖς Χερσωνίταις, βουλόμενος, φησίν, τὴν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ὕβριν τοῦ οἰκείου πάππου ἐκδικῆσαι, τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένην. Μεμαθηκότες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Χερσωνῖται, στεφανηφοροῦντος τότε καὶ πρωτεύοντος τῆς Χερσῶνος Βύσκου, τοῦ Σουπολίχου, ἀντιπαραταξάμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπήντησαν τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ ἔξω ἐν τοῖς τοῦ λεγομένου Καφᾶ τόποις, καὶ πολεμήσαντες μετὰ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς Χερσωνίταις βοηθοῦντος, ἐνίκησαν τὸν Σαυρόματον καὶ ἐδίωξαν, θήσαντες καὶ ὀροθεσίας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λεγομένῳ Καφᾷ, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ πολεμήσαντες τὸν
253Be 193rP Σαυρόματον | ἐνίκησαν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὅρκους ἐπετέλεσεν ὁ αὐτὸς Σαυ|ρόματος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ μηκέτι αὐτοὺς χάριν πολέμου ὑπερβαίνειν τὰς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τεθείσας ὀροθεσίας, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τοὺς ἰδίους ἔχειν τόπους πρὸς τὰς τεθείσας ὀροθεσίας. Καὶ οὕτως ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βόσπορον ⟨ὁ⟩ Σαυρόματος, καὶ οἱ Χερσωνῖται εἰς τὰ ἴδια.

Καὶ δὴ τούτων οὕτως γενομένων, πάλιν μετὰ χρόνους τινὰς ἕτερος Σαυρόματος ἀναστὰς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης, παρετάξαντο πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν, καὶ παρελθὼν τὰς μεθ' ὅρκου τεθείσας ὀροθεσίας ἐν τῷ Καφᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γενο-

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V 146 χρυσοὺς P || 147 ἡμῖν] *litteram* η *in ras. scr.* $P^1$ || 150 κάνναβον P || 151 βαλιστρῶν P || 152 βαλισταρίους P || ⟨τὸ⟩ λεγόμενον *coni.* Kyriakides || 156 διὰ τό: δι' αὐτὸ *coni.* Bekker ||

rings expressing the likenesses of our pious selves, wherewith you are to seal reports and petitions which shall from time to time be sent from you to us, and thus make your envoys known to us; and besides, in addition to these, we grant you annually cord and hemp, iron and oil, for the manufacture of your bows, and we give you for your sustenance a thousand military rations, so that you may be bowmen (*as they are called*): so that all these provisions and regular grants we shall send you every year from here to the country of the Chersonites.» The Chersonites, receiving these rations, divided them out among themselves and their sons and so made up the brigade, and that is why, even to this day, their sons are «enrolled in the brigade», to fill up the number of their parents' levy. Diogenes and those with him were then honoured with a multitude of supplies and gifts by Constantine, the emperor beloved of God, and came to the country of the Chersonites, bringing back the gifts conferred by his divine majesty.

Some years after these events had taken place, Sauromatus, grandson of Sauromatus the son of Criscoronus who had attacked Lazike, gathered together a warlike power from the Maeotic lake and rose against the Chersonites, desiring, it appears, to avenge the insult of the captivity done to his grandfather by them in the time of Diocletian the emperor. The Chersonites, Byscus, son of Supolichus, being at that time chief magistrate and primate of Cherson, learnt of this and on their side arrayed themselves in opposition and met Sauromatus outside, in the region of Kapha, so-called, and they fought with him, and, God aiding the Chersonites, defeated Sauromatus and drove him off; and they set up boundary-stones in that same Kapha by name, in the place where they had fought and defeated Sauromatus, and there this same Sauromatus and those that were left with him swore oaths in due form that they would never more pass for purposes of war beyond the boundary-stones set up between them, but that each of them should keep to his own places on his side of the boundary-stones set up. And so they withdrew, Sauromates to Bosporus, and the Chersonites to their own homes.

When this had been done, once more after some years another Sauromatus rose up and with him a multitude of men from the Maeotic lake, and they drew up their force against the Chersonites, and, crossing over the boundary-stones set up in Kapha by the first Sauromatus with an oath that

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157 συμπληρῶσιν P || 159 τε edd.: τότε P || 169 ἀποκομίσαντες edd. || 162 Σαυρώματος P || 163 Σαυρωμάτου P || πολεμίσαντος P || 167 Μεμαθηκότες: μαθόντες V edd. || Χερσωνίται P || 169 Σαυρωμάτω P || 170 Καφὰ P || πολεμίσαντες P || 171 Σαυρώματον P || 172 πολεμήσαντες] *litteras* λεμη *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 173 Σαυρώματον P || ᾧ *edd.*: οἷς P || Σαυρώματος P || 174 αὐτοὺς Meursius Ba Be: αὐτοῖς P || 177 ὁ *add.* edd. || Σαυρώματος P || Χερσωνίται P || 180 Σαυρώματος P || 181 παρετάξατο edd. || || Χερσωνίτων P || 182 τῷ V edd.: τῇ P || Καφά P ||

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μένου Σαυρομάτου τοῦ μηδένα ποτὲ ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῶν Βοσποριανῶν 193vP πολέμου χάριν ταύτας ὑπερβῆναι, οὗτος ὁ Σαυρόματος | ὑπερέβη, ὡς οἷα βουλόμενος τὴν μετὰ βίας αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν γῆν ἐκδικῆσαι καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν. Καὶ δὴ ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ πρωτεύοντος τῆς Χερσωνιτῶν Φαρνάκου, τοῦ Φαρνάκου, ἀντεπαρατάξαντο καὶ οἱ Χερσωνῖται τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ, καὶ ἀπαντήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς τοῦ προειρημένου Καφᾶ τόποις, ἔστησαν ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν. Ὁ δὲ Σαυρόματος ὢν μέγας τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐθάρρησεν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐμεγαλαύχει κατὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν φρυαττόμενος, θαρρῶν ἅμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπείρῳ πλήθει, τῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντι. Ὁ δὲ Φαρνάκος μικρὸς ἦν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ τὸν Σαυρόματον, καὶ ἰδὼν τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαυρομάτου, ἐσκέψατο 194rP 254Be μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου | στρα|τοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ τε μονομαχῆσαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ Σαυρομάτου καὶ μὴ ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἀπολέσθαι. Καὶ δὴ σκέψεως τοιαύτης γενομένης, δηλοῖ ὁ Φαρνάκος τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαυρομάτου λέγων, ὅτι· «Τίς χρεία ἐστὶν τοσούτου ὄχλου γενέσθαι ἀπώλειαν; Οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οἰκείᾳ προαιρέσει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐτράπητε, ἀλλὰ Σαυρόματος ὑμᾶς προετρέψατο. Θελήσατε οὖν τοῦτον ἀναγκάσαι τοῦ μονομαχῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνηθῶ αὐτόν, ὑμεῖς ἀναχωρεῖτε εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀβλαβῶς, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῦ ὑπέπεσάν μοι, εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνηθῇ με αὐτός, καὶ οὕτως ὑμεῖς ἀναχωρεῖτε εἰς τὰ ἴδια, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέβη ἐν τοῖς 194vP ἐμοῖς.» Ὁ δὲ ὄχλος τῶν Σαυροματῶν | ἡδέως τοῦτο ἀποδεξάμενος προετρέψατο τὸν Σαυρόματον μονομαχῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου. Ὁ οὖν Σαυρόματος μαθὼν μικρὸν πάνυ ὄντα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Φαρνάκον, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθη, ἐχάρη ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πεποιθὼς τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει καὶ οἷς ἐκέχρητο ὅπλοις κατατεθωρακισμένος. Καὶ τούτων οὕτως δοξάντων, λέγει ὁ Φαρνάκος τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ, ὅτι· «Ὅταν κατέλθω διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὸ μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ ἴδητε, ὅτι ὁ Σαυρόματος τὰ νῶτα αὐτοῦ ἔχει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ὄψιν πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους, ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ὄψιν μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ νῶτά μου πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς βάλετε μίαν κραυγὴν καὶ μόνον λέγοντες τὸ ἅ, ἅ, καὶ μὴ δευτερώσητε ἐπὶ τῇ κραυγῇ.» 195rP Καὶ δὴ | κατελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρὸς τὴν μονομαχίαν καὶ τρακτευόντων ἑαυτούς, καὶ τοῦ Φαρνάκου γενομένου εἰς τὸ τοῦ 255Be Σαυρομάτου μέρος καὶ τοῦ Σαυρομάτου εἰς | τὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου, ἔδωκεν ὁ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατὸς μίαν φωνήν, τὸ ἅ, ἅ. Ὁ δὲ Σαυρόματος τῆς τοιαύτης φωνῆς ἀκούσας περιεστράφη ἰδεῖν ἐναγώνιος, τίς ἡ γενομένη κραυγὴ

*V* 183 Σαυρωμάτου P ‖ 184 Σαυρώματος P ‖ 187 ἀντεπαρετάξαντο V ἀντιπαρετάξαντο Ba Be ‖ 188 Σαυρωμάτω P ‖ ἀλλήλοις edd. ‖ 189 Καφὰ P ‖ 190 Σαυρωμάτος P ‖ 191 Χερσωνίτων P ‖ 192 Φάρνακος edd. ‖ 193 Σαυρώματον P ‖ ἰδὼν edd.: ἰδὼς P ‖ Σαυρωμάτου P ‖ 194 Σαυρωμάτου P ‖ 196 Φάρνακος

none of the Bosporians should ever attempt to pass beyond them for purposes of war, this Sauromatus passed beyond them, as desiring to avenge and recover the land forcibly taken from him. In those times the chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was Pharnacus, son of Pharnacus, and the Chersonites on their side arrayed themselves against Sauromatus, and they met one another in the region of the aforesaid Kapha, and each side took up position on the mountains. Sauromatus, being of huge stature, had confidence in himself and boasted insolently over the Chersonites, confiding also at the same time in the infinite multitude that was with him. But Pharnacus was of small stature compared to Sauromatus, and, seeing the multitude of Sauromatus, resolved with his own army that he should fight in single combat with Sauromatus, to avoid the destruction of an infinite multitude. This resolution having been made, Pharnacus made a declaration to the multitude of Sauromatus, saying: «What need is there of the destruction of so great a throng? For you have not resorted to war of your own choice, but Sauromatus has bidden you to it. Do you, then, urge him to fight in single combat with me, and if by God's aid I overpower him, do you withdraw unharmed to your own homes, and he and his city shall have fallen beneath me; but if he overpowers me, in this case also you withdraw to your own homes, and he shall have become master over mine.» The throng of the Sarmatians accepted this with joy, and told Sauromatus to fight in single combat with Pharnacus. So Sauromatus, learning that Pharnacus was quite small in stature, while he himself was gigantic, was delighted at this, for he trusted in his own strength and in his armour, by which he was completely protected. This being so resolved upon, Pharnacus said to his army: «When I go down with God's aid to the single combat, and you see that Sauromatus has his back towards you and his face towards his own men, while I have my face towards you and my back towards the enemy, do you all raise one shout, saying simply 'Ah! Ah!', and after the shout, do not repeat it.» And so, when both had gone down to the plain for the single combat, and were manoeuvring about one another, and Pharnacus had taken the ground of Sauromatus and Sauromatus that of Pharnacus, the army of Pharnacus gave one shout, 'Ah! Ah!'. Sauromatus, hearing this shout, turned about in the action to see what cry was raised in the army of

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edd. || τὸ πλῆθος: τῷ πλήθει V edd. || τοῦ *om.* edd. || Σαυρωμάτου P || 198 Σαυρώματος P || 199 ἀναγκάσαι: παρακαλέσαι V edd. || 201 με V edd.: μοι P || 203 Σαυρωμάτων P Σαυροματῶν edd. || 204 Σαυρώματον P || 205 Σαυρώματος P || Φάρνακον edd. || 208 Φάρνακος edd. || 209 ἴδητε Be: ἴδεται P || Σαυρώματος P || ἔχει (*etiam* Migne) εἶχε edd. || 211 βάλλετε F edd. || 212 δευτερώσητε V edd.: δευτερώσεται P || 215 Σαρωμάτου P Σαυρωμάτου V || τοῦ *om.* edd. || Σαυρωμάτου P || Φαρνάκου] *litteram* υ *s. v. add.* P[1] || 216 Σαυρώματος P ||

ἐν τῷ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατῷ. Ἐν δὲ τῷ περιστρέψαι τὸν Σαυρόματον
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὄψιν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω διηνοίχθη μικρὸν τὸ τοῦ κασσιδίου αὐτοῦ
πέταλον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐπιδραμὼν ὁ Φαρνάκος ἔδωκεν τῷ κοντῷ τὸν
Σαυρόματον καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν. Πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ Σαυρομάτου, κατελθὼν ὁ
195ᵛP Φαρνάκος | τοῦ ἵππου, ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτόν, καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ
πολέμου, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἀπέλυσεν, τοὺς δὲ τῆς Βοσπόρου
αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος, ἐν Κυβερνικῷ ἄνω
τῆς τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν ὁροθεσίας ἔστησεν, ἄχρι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μόνον
μιλίων γῆν αὐτοῖς ἐάσας, αἵτινες ὁροθεσίαι ἕως τοῦ νῦν διαμένουσιν,
αἱ δὲ εἰρημέναι πρῶται ὁροθεσίαι ἐν Καφᾷ εἰσιν ἀποκείμεναι. Ὀλίγους
δέ τινας κατασχὼν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τῶν Βοσποριανῶν ὁ Φαρνάκος γεωργῶν
ἕνεκα, τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἴκτου ἀξιώσας ἀπέλυσεν κατὰ τῶν Βοσποριανῶν ἀπελθεῖν, οἵτινες ἀπολυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης
196ʳP εὐεργεσίας καὶ φιλαν|θρωπίας αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς γενομένης στήλην
αὐτῷ ἤγειραν ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ. Ἔκτοτε οὖν λοιπὸν ἡ τῶν Σαυρομάτων
ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ βασιλεία κατελύθη.

Τούτων δὲ οὕτως γενομένων, Λαμάχου στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ
256Be πρωτεύοντος τῆς τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν, Ἀσάνδρου δὲ τῆς Βο|σποριανῶν
βασιλεύοντος, κακίᾳ πολλῇ μεμεστωμένοι οἱ Βοσποριανοὶ κατὰ τῶν
Χερσωνιτῶν καὶ μηδαμῶς δυνάμενοι τῇ πονηρίᾳ ἠρεμεῖν, ἔσπευδον ἀεὶ
τρόπῳ τινὶ τὴν ἀνταμοιβὴν τῶν αἰχμαλωσιῶν τοῖς Χερσωνίταις ἀποδοῦναι. Καὶ δὴ μεμαθηκότες ἔχειν θυγατέρα μονογενῆ τὴν Γυκίαν, ἔχοντος
δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου υἱούς, ἐμηχανῶντο ἐπιγαμβρείαν ποιήσασθαι,
196ᵛP ὅπως διὰ τούτου ἀδεῶς ἐπιβαί|νοντες τῇ Χερσωνιτῶν ἀμύνασθαι.
Καὶ δὴ ἀποστέλλουσιν πρέσβεις κατὰ τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν παρακαλοῦντες·
«Ἐὰν οἴδαμεν, ὅτι ἀγάπη ἀληθὴς μεταξὺ ἡμῶν ἐστιν, καὶ ἀδόλως πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ἔχομεν, ἐπιγαμβρεύσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ δότε ἡμῖν εἰς νύμφην
τὴν θυγατέρα Λαμάχου, τοῦ πρώτου ὑμῶν, ἕνεκεν τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀσάνδρου,
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, ἢ λάβετε αὐτὸν αὐτόθι εἰς γαμβρόν, καὶ οἴδαμεν, ὅτι
πιστὰ ἔχομεν εἰς ἀλλήλους, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος μεθ' ὑμῶν.»
Λέγουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Χερσωνῖται, ὅτι· «Ἡμεῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς θυγατέρα
ἡμῶν δοῦναι οὐκ ἀνεχόμεθα, εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀσάνδρου, τοῦ βασιλέως
ὑμῶν, θέλετε δοῦναι ἡμῖν εἰς γαμβρόν, δεχόμεθα, οὕτω μέντοι, μὴ
197ʳP δυναμένου ἔτι τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀσάνδρου, | τοῦ ἐρχομένου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιγαμβρεύσασθαι, καιρῷ ποτε ἢ χρόνῳ πειραθῆναι τοῦ ὑποστρέψαι κατὰ τὴν
τῶν Βοσποριανῶν χάριν ἐπισκέψεως ἢ προσηγορίας τοῦ οἰκείου πατρός,

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V 218 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατῷ *om.* Ba Be || Σαυρώματον P || 220 Φάρνακος edd. || 221 Σαυρώματον P || Σαυρωμάτου P || 222 Φάρνακος edd. || 224 Κυβερνικῷ: Κιμμερικῷ *coni.* Laskin || 225 τῆς V edd.: τοῦ P || μόνον V edd.

Pharnacus. And as Sauromatus turned his face to the rear, the plating of his helmet opened a crack, and at once Pharnacus charged upon him and smote Sauromatus with his lance and slew him. When Sauromatus had fallen, Pharnacus got down from his horse and cut off his head, and, having won the battle, dismissed the multitude of the Maeotis, but took prisoner them of Bosporus and took away their land and set up boundary-stones in Kybernikon, beyond the country of the Chersonites, leaving to the Bosporians land up to forty miles only, and these boundary-stones remain to this day, and the said first boundary-stones in Kapha are laid aside. Pharnacus, keeping by him some few of the Bosporians to do agricultural work, in pity dismissed all the rest, to go to *the country* of the Bosporians, and they, dismissed by Pharnacus, erected a column to him in Bosporus for the beneficence and mercy which he had shown towards them. From that time, then, the rule of the Sauromati in Bosporus was ended.

These events, then, fell out so; but when Lamachus was chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites and Asander was king of the country of the Bosporians, the Bosporians, being replete with much malice against the Chersonites and wholly unable to rest from wickedness, were still eager how they might pay back the recompense of the captivities upon the Chersonites. And so, learning that *Lamachus* had an only daughter, Gykia, while Asander had sons, they set about contriving the conclusion of a marriage alliance, in order that thereby they might safely gain a footing in the country of the Chersonites and take vengeance on it. And so they sent envoys to the country of the Chersonites, with this request: «If we know that sincere love exists between us, and if our relations one toward another are without guile, let us make for ourselves a marriage alliance, and do you give us the daughter of Lamachus, your first man, to be bride of the son of Asander our lord, or else receive him on your side as son-in-law, and we shall know that we have faith one toward another when the king's son is among you.» The Chersonites said to them: «We cannot consent to giving our daughter to you; but if from among the sons of Asander your king you would like to give us a son-in-law, we accept, but on such terms that the son of Asander who comes to us to be allied in marriage shall no longer have in his power ever at any time or season to attempt to return to the country of the Bosporians for the purpose of visiting or greeting his

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μόνων P || 226 ἕως: μέχρι V edd. || 227 ὀροθεσίαι] *litteras* οθ *in ras. scr.* P¹ || Καφὰ P || 228 Φάρναχος edd. || γεωργῶν: γεωργιῶν *coni.* Bekker || 232 Σαυρωμάτων P Σαυροματῶν Migne || 234 Τούτων] *litteram T rubro atramento scriptam eras. et novam litteram T in ras. scr.* P¹ || 235 Χερσωνίτων P || 244 ἐπιγαμβρεύσωμεν V: ἐπιγαμβρεύσομεν P edd. || 247 βασιλέως ὄντος (*coni. etiam* Bekker): βασιλεύοντος edd. || 251 ἐρχομένου: ἀρχομένου Ba Be ||

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εἰ δὲ τοῦτο βούλεται, πάντως, ὅτι τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀποθνήσκει.» Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἀπολυθέντων καὶ καταλαβόντων τὴν Βοσποριανῶν καὶ ταῦτα
257Be ἀναγγελλόντων, ἀπέστειλεν πάλιν | ὁ Ἄσανδρος πρέσβεις, λέγων τοῖς Χερσωνίταις, ὅτι· «Ἐὰν ἀληθῶς λέγετε καὶ πιστοποιεῖτέ με, ὅτι Λάμαχος ἀνέχεται ζεῦξαι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ μειζοτέρῳ μου υἱῷ, ἀποστελῶ ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αὐτόθι ἐπιγαμβρεύσασθαι.» Ἦν δὲ Λάμαχος τοῖς τότε καιροῖς, ὡς λόγος, πλούτῳ πολλῷ κομῶν ἔν τε χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ,
197vP παισί ⟨τε⟩ καὶ παιδίσκαις καὶ | ἀλόγοις διαφόροις καὶ κτήμασι πολλοῖς, καὶ τέσσαρσι δὲ ῥεγεῶσι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν ἐν πλάτει καὶ μήκει ἕως κάτω τῶν λεγομένων Σωσῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἰδίαν πύλην εἶχεν ἐν τῷ τείχει καὶ τέσσαρας πυλεῶνας μεγάλους εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον σὺν ἑτέροις δὲ παραπυλίοις σεμνοῖς, ὥστε εἰσερχομένων τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἑκάστην ἀγέλην ζώων, ἵππων τε καὶ φορβάδων, βοῶν τε καὶ δαμάλεων, προβάτων τε καὶ ὄνων καὶ δι' ἰδίας πύλης εἰσιέναι καὶ εἰς ἰδίαν στάσιν ἀπιέναι. Παρεκάλεσαν οὖν οἱ Χερσωνῖται τὸν Λάμαχον, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐπιγαμβρεύσασθαι αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου υἱόν. Τοῦ δὲ Λαμάχου ἐπινεύσαντος τῇ παρακλήσει αὐτῶν, ἦλθεν ὁ τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου
198rP υἱὸς | ἐν τῇ Χερσῶνι, καὶ ἔγημεν τὴν Γυκίαν. Καὶ διετοῦς μικροῦ χρόνου διαγενομένου, ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Λάμαχος· ἡ γὰρ μήτηρ τῆς Γυκίας προτελευτήσασα ἦν. Ἡ οὖν Γυκία μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περαίωσιν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ταφῆς, τῆς ἐνιαυσιαίας ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης, τὴν μνήμην θέλουσα φαιδρῦναι τοῦ ἰδίου πατρός, στεφανηφοροῦντος τότε καὶ πρωτεύοντος
258Be τῆς Χερσῶνος Ζή|θου, τοῦ Ζήθονος, παρεκάλεσεν τοῖς προύχουσι τῆς πόλεως, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἄνευ ὕβρεως ἀνεχθῆναι αὐτοὺς τοῦ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῆς σὺν παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ οἶνόν τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ ἔλαιον, κρέα τε καὶ ὄρνεα καὶ ὄψα, καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον πρὸς τὴν τῆς εὐφρασίας χρείαν, πρὸς τὸ τὴν
198vP ἡμέραν τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Λαμάχου ἅπαντας τοὺς | πολίτας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ φαμιλίᾳ αὐτῶν εὐφρανθῆναι καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι, ἕκαστον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ῥεγεῶνι καὶ δημοσίᾳ χορεύειν καὶ ἔργου τινὸς τὸ σύνολον μὴ ἅψασθαι, συνταξαμένη τοῖς πολίταις ἐν ὅρκῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς οὕτω τὰ τῆς εὐφρασίας καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον διδόναι αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ Λαμάχου μνήμῃ. Τούτων δὲ οὕτως γενομένων ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐν ὅρκῳ ὑπ' αὐτῆς παγιωθέντων, ὁ ταύτης ἀνήρ, ὁ τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου υἱός, ἔχων ἐν κρυπτῷ τὸν δόλον καὶ ἐπιζητῶν καιρὸν προδοσίας, ἀκούσας ταῦτα ⟨τὰ⟩ παρὰ τῆς Γυκίας λεχθέντα καὶ ἐν ὅρκῳ παγιωθέντα, ἐθαύμασε μὲν καὶ ἐπῄνεσεν τὴν Γυκίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνόρκῳ συντάξει, ὡς γνησίως περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς ἔχουσαν, συνθέμενος δὲ καὶ

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*V* 254 βούλεται *coni.* Bekker: βούλει P edd. || 260 ἀργυρίῳ V edd.: ἀργύρω P || 261 παισί edd.: παῖδες P || τε *add.* V edd. || 263 Σωσῶν Moravcsik: Σουσῶν P edd. || 264 τέσσαρας Ba Be τεσσάρας Py: τέσσαρσι P V Me ||

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father, and if he shall resolve to do this, surely he dies that hour.» The envoys were dismissed and reached the country of the Bosporians and reported this, and Asander once more sent envoys, saying to the Chersonites: «If you speak truly, and assure me that Lamachus consents to yoke his daughter with my eldest son, that same son will I send there to you, to be joined in marriage.» Lamachus in these days, as it appears, prided himself upon much wealth, in gold and silver, male and female slaves, and cattle of various kinds and many estates, and his mansion occupied ground far and wide in four wards, as far as to below the so-called Sosae, in which it had its own gate in the wall and four main gate-ways for ingress and egress, together with other small side-entrances, so that when his cattle entered the city, each herd of beasts, stallions and mares, cows and heifers, sheep and asses, came in through its own gate, and went to its own stabling. The Chersonites, therefore, begged Lamachus that this son of Asander might be his son-in-law. Lamachus granted their request, and the son of Asander came to Cherson and married Gykia. And after the space of about two years, Lamachus died; the mother of Gykia had died before him. So, after the lapse of a year, when the anniversary of her father's burial was near, Gykia, wishing to keep bright the memory of her father, begged the leading men of the city, the chief magistrate and primate of Cherson being Zethus, son of Zethon, that they would kindly consent, together with all the populace, to receive from her wine and loaves of bread and oil, flesh and game and fish, and anything else needed to make merry, to the end that upon this day of the commemoration of Lamachus all the citizens, with their wives and children and all their families, should feast and rejoice, each in his own ward, and dance in the streets and completely abstain from any work; and she promised the citizens upon oath that each year of her life she would in the same way give them the means of merry-making at this same commemoration of Lamachus. This being so arranged *and* confirmed by her upon oath, her husband, the son of Asander, who was plotting in secret and looking for an occasion of treachery, when he heard what Gykia had said and confirmed on oath, admired and congratulated Gykia upon the sworn convenant, as one showing a truly filial spirit towards her parents, and consented himself also, as it appears, to rejoice and pour

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πυλεῶνας: πυλαιῶσι V || μεγάλους: μεγάλοις V Me || 265 σὺν P^y Ba Be: καὶ P V Me || 267 τε¹ *om.* Be || πύλας edd. || 269 ἐπιγαμβρεύσεσθαι edd. || 271 Γυκίαν: γυναῖκα V edd. || 276 τῆς Χερσῶνος edd.: τὴν Χερσῶνα P || 277 ἄνευ ὕβρεως: ἐνιαυσιαίως *coni.* Jenkins || ἀνεχθῆναι *coni.* Kukules: ἀναχθῆναι P edd. συναχθῆναι *coni.* Bekker || 281 φαμηλία PV || 283 συνταξαμένη edd.: συνταξαμένης P || 286 καὶ *add.* Be || 288 τὰ *add.* edd. || 289 μὲν *om.* edd. ||

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199ʳP αὐτός, | φησί, χαίρειν καὶ σπένδειν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ συντάξει. Καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο παρελθούσης τῆς μνήμης καὶ τῆς εὐφρασίας, δηλοῖ τοῖς ἐν Βο-
σπόρῳ δι' οἰκείου παιδὸς λέγων αὐτοῖς, ὅτι· «Εὗρον μέθοδον, δι' ἧς
ἀκόπως τὴν Χερσῶνα μέλλομεν παραλαβεῖν· ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐκ διαλειμμάτων
ἀποστέλλετέ μοι δέκα ἢ δώδεκα νεωτέρους χρησίμους ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐν
259Be τῷ καράβῳ ἐλαυ|νόντων ὡς δῆθεν ξένιά μοι πέμποντες, ἐν Συμβόλῳ δὲ
παραβαλλόντων τῶν ἐρχομένων καράβων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐκεῖ μενόντων,
ἐμοῦ δὲ πέμποντος καὶ δι' ἵππων φέροντος τοὺς ἐρχομένους νεωτέρους
ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα.» Καὶ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐπὶ διετῆ χρό-
199ᵛP νον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μέρος ἐρχομένων τῶν Βοσποριανῶν μετὰ τῶν ξε|νίων
πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι τῇ πόλει τὸν δόλον ἔφερε μὲν αὐτοὺς πεζικῶς ἐκ
τοῦ Συμβόλου ὁ τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου υἱός, καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας τινὰς πάλιν ἐπὶ
πάντων πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀπέλυεν αὐτούς, φησίν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω ὡς δῆθεν
βραδέστερον διὰ τὴν ὥραν. Οἱ δὲ ἐξερχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἄχρι τριῶν
μιλίων, σκοτίας βαθείας γενομένης, ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἤρχοντο ἐν τῷ
λεγομένῳ Λιμῶνι, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν διὰ καράβου ἔφερεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς Σώ-
σαις, καὶ διὰ τοῦ παραπυλίου, οὗ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ τείχει, εἰσέφερεν αὐτοὺς
ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, μηδενὸς εἰδότος, εἰ μήτι γε τριῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ
Βοσποριανῶν καὶ μόνων πιστικῶν αὐτοῦ ὄντων, ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ ἐν Συμβόλῳ
200ʳP ἀπερχομένου καὶ μηνύοντος ἀναχωρεῖν τοὺς | καράβους, ἄλλου δὲ τοῦ
ὑποστρέφοντος τοὺς Βοσποριανοὺς καὶ φέροντος ἐν Λιμῶνι, ἑτέρου δὲ
τοῦ ἐκ Λιμῶνος μετὰ καράβου ἀποκομίζοντος ἐν ταῖς Σώσαις καὶ
ἀποκαθιστῶντος ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λαμάχου οἴκῳ, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐπέτρεφεν αὐτοὺς
ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις αὐτοῦ, μήτε τῆς Γυκίας εἰδούσης τὸν δόλον, προσδο-
κῶν, καθὰ εἴρηται, κατὰ τὴν ἐνιαυσιαίαν ἡμέραν τῆς τοῦ Λαμάχου
260Be μνή|μης, τῆς πόλεως πάσης εὐφραινομένης τε καὶ ἀποκοιμωμένης,
αὐτὸν τὴν νύκτα ἐπαναστῆναι μετὰ τῶν Βοσποριανῶν τε καὶ οἰκείων
καὶ ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντας κατασφάξαι. Συναχθέντων δὲ ἐν τῷ
διετεῖ χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ τῆς Γυκίας οἴκῳ ἄχρις διακοσίων Βοσποριανῶν, καὶ
200ᵛP τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Λαμάχου ἤδη λοιπὸν | ἐγγιζούσης, ἐγένετο παιδίσκην
τῆς Γυκίας κουβικουλαρέαν, πάνυ αὐτῇ οὖσαν προσφιλεστάτην, πταίσα-
σαν ἀπὸ ὄψεως αὐτῆς γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποκλεισθῆναι αὐτήν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ
οἴκῳ ἀπεκλείσθη ἡ παιδίσκη, ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἦσαν οἱ Βοσποριανοὶ
ἐπιτρεφόμενοι. Τῆς δὲ παιδίσκης καθεζομένης καὶ νηθούσης τὸ λίνον,
ἐγένετο τὸ σφοντύλιν τῆς ἀτράκτου αὐτῆς ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ κυλισθὲν εἰσελ-

***V*** 291 σπενδεῖν P || 295 δέκα edd.: ι' P || δώδεκα edd.: ιβ' P || 296 Συμβόλῳ *scr.* Moravcsik: συμβόλῳ edd. || 302 Συμβόλου *scr.* Moravcsik: συμβόλου edd. || 304 τριῶν edd.: γ' P || 305 σκοτείας P: σκοτιᾶς edd. || γενομένης V edd.: γινομένης P || 306 Λιμῶνι *coni.* Meursius: λίμνω P λίμνῳ V edd. || 306/7 Σῶσαις P || 307 οὗ: ὃ edd. || 308 τριῶν *scr.* Moravcsik γ' P: τρεῖς

a libation on this covenanted occasion. Afterwards, when the commemoration and merry-making had gone by, he made a declaration to those in Bosporus, through his confidential slave, and said to them: «I have found a means whereby we shall take Cherson without trouble; do you, therefore, send to me at intervals ten or twelve serviceable young fellows, in addition to the rowers of the ship, on the pretext that you are sending me presents, and let your ships that come hither put in at Symbolon and wait there, and I will escort and convey on horseback to the city the youths who come and the *presents* that are sent.» And so, in this manner, over a period of two years the Bosporians came, a few at a time, bringing the presents in order that the plot might not become known to the city, and the son of Asander conveyed them on foot from Symbolon, and then again a few days later, in sight of all, towards evening he would, as it appears, send them off outside the city, of course at as late an hour as he could. They would go out of the city a distance of three miles, and then, when it was pitch dark, would turn about and come to the so-called Limon, and thence he would convey them by boat to Sosae, and, through the side-gate which he had in the wall, would introduce them into his mansion; none being privy save three Bosporian slaves of his, who were his only confidants, one of whom used to go to Symbolon and give the word for the ships to depart, another would turn the Bosporians about and convey them to Limon, and the other would carry them by boat from Limon to Sosae and return them to the mansion of Lamachus; and by the agency of these *three slaves* he maintained them in his magazines, without even Gykia's being aware of the plot; and he expected, as has been said, on the anniversary of the commemoration of Lamachus, while all the city was making merry or had gone to sleep, to start up in the night with the Bosporians and his own slaves, and burn the city and put everyone to the sword. Now when, during the space of two years, as many as two hundred Bosporians had been collected in Gykia's mansion, and the commemoration of Lamachus was then already approaching, it fell out that a girl slave of Gykia, a chamber-maid, of whom she was exceedingly fond, committed some fault and was banished from her company and shut up. The room in which the girl slave was shut up had beneath it the Bosporians who were being kept there. It happened that, while the girl slave was sitting and spinning flax, the weight fell off her

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V edd. || *ante* παίδων *add.* τῶν V edd. || **309** *ante* Βοσποριανῶν *add.* τῶν edd. || μόνον V edd. || πιστικῶν: πιστῶν V edd. || **311** Λειμῶνι Migne || **312** Λειμῶνος Migne || Σῶσαις P || **313** ἀπέτρεφεν edd. || **315** ἐνιαυσίαν edd. || **317** νύκτα V edd.: νύκταν P || **319** διακοσίων Be: σʹ P || **321** κουβικουλαρέαν Moravcsik: κουβικουλαρίαν *coni.* Bekker κουβουκλαρέαν P edd. κουβουκλαρίαν Migne || οὖσαν V edd.: οὔση P || προσφιλεστάτην *corr.* Moravcsik: προσφιλέστατον P edd. || **324** ἐπιτρεφόμενοι *corr.* Moravcsik: ἀποτρεφόμενοι P edd. || **325** αὐτῆς *om.* V edd. || ἐκπεσεῖν: πεσεῖν V edd. || κυλισθὲν edd.: κυλισθέντα P ||

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θεῖν εἰς βαθυτάτην ὀπὴν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον. Ἡ δὲ ἀναστᾶσα πρὸς τὸ
ἐπᾶραι αὐτό, ὁρᾷ αὐτὸ ἐν βαθυτάτῃ ὀπῇ ὄν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένης αὐτῆς
ἐκσπάσαι αὐτὸ διὰ τὸ βάθος, ἠναγκάσθη ἐκ τοῦ πάτου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
τοῖχον ἀνασπάσαι ἕνα βήσσαλον πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο ἐπᾶραι, καὶ ὁρᾷ διὰ τῆς
201rP ὀπῆς κάτω ἐν τῷ ὑπο|γέῳ οἴκῳ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὄντων ἀνδρῶν. Καὶ
ἰδοῦσα εὐφυῶς πάλιν ἀπέθετο ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τὸ βήσσαλον πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνω-
σθῆναι τοῖς κάτω, καὶ λαθραίως ἀποστείλασα μίαν τῶν παίδων, προσ-
εκαλεῖτο τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῆς τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν, ὀφείλουσάν τι ἀναγ-
καῖον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν. Ἡ δὲ Γυκία ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανυγεῖσα ἀπῆλθεν
261Be πρὸς τὴν παι|δίσκην, καὶ εἰσελθούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ μόνας ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι
καὶ κλεισάσης τὴν θύραν, πεσοῦσα ἡ παιδίσκη πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς,
εἶπεν· «Δέσποινα, ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις ⟨εἰς⟩ τὴν ἀχρείαν σου δούλην· πλὴν
βούλομαι τῇ κυρίᾳ μου ξένον τι καὶ παράδοξον πρᾶγμα δεῖξαι.» Ἡ δὲ
Γυκία εἶπεν αὐτῇ· «Ἀφόβως εἰπὲ καὶ δεῖξον, τί τὸ τοιοῦτον;» Ἡ δὲ παι-
201vP δίσκη | ἀπαγαγοῦσα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐπάρασα τὸ βήσσα-
λον λέγει αὐτῇ· «Ὁρᾷς διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς, δέσποινα, τὸν κάτω κρυπτόμενον
ὄχλον τῶν Βοσποριανῶν;» Ἡ δὲ Γυκία ἰδοῦσα καὶ ἐκπλαγεῖσα ἐπὶ τῷ
πράγματι ἔφη· «Οὐκ ἀργὸν τὸ σκέμμα τοῦτο.» Καὶ λέγει τῇ παιδίσκῃ·
«Πῶς εὗρες τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο;» Ἡ δὲ παιδίσκη λέγει· «Πάντως, δέ-
σποινα, ὅτι ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ ἔπεσεν τὸ σφοντύλιν ἐκ τῆς ἀτράκτου
μου, καὶ κυλισθὲν εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ ὀπῇ ταύτῃ καί, μὴ δυναμένης μου αὐτὸ
ἐπᾶραι, ἠναγκάσθην τὸ βήσσαλον ἀνασπάσαι, καὶ τότε εἶδον αὐτούς.»
Ἡ δὲ ἐκέλευσεν τῇ παιδίσκῃ ἀποθέσθαι τὸ βήσσαλον εὐφυῶς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
202rP αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπιλαβομένη αὐτῆς καὶ περιπλακεῖσα κατεφί|λησε γνησίως,
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· «Μηδὲν πτοηθῇς, τέκνον, συγκεχώρηταί σου τὸ πταῖσμα,
ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἠθέλησέ σε πταῖσαι, ἵνα τὸν δόλον ἡμῖν φανερώσῃ· βλέπε
οὖν, ὅσῃ δυνάμει φυλάξαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ μὴ τολμήσῃς τινὶ τὸ σύνολον
τοῦτο θαρρῆσαι.» Καὶ λοιπὸν εἶχεν αὐτὴν διόλου μεθ' ἑαυτῆς πλέον τοῦ
226Be πρώτου ὡς πιστικὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν. Καὶ προσκαλεσα|μένη ἡ Γυκία δύο
τινὰς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτῆς, πιστικοὺς αὐτῇ ὄντας πάνυ, λέγει αὐτοῖς
ἐν τοῖς ἰδιάζουσιν· «Ἀπελθόντες συναγάγετε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐν μυστηρίῳ
τοὺς πρωτεύοντας καὶ εὐγενεῖς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐκλεξάσθωσαν τρεῖς
ἄνδρας πιστικούς, δυναμένους φυλάξαι μυστήριον καὶ πρᾶγμα ποιῆσαι,
202vP καὶ πιστοποιήσουσιν | αὐτοὺς οἱ πάντες ἐνόρκως πρὸς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐμὲ
πληροφορῆσαι, ἐν οἷς μέλλω ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποστειλάτωσαν
αὐτοὺς πρός με ἐν μυστηρίῳ, καὶ ἔχω αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαῖόν τι καὶ ὠφέλιμον
τῇ πόλει θαρρῆσαι, μόνον διὰ τάχους ποιήσατε, ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν.» Ἀπελθόν-
των δὲ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν μυστηρίῳ ταῦτα τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν

spindle and rolled and dropped into a very deep crevice by the wall. Getting up to recover it, she saw it lying in a very deep crevice, and, being unable owing to the depth to pluck it out, she was forced to pluck up a brick from the floor by the wall in order to recover it, and she saw through the crevice down below in the basement room the multitude of men who were there. When she had seen, she deftly put the brick back again in its place in order not to reveal herself to those below, and sent in secret one of the servants and invited her mistress to come to her, for there was something needful for her to hear and see. Gykia, pricked on by God, went to the slave girl, and when she entered the room alone and closed the door, the girl slave fell at her feet and said: «Lady, yours is the power *over* your unworthy slave: but I would show to my mistress a matter strange and unlooked-for.» Gykia said to her: «Fear not: speak and show what this is.» The girl slave led her to the wall and, deftly raising the brick, said to her: «Do you see, lady, through the crevice the throng of Bosporians in hiding below?» Gykia looked and was astonished at the affair, and said: «This is a serious plot!» And she said to the girl slave: «How did you find out this matter?» The girl slave said: «Surely, lady, by the will of God, the weight fell off my spindle and rolled and dropped into this crevice, and as I was unable to recover it I was forced to pluck up the brick, and then I saw them.» She bade the girl slave put the brick back deftly in its place, and then she caught her in her arms and embraced her and kissed her in earnest, and said to her: «Fear nothing, child; your fault is forgiven you, for God willed you to err, so that He might reveal the plot to us; see, now, that you do all you can to keep the matter close, and do not venture to entrust it to anybody at all.» And for the future she kept her wholly with herself as her confidante, even more than at first. Then Gykia summoned two of her relations, who were very much in her confidence, and said to them in private: «Go and collect together on their own in secret the primates and nobles of the city, and let them choose out three men in whom they confide, men who can keep a secret and do a deed, and let them all upon oath assure these men that they will satisfy me in what I am about to ask of them, and let them send them to me in secret, and I will confide to them a thing necessary and advantageous for the city; only do with speed what I tell you.» Her relations went off and told this in secret to the

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*V* 328 τοῦ² *om.* edd. || 329 βίσαλον P || 331 βίσαλον P || 333 ὀφείλουσάν edd.: ὀφείλουσά P || 337 εἰς *addendum coni.* Bekker || 339 καὶ δεῖξον: δεῖξον· καὶ edd. || 340/1 βίσαλον P || 345 σφοντύλην P || 346/7 αὐτὸ ἐπᾶραι: ἐπᾶραι αὐτὸ Be || 347 ἠναγκάσθην F edd.: ἠναγκάσθη P || βίσαλον P || 348 βίσαλον P || 352 τολμήσῃς Ba Be: τολμήσεις P || 353 πλέον edd.: πλὴν P || 354 πιστικὴν: πιστὴν V edd. || αὐτὴν: αὐτῇ *coni.* Bekker || 355 πιστικούς: πιστούς V edd. || 356 συναγάγετε: συνάγετε edd. || 357 ἐκλεξάτωσαν edd. || 358 πιστικούς: πιστούς V edd. ||

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εἰρηκότων, εὐθέως ἐξελέξαντο τρεῖς ἄνδρας, οὓς ᾔδεσαν αὐτοὶ πιστοὺς
εἶναι, καὶ πιστοποιήσαντες αὐτοὺς πάντες ἐν ὅρκῳ, ὅτι εἴ τι συνθῶνται
τῇ Γυκίᾳ εἴτε ποιῆσαι, εἴτε δοῦναι, μὴ ἀκυρῶσαι τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν,
ἀλλ' εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν συνταττόμενα αὐτῇ. Τούτων δὲ
πρὸς τὴν Γυκίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ ἀπελθόντων, ἐδέξατο αὐτούς, καὶ λέγει
203rP αὐτοῖς· «Δύνα|σθέ με πληροφορῆσαι ἐν ὅρκῳ, περὶ ὧν μέλλω ἐπερωτᾶν
ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ποιεῖτε ταῦτα;» Οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῇ· «Ναί, κυρία, ἑτοίμως ἔχο-
μεν, περὶ ὧν μέλλεις ἡμῖν ἐπιζητεῖν, πληροφορῆσαί σε, ὅτι εἰς πέρας
ἄγονται οἱ λόγοι σου». Τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ Γυκία· «Πληροφορήσατέ με,
ὅτι ἂν ἀποθάνω, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεώς με θάπτετε, καὶ λέγω ὑμῖν τὸ
263Be μυστήριόν μου· | ἰδοὺ βαρὺ ὑμῖν τίποτε οὐκ ἐπιζητῶ.» Οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες
ἀκούσαντες τοῦτο, μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐπληροφόρησαν αὐτὴν ἐν
ὅρκῳ, λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Ἐὰν τελευτήσῃς, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεώς σε θάψομεν
καὶ οὐκ ἐξάξομέν σε ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν.» Ἡ δὲ Γυκία πεισθεῖσα τοῖς
ὅρκοις αὐτῶν λέγει αὐτοῖς· «Ἐφ' οἷς ἐπληροφορήσατέ με, κἀγὼ λοιπὸν
203vP ἐμφαίνω ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριόν μου· ἰδοὺ | εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς θέλω, ὅτι ὁ ἀνήρ
μου τὸ ἔμφυτον κακὸν τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ ἔχων, τὸ τοῦ δόλου καὶ φθόνου
καθ' ἡμῶν, ὄχλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μέρος Βοσποριανῶν ἐν κρυφῇ εἰσαγαγὼν
ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, ἄχρις διακοσίων ψυχῶν ἐνόπλων διατρέφει, ἐμοῦ μὴ
εἰδυίας τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἀλλ' ὁ Θεὸς νῦν διὰ προφάσεως ἐφανέρωσέν μοι
αὐτό. Αὐτὸς οὖν ταύτην ἔχει τὴν σκέψιν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε, φησίν, εἰς τὴν μνήμην
τοῦ πατρός μου διδούσης μου τὴν εὐφρασίαν τῇ πόλει, καὶ εὐφρανθέντων
ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποκοιμωμένων, αὐτὸν τὴν νύκτα ἐπαναστῆναι μετὰ τῶν
συνόντων αὐτῷ Βοσποριανῶν τε καὶ οἰκείων, καὶ βαλεῖν ἐμπρησμὸν ἐν
τοῖς οἴκοις ὑμῶν καὶ κατασφάξαι πάντας ὑμᾶς. Ἰδοὺ λοιπὸν φθάζει καὶ ἡ
204rP μνήμη τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ δέον μέν ἐστι πρὸς τὸν | ὅρκον μου δοῦναι
ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τὰ τῆς εὐφρασίας, πάντα γὰρ ἑτοίμως ἔχω. Θελήσατε
οὖν πάντες προσδραμεῖν χαίροντες καὶ ζητῆσαι καὶ λαβεῖν πάντα προ-
θύμως πρὸς τὸ μήπω νοῆσαι αὐτόν, ὅτι ἔγνωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἄφνω
ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος γένηται. Θελήσατε οὖν καὶ δημοσίως κατὰ τὸ ἔθος
264Be εὐφραίνεσθαι, συμμέτρως δέ, καὶ χορεύειν ἐν ταῖς πλα|τείαις, ἑτοιμάσατε
δὲ ἕκαστος ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ὑμῶν ξύλα τε καὶ φορτία καὶ δᾷδας στεγνὰς
πρὸς τό, μισοποιούντων ὑμῶν τὰς εὐφρασίας καὶ τοὺς χορούς, δόξασθαι
πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν ὑμῶν ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ ταχέστερον μισοποιησάσης
καὶ κελευούσης ἀσφαλισθῆναι τοὺς πυλεῶνάς μου, ὑμεῖς εὐθέως ἐν
204vP ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ σὺν παι|σὶ καὶ παιδίσκαις ὑμῶν πανοικὶ παρενέγκαντες
τὰ ξύλα καὶ φορτία καὶ δᾷδας, παράθετε αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς πυλεῶσί μου καὶ

V 364 αὐτοὶ V edd.: αὐτοὺς P || 367 ἀγαγεῖν Ba Be: ἀγάγαι P || 369 ἐν ὅρκῳ πληροφορῆσαι edd. || 371 μέλλεις V edd.: μέλλῃς P || 372 ἄγωνται V edd. ||

primates, and they immediately chose out three men, in whom they knew they could confide, and all on their oaths assured them that, if they should covenant with Gykia to do or to give anything, they would not go back on their words, but would carry out to the end what they promised to her. These men went in secret to Gykia, who received them and said to them: «Are you able to satisfy me on oath concerning these things that I am about to ask of you, that you will do them?» They said to her: «Yes, lady, we will readily satisfy you concerning what you are about to require of us, that your words shall be carried out to the end.» Then Gykia said to them: «Satisfy me that if I die, you will bury me in the middle of the city, and I will tell you my secret; see, I do not require anything at all burdensome of you.» The men, on hearing this, with all readiness satisfied her upon oath, saying: «If you die, we will bury you in the middle of the city and will not carry you outside the walls.» Gykia believed their oaths, and said to them: «In view of the satisfaction you have given me, I on my part will now discover my secret to you; see now, I would have you know that my husband, who has the congenital vice of his city, that of plotting and envy against us, has introduced secretly into my mansion a throng of Bosporians, a few at a time, as many as two hundred souls, armed, and maintains them, I being in ignorance of the affair; but now God has found an occasion to reveal it to me. This, then, is his plan, that, so it appears, when at the commemoration of my father I provide the merry-making to the city and you have made merry and are gone to sleep, he will start up in the night with the Bosporians that are with him, and with his own slaves, and will set fire to your houses and put you all to the sword. See, now, my father's commemoration approaches, and I must, in accordance with my oath, give you as usual the means of merry-making, for I have all ready therefor. Do you, then, all run up joyfully and ask for and take everything eagerly, so that he may not yet realise that we have got to know of the affair, and a civil war suddenly break out. Resolve, therefore, to make merry publicly as usual, though moderately, and to dance in the squares, but let each of you make ready in his house timber and faggots and dry torches, so that when you break off the merry-makings and dances you may appear to go off to take your rest, and I for my part will break them off rather early and order my doors to be made fast, and then you, very quietly, with your male and female slaves and all your households, must at once bring along the timber and faggots and torches and pile them

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382 διακοσίων Be: σ′ P || 384 ἔχει edd.: ἔχειν P || 385 πόλει V edd.: πόλεως P || 386 καὶ *om.* V edd. || 390 *post* ἔθος *add.* μου V edd. || 392 μήπω V edd.; μήπως P || 396 μισοποιούντων: *hic et infra cum σ duplicato scribendum censuit* Kukules || ὑμῶν Be: ἡμῶν P || τὰς edd.: τῆς P V || τοὺς χοροὺς edd.: τῶν χωρῶν P || δόξασθαι edd.: δόξεται P || 397 δὲ: δὴ Migne || 399 παισὶ Ba Be: παῖδες P || παρενεγκόντες Be || 400 αὐτὰ: ταῦτα edd. ||

παραπυλίοις καὶ κύκλῳ τῆς οἰκίας πάσης, ἐπιχέοντες καὶ ἔλαιον τοῖς
ξύλοις πρὸς τὸ τάχιον ἀφθῆναι, καὶ ἡνίκα ἐξέλθω ἐγὼ καὶ εἴπω ὑμῖν,
εὐθέως βάλετε τὴν πυράν, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν ὅπλοις παραστήκετε κύκλῳ
τῆς οἰκίας, ἵνα ὅπου τινὰς θεωρήσετε ἐκπηδῶντας ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου διὰ
θυρίδος, τούτους κατασφάζητε. Ἀπελθόντες οὖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο
λαλήσατε καὶ ἑτοιμάσατε πάντα, ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν.» Οἱ δὲ πολῖται ταῦτα
ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐποίησαν πάντα ἐν συντομίᾳ κατὰ
205ʳP τὸν λόγον τῆς Γυκίας. Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς μνημοσύνου ἡμέρας, | ὡς δῆθεν
χαιρομένη ἡ Γυκία μετεπέμψατο τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρας, προτρεπομένη
τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῆς εὐφρασίας. Συνέτρεχε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ
τοῦτο, καὶ παρεκάλει πλεῖον οἶνον δοθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ εὐφρασίᾳ. Οἱ
δὲ πολῖται ἀσμένως πάντα δεξάμενοι εὐφραίνοντο, καθὼς παρηγγέλθη-
σαν, καὶ ἐχόρευον τὴν πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, φθασάσης δὲ τῆς ἑσπέρας, ἤρξαντο
265Be μισοποιεῖν οἱ | πολῖται καὶ ἀπιέναι ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀναπαῆναι,
εὐφραίνοντο δὲ πανοικί. Καὶ ἡ Γυκία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς προτρεπομένη
πάντας τοὺς αὐτῆς ἀδεῶς πίνειν πρὸς τὸ μεθυσθέντας αὐτοὺς τάχιον
κοιμηθῆναι, μόνον ταῖς κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτῆς παρήγγειλεν τοῦ νήφειν,
205ᵛP καὶ ἑαυτὴν τοῦ οἴνου | ἐφύλαττεν. Εὑρηκυῖα γὰρ ποτήριον πορφυροῦν
δέδωκεν τῇ κουβικουλαρέᾳ αὐτῆς, τῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰδούσῃ, καὶ παρήγγει-
λεν αὐτῇ ἐν αὐτῷ αὐτὴν κιρνᾶν σὺν ὕδατι. Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς θεωρῶν
τὸ πορφυροῦν ποτήριον, οὐχ ὑπενόει σὺν ὕδατι αὐτὴν πίνειν. Τῆς δὲ
ἑσπέρας φθασάσης, καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς ἤδη εἶπον, μισοποιησάντων,
λέγει τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ἡ Γυκία· «Εὐφρανθέντων ἡμῶν, δεῦρο λοιπὸν
ἀναπαυθῶμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς.» Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἀκούσας μᾶλλον ἐχάρη, καὶ
ἔσπευσεν τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἠδύνατο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰπεῖν τοῦτο,
μήπως ὑπόνοιαν δῷ τῇ γυναικί, περὶ οὗ ἐβουλεύετο δόλου. Κελεύει οὖν
ἡ Γυκία ἀσφαλισθῆναι τοὺς πυλεῶνας καὶ πάντα τὰ παραθύρια καὶ
206ʳP ἐνεχθῆναι αὐτῇ τὰς κλεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. | Καὶ τούτου γενομένου, λέγει
ἐν τῷ λεληθότι τῇ πιστῇ αὐτῆς κουβικουλαρέᾳ, τῇ τὸν δόλον εἰδούσῃ,
ὅτι· «Θέλησον σὺν ταῖς λοιπαῖς κουβικουλαρέαις εὐφυῶς ἐπᾶραι πάντα
τὰ κόσμιά μου καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, καὶ εἴ τι χρήσιμον δύνασθε ἐγκολπίσασθαι,
καὶ ἑτοιμάσατε ἑαυτάς, ἵνα, ὅταν εἴπω ὑμῖν, ἀκολουθήσητέ μοι.» Αἱ δὲ
266Be ποιήσασαι κατὰ τὴν κέλευσιν αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἕτοι|μαι. Τοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς
δῆθεν ἀνακλιθέντος τοῦ ἐκ συντόμου κοιμηθῆναι ⟨καὶ⟩ διὰ τάχους
αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστῆναι πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Γυκία παρέσυρεν

*V* 401 ἐπιχέαντες edd. || 402 ἀφθῆναι edd.: αὐθῆναι P || 403 βάλετε: λάβετε V edd. || παρεστήκετε edd. || 404 θεωρήσητε V edd. || 406 λαλήσαται] *secundam litteram* α *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 407 τριῶν edd.: γ' P || συντομίᾳ edd.: συντόμως P || 412 ηὐφραίνοντο Ba Be || 414 τοῦ: εἰς τὸ edd. || 415 εὐφραίνοντο V Me: ηὐφραίνοντο Ba

53 up in my doorways and side-gates and all round the house, pouring oil also upon the timbers so that they may catch the sooner, and when I come out and give you the word, set fire to them at once, and yourselves stand by armed around the house, so that where you see any jumping out of the house through a window, you may put them to the sword. Go now, and tell this secret, and make ready all that I have told you.» When they heard these things from the three men, the citizens hastily did all in accordance with the word of Gykia. When the commemoration day was upon them, Gykia, with an appearance of enjoyment, sent for the men of the city and told them to take the means of merry-making. And her husband, too, helped in this and begged that more wine should be given them for the merry-making. The citizens gladly took everything and began to make merry, as they had been ordered, and danced all the day; but when evening had come the citizens began to break off, and to go off to their houses to take their rest. And they made merry with all their households. Gykia in her house urged all her people to drink freely in order that they might get drunk and sleep the sooner, only enjoining upon her chamber-maids to be sober, and she herself abstained from wine. For she had found a purple goblet and gave it to her chamber-maid, who was in the secret, and instructed her to pour water into it for her. Her husband, seeing the purple goblet, did not suspect that she was drinking water out of it. When evening had come, and the citizens, as I have already said, had broken off the merry-making, Gykia said to her husband: «We have made merry; come, now let us too take our rest.» Hearing this, her husband was only too glad, and hastened to go to sleep; for he could not have said this himself, in case he might give his wife a hint of the plot he was hatching. So Gykia ordered the gates to be made fast and all the windows, and the keys to be brought to her as usual. When this was done, she said aside to her confidential chamber-maid, the one who knew of the plot: «You, with the rest of the chamber-maids, are deftly to remove all my jewelry and gold, and anything else of use that you can carry in your bosoms, and make yourselves ready, so that when I give you the word, you may follow me.» They did as she bade them, and were ready. Her husband was of course lying down in order to take a hasty nap *and* to get up again in a short while for his treachery against the city; but Gykia avoided going to sleep until all their house-

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Be εὐφραίνετο P || 416 αὑτῆς Migne || 417 κουβικουλαρέαις *coni.* Jenkins || αὐτῆς edd. || 418 ἑαυτὴν *coni.* Bekker: ἑαὐτῆ P ἑαυτὴ edd. || Εὑρηκυῖα: εὑροῦσα V edd. || 419 κουβικουλαρίᾳ Migne || 421 ὑπενόει V edd.: ὑπενόειν P || 424 Ὁ δὲ: ὁ δὴ ὁ edd. || 425 ἔσπευσεν: ἔπεσε edd. || 429 κουβικουλαρίᾳ Migne || 430 κουβικουλαρέαις (*litteris* βι *in ras. scriptis*) P V Ba Be: κουβικουλαρίαις Migne || 431 ἐγκολπίσασθαι Meursius Ba Be: ἐγκαλωπήσασθαι P || 432 ἀκολουθήσητέ *coni.* Bekker: ἀκολουθήσατε P edd. || 434 συντόμου edd.: σύντομον P || 434 καὶ *add.* Jenkins Kukules ||

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τοῦ καθευδῆσαι, ἕως ἂν πᾶσα ἡ φαμιλία αὐτῶν ἐκοιμήθη. Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ
αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ πότου ἀφύπνωσεν. Ἡ δὲ Γυκία ἰδοῦσα τοῦτον
206ᵛP κοιμηθέντα, εὐφυῶς τὸν κοιτῶνα | τῷ κλειδίῳ ἠσφαλίσατο, ἀποκλείσασα
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κατελθοῦσα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σὺν ταῖς κουβικουλαρέαις αὐτῆς,
ἐξελθοῦσα τῶν παραπυλίων ἡσύχως καὶ κλείσασα, εὐθέως ἐπέτρεψεν
τοὺς τῆς πόλεως διὰ τάχους βληθῆναι τὸ πῦρ κύκλῳ τοῦ οἴκου. Βληθέν-
τος δὲ τοῦ πυρός, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἀναφθέντος, εἴ πού τις τῶν ἔσωθεν ὄντων
ἠδυνήθη ἐκπηδῆσαι ἢ ἑαυτὸν ῥίψαι, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν κατεσφάγη. Τοῦ
δὲ οἴκου παντὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἕως ἐδάφους καταφλεχθέντων, διέσωσεν
ὁ Θεὸς τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβούλων Βοσποριανῶν. Ἡ δὲ
Γυκία, βουλομένων τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν καταφλεχθεῖσαν αὐτῆς οἰκίαν
207ʳP ὀρύξαι καὶ καθᾶραι τὸν τόπον πρὸς οἰκοδομήν, οὐκ εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλ|λον
ἐπέτρεψεν πάσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκχύνειν αὐτόθι τὴν
πᾶσαν αὐτῶν κοπρίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς καταχωσθῆναι τὴν πᾶσαν
αὐτῆς οἴκησιν, ὡς πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς πόλεως γενομένην· διὸ καὶ ἐκλήθη
ὁ τόπος Λαμάχου Σκοπὴ ἕως τῆς σήμερον.

Τούτων οὖν ἁπάντων οὕτως γενομένων, ἰδόντες οἱ Χερσωνῖται τὴν
267Bo τοιαύτην ἄπειρον ὑπὸ τῆς Γυκίας εἰς αὐτοὺς μετὰ Θεὸν | γενομένην
εὐεργεσίαν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδενὸς τῶν αὐτῆς τὸ σύνολον ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν
σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως προετιμήσατο, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης μισθαποδοσίας
δύο χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάντας πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῆς πόλεως
207ᵛP ἀνήγειραν, νεάζουσαν αὐτὴν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ | δεικνύοντες, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν
ἦν τότε συμβαίνουσα, ἐν τούτοις δεικνύοντες καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἄφατον
εὐεργεσίαν καὶ στοργὴν περὶ τοὺς πολίτας, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ νέᾳ οὖσα
οὕτως ἐφρόνησεν τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα μετὰ Θεὸν περισῶσαι. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ
τῇ μιᾷ στήλῃ σωφρόνως αὐτὴν κεκαλλωπισμένην στήσαντες καὶ τὰ τῆς
ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ οἰκείου ἀνδρὸς τοῖς πολίταις ἐμφαίνουσαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ
ἐναγώνιον αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπαμυνομένην κατὰ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβούλων
ἀποδεικνύοντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος αὐτῆς βάσει
ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ Θεὸν γενομένην τοῖς πολίταις εὐεργεσίαν.
208ʳP Εἴπερ μέλλει τις εἶναι φιλόκαλος, τῆς αὐτῆς συ|νεχῶς κατὰ καιρὸν τὴν
βάσιν ἀποσμήχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ γενομένων ἀνάγνωσίν τε καὶ
ὑπόμνησιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς γενομένων, ἔλεγχον δὲ τῶν ἐπιβούλων Βοσπο-
ριανῶν.

Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τινάς, στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ πρωτεύοντος
τῆς Χερσωνιτῶν Στρατοφίλου, τοῦ Φιλομούσου, πάνυ σοφωτάτη οὖσα ἡ
Γυκία καὶ θέλουσα δοκιμάσαι τοὺς Χερσωνίτας καὶ γνῶναι, εἰ ἄρα

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*F* 450 διὸ καὶ — 451 σήμερον: cf. Matth. 27, 8.

hold was sleeping, and her husband was soundly off after his deep potations. Gykia, seeing him asleep, deftly made fast the bed-chamber with the key, shutting her husband in, came down from the house with her chamber-maids, went quietly out of the side-gates and locked them, and at once gave the word to them of the city to light the fire quickly all round the house. The fire was lit and the house caught, and if any of those within managed to jump or throw himself out, he was slain by the citizens. The whole house, with those in it, was gutted to the foundation, and God preserved the city of the Chersonites from the treacherous Bosporians. When the citizens wished to dig into her gutted house and to clear the site for building, Gykia would not allow it, but rather bade all the city bring, each one of them, and empty out on that spot all their ordures, so that her whole dwelling might be buried deep in them, inasmuch as it had served for treachery against the city; and so unto this day the place has been called the Spy-tower of Lamachus.

All these things having so fallen out, the Chersonites, seeing the infinite benefits that Gykia had, under God, conferred upon them, and that she had not spared anything of her own at all, but had put first the salvation of the city, erected in payment for this service she had done them two bronze statues to her honour in the city square, representing her as young in years, as then, at that time, she was, and therein showing her ineffable benefits and affection toward the citizens, in that at her tender age she had shown such wisdom for the preservation, under God, of her own fatherland. For upon one column they set her soberly adorned and discovering to the citizens the tale of her husband's treachery, and upon the other they represented her in action and fighting against the betrayers of the city; and thereto, upon the base of her statue, they also inscribed all the benefits which she had, under God, conferred upon the citizens. And if any would be a lover of virtue, he regularly scours from time to time the base of the same, so that what is there written may be read and there may be a reminder of what she did, and a refutation of the treacherous Bosporians.

And after some years, when the chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was Stratophilus, son of Philomusus, Gykia, who had most excellent wit, desired to put the Chersonites to the proof

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*V* 436 φαμηλία P || 439 κουβικουλαρίαις Migne || 441 τούς: τοῖς edd. || βληθῆναι: ἐμβληθῆναι V edd. || 442 ἔσεωθεν P || 443 ἠδυνήθη ἐκπηδῆσαι: ἐκπηδῆσαι ἐδυνήθη edd. || 448 πάσῃ V edd.: πᾶσιν P || τῇ *om.* edd. || πόλει V edd.: πύλη P || ἐκχύνειν *scr.* Moravcsik ἐκχύνην P: ἐκχέειν edd. || 452 οὕτως *om.* V edd. || 454 αὐτῆς Migne || 455 τῆς[1]: τὴν Ba Be || 456 χαλκοὺς P || 459 οὖσα] *litteram* α in *ras. scr.* P[1] || 461 κεκαλλωπισμένην F Be: καὶ καλωπισμένην P || 464 ἀνδρίαντος P || 467 ἀποσμήχει edd.: ἀποσμίχην P || γενομένων: γεγραμμένων *coni.* Bekker || 471 τῆς: τῶν V edd. ||

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ἀληθῶς μέλλουσιν τὴν τοῦ ὅρκου ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκπληροῦν καὶ θάπτειν αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, συλλογισαμένη μετὰ τῶν παιδισκῶν αὐτῆς, ἐποίη- 268Be σεν ἑαυτήν | τινα ἀηδιζομένην καὶ ἀποθανοῦσαν. Καὶ κηδεύσασαι αὐτὴν αἱ παιδίσκαι, ἐμήνυσαν τοῖς πολίταις λέγουσαι, ὅτι· «Ἡ κυρία ἡμῶν 208ᵛP ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ μέλλει θά|πτεσθαι, ὑποδείξατε ἡμῖν.» Οἱ δὲ Χερσωνῖται ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι τέθνηκεν ἡ Γυκία, σκεψάμενοι καθ' ἑαυτούς, οὐκέτι τὸ ἱκανὸν τοῦ ὅρκου ἔσπευσαν ποιῆσαι, ὥστε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὴν ταφῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἄραντες αὐτὴν ἐξήνεγκαν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως θάψαι. Ἀποτεθέντος δὲ τοῦ κραββάτου πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα, ἀνακαθίσασα ἡ Γυκία καὶ περιβλεψαμένη πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, λέγει· «Αὕτη ὑμῶν ἐστιν ἡ μεθ' ὅρκου ὑπόσχεσις; Οὕτως ἀληθεύετε περὶ πάντων; Ἄβαλε λοιπὸν τῷ πιστεύοντι Χερσωνίτῃ πολίτῃ.» Οἱ δὲ Χερσωνῖται ἰδόντες τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς γενομένην αὐτῶν χλεύην, αἰσχυνθέντες μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι τῆς παραβασίας πράγματι, παρεκάλουν αὐτὴν πολλὰ τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ 209ʳP παραχωρῆσαι αὐτοῖς | τὸ πταῖσμα καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὀνειδίζειν αὐτοῖς. Λοιπὸν δευτέροις ὅρκοις αὐτὴν ἐπιστώσαντο, ὥστε μηκέτι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως θάψαι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησαν. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ζώσης ἔτι, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἡρετίσατο, τὴν σορὸν αὐτῆς ἐστήσαντο, καὶ ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν καὶ ἕτερον ἤγειραν, καὶ τοῦτον χρυσώσαντες ἔστησαν πρὸς τῇ ταφῇ αὐτῆς πρὸς περισσοτέραν πίστωσιν.

269Be Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἔξω τοῦ κάστρου Ταμάταρχα πολλαὶ πηγαὶ ὑπάρχουσιν ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσαι.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν Ζιχίᾳ πρὸς τὸν τόπον τῆς Πάγης, τῆς οὔσης εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς Παπαγίας, ἐν ᾧ κατοικοῦσι Ζιχοί, ἐννέα πηγαὶ εἰσιν ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσαι, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοχροοῦσιν τῶν ἐννέα πηγῶν τὰ ἔλαια, ἀλλὰ τὰ 209ᵛP μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν | εἰσιν ἐρυθρά, τὰ δὲ ξανθά, τὰ δὲ μελανώτερα.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν Ζιχίᾳ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Πάπαγι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πλησίον ἔστι χωρίον ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαπαξί, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ʽκονιορτός', ἔστιν ἐκεῖσε βρύσις ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσα.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρα βρύσις ἔστιν ἐκεῖσε ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσα ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Χαμούχ. Τὸ δὲ Χαμούχ ἐστιν ὄνομα τοῦ συστησαμένου ἀρχαίου ἀνδρὸς τὸ χωρίον· τὸ οὖν χωρίον ἐκεῖνο διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη Χαμούχ. Ἀπέχουσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι τόποι ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδὸν ἰδιοκαβάλλου ἡμέρας μιᾶς.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ θέματι Δερζηνῆς πλησίον τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ Σαπικίου καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Ἐπισκοπείου, ἔστιν πηγὴ ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσα.

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*V* 473 μέλλωσι edd. || ἐκπληροῦν V edd.: ἐκπληρῦν P || 474 συλλογισαμένη V¹ F edd.: συλλογήσασα P || παιδισκῶν Migne: παιδίσκων P edd. || 475 ἑαυτήν

and to know whether in fact they would fulfil the sworn promise and bury her in the middle of the city; and having concerted with her girl slaves, she made herself as one who was weary of life and had died. Her girl slaves laid her out on the bier and sent a message to the citizens, saying: «Our lady has died, and do you point out to us in what place she is to be buried.» The Chersonites, when they heard that Gykia was dead, turned the matter over in their minds and were no longer eager to fulfil the oath that she should be buried in the middle of the city, and they took her up and bore her outside the city to bury her. But when the bier was set down at the tomb, Gykia sat up and looked about on all the citizens and said: «Is this your sworn promise? Is this your truth in all your dealings? Woe to him, then, who puts faith in a Chersonite citizen!» The Chersonites, seeing the mock she had made of them, were greatly ashamed of their conduct in breaking their word, and earnestly besought her to be appeased and to pardon their transgression and to rail upon them no more. And so they gave their word to her with a renewal of their oaths that thereafter they would not bury her outside the city, but in the middle of the city, and so they did. And while she was still alive, they set up her coffin in the spot that she chose, and erected yet another bronze statue and gilded it and set it upon her tomb for greater assurance.

Outside the city of Tamatarcha are many wells yielding naphtha.

In Zichia, near the place called Pagi, which is in the region of Papagia and is inhabited by Zichians, are nine wells yielding naphtha, but the oils of the nine wells are not of the same colour, some of them being red, some yellow, and some blackish.

In Zichia, in the place called Papagi, near which is a village called Sapaxi, which means 'dust', there is a spring yielding naphtha.

There is there yet another spring yielding naphtha, in the village called Chamouch. Chamouch is the name of the man of olden times who founded the village: for this reason that village was called Chamouch. These places are distant from the sea a journey of one day without changing horses.

In the province of Derzene, near the village of Sapikion and the village called Episkopion, is a well yielding naphtha.

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edd.: αὐτὴν P || 478 Χερσωνῖται P || 480 *post* πόλεως[2] *add.* αὐτὴν V edd. || 481 θάψαι: ταφῆναι V edd. || κραβάτου P || 483 ἄβαλαι P[y]: ἄβαλα P ἀβάλα V edd. || 486 παραβάσεως V edd. || 491 ἀνδρίαντα P || χαλκοῦν (*coni. etiam* Bekker): χαλκὸν edd. || 494 ἄφθαν: νάφθαν *coni.* Latyšev || 495 Ζηχία P || εἰς: πρὸς edd. || 496 Ζηχοὶ P || 497 ὁμοχροοῦσι Meursius Ba Be: ὁμοχρυοῦσιν P || ἐννέα edd.: θ' P || 499 Ζηχία P || 500/1 κονιορτός V edd.: κορνιοτὸς P || 507 τοῦ *coni.* Jenkins: τὰ P edd. || 508 Ἐπισκοπίου P edd. ||

## 53

210rP Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ θέματι τοῦ Τζιλιάπερτ ὑπὸ | τὸ χωρίον τὸ Σρεχιαβαράξ ἔστιν ἐκεῖσε πηγὴ ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσα.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι εἰ ἀντάρωσί ποτε οἱ τοῦ κάστρου Χερσῶνος, ἢ ἐναντία τῶν βασιλικῶν κελεύσεων βουληθῶσι διαπράξασθαι, ὀφείλουσιν τηνικαῦτα, ὅσα εὑρεθῶσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει Χερσωνίτικα καράβια, μετὰ τοῦ γόμου 270Be αὐτῶν εἰσκομίζεσθαι, οἱ | δὲ ναῦται καὶ ἐπιβάται Χερσωνῖται ἵνα δεσμεύωνται καὶ ἐναποκλείωνται εἰς τὰ ἐργαλεῖα, εἶθ' οὕτως ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσταλῆναι τρεῖς βασιλικοί· εἷς μὲν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων, ἕτερος δὲ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τοῦ θέματος Παφλαγονίας καὶ ἄλλος ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Βουκελλαρίων, ἵνα πάντα τὰ Χερσωνίτικα καράβια κρατῶσιν, καὶ τὸν μὲν γόμον καὶ τὰ καράβια 210vP εἰσκομίζωσιν, | τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους δεσμεύωσι καὶ ἐναποκλείωσιν εἰς δημοσίους φυλακάς, καὶ ἀναγάγωσι περὶ τούτων, καὶ ὡς ἂν δέξωνται. Πρὸς τούτοις ἵνα οἱ τοιοῦτοι βασιλικοὶ κωλύωσι καὶ τὰ Παφλαγονικὰ καὶ Βουκελλαρικὰ πλοῖα καὶ πλαγίτικα τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ μὴ διαπερᾶν ἐν Χερσῶνι μετὰ σίτου ἢ οἴνου ἢ οἱασδήποτε χρείας ἢ πραγματείας. Εἶθ' οὕτως ὀφείλει δέξασθαι καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ κόψαι καὶ τὰς δέκα λίτρας, τὰς διδομένας ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου εἰς τὸ κάστρον Χερσῶνος, καὶ τὰς δύο τοῦ πάκτου, καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἀναχωρῆσαι ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐν ἑτέρῳ κάστρῳ καὶ καθεσθῆναι ἐκεῖσε.

Ὅτι ἐὰν οὐ ταξιδεύσωσιν οἱ Χερσωνῖται εἰς Ῥωμανίαν, καὶ 211rP πιπράσκωσι τὰ | βυρσάρια καὶ τὰ κηρία, ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν πραγματεύονται, οὐ δύνανται ζῆσαι.

Ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἀπὸ Ἀμινσοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ Παφλαγονίας καὶ τῶν Βουκελλαρίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων περάσωσι γεννήματα, οὐ δύνανται ζῆσαι οἱ Χερσωνῖται.

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*V* 510 τὸ χωρίον *om.* Be || 512 εἰ] *in ras. scr.* P[1] || 514 Χερσωνιτικὰ edd. || 516 ἐναποκλείωνται edd.: ἐναποκλείονται P || 518 Ἀρμενιακῶν V edd. || 520 Χερσωνίτικα *scr.* Moravcsik: Χερσωνιτικὰ P edd. || 524 πλαγιτικὰ edd. || 525 πραγματείας: πράγματος V edd. || 534 Ἀρμενιακῶν V edd. || 535 Χερσωνῖται P.

53 In the province of Tziliapert, below the village of Srechiabarax, there is a well yielding naphtha.

If ever the men of the city of Cherson revolt or decide to act contrary to the imperial mandates, then all Chersonite ships at Constantinople must be impounded with their cargoes, and Chersonite sailors and passengers must be arrested and confined in the gaols; and then three imperial agents must be sent: one to the coast of the province of the Armeniakoi, another to the coast of the province of Paphlagonia, and another to the coast of the province of the Boukellarioi, in order to take possession of all Chersonite ships, and to impound the cargo and the ships, and to arrest the men and confine them in public prisons, and to report upon these matters and as they may be instructed. Moreover, these imperial agents must forbid the Paphlagonian and Boukellarian merchant-ships and coastal vessels of Pontus to cross to Cherson with grain or wine or any other needful commodity or merchandise. Then, the military governor too must be instructed to sequestrate the ten pounds granted by the treasury to the city of Cherson and also the two pounds of tribute, and then the military governor must withdraw from Cherson and go to another city and take up residence there.

If the Chersonites do not journey to Romania and sell the hides and wax that they get by trade from the Pechenegs, they cannot live.

If grain does not pass across from Aminsos and from Paphlagonia and the Boukellarioi and the flanks of the Armeniakoi, the Chersonites cannot live.

# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Passages are cited by chapter and line in the chapter. **P**, in such citations, stands for «Proem».

Abbreviation: *Byzantinoturcica* = Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II. *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Budapest, 1943 (2nd ed., Berlin, 1958).


'Ααρών, chief of the Arabs **22**/59, 63.

'Αβάρα (ἡ), county and frontier pass in the province of Sebasteia **50**/167.

Ἄβαρεις cf. Ἄβαροι.

Ἄβαροι, Avars **29**/17, 20, 33, 37, **31**/18; Ἄβαρεις **25**/22, **30**/21, 30, 60, 66, 71, **31**/11; 'Αβάρων (gen.) **28**/7, **30**/21, 27, 68, 70, **31**/15, 19, **32**/24, **33**/7, **35**/6, **36**/7; cf. Σκλάβοι. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 59—61 (2nd ed. pp. 51—3).

'Αβασγία, Abasgia **42**/13, 109, **45**/77, **46**/17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 44, 48.

'Αβδελᾶς, 1. chief of the Arabs **21**/39, 45.
2. chief of the Arabs **22**/56.
3. leader of the Arabs **22**/65.

'Αβδεραχείμ, emir of the city of Manzikiert **44**/68, 68, 70, 74, 81, 89, 92, 95.

'Αβελχαμίτ, ruler of the city of Manzikiert **44**/24, 25.

'Αβέρκιος, spatharocandidate and captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia **50**/217.

'Αβιμέλεχ, chief of the Arabs **21**/43, **22**/9, 11, 15, 27, 33.

'Αβνίκιον (τό), city in Armenia **45**/97, 129; 'Αβνίκου (gen.) **45**/63, 100, 131, 156. 'Αβνικιῶται (οἱ) **45**/65.

'Αβνικιῶται cf. 'Αβνίκιον.

'Αβουβάχαρ, chief of the Arabs **17**/12, **18**/1, 3, 4; Βουβάχαρ **14**/25; 'Αβουβάχαρον, τὸν καὶ Βουπάκτωρα **17**/3—4.

'Αβραάμ, Abraham **14**/4.

Ἄβρων, grammarian **23**/38.

'Αγαπητός cf. Ἅγιος 'Αγαπητός.

'Αγάπιος, monk **46**/54, 59, 62, 72, 102.

'Αγαρηνοί, Agarenes **21**/15, 41, 75, 82, **22**/36, 39, 41, 44, **43**/93, **45**/126.

'Αγέλαστος, protospatharius: Λέων ὁ 'Αγέλαστος **50**/58.

Ἁγία Σοφία, church in Constantinople **13**/36, 113.

Ἁγία Τριάς, church in Diadora **29**/282.

Ἅγιος 'Αγαπητός, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία τοῦ Ἁγίου 'Αγαπητοῦ **50**/98.

Ἅγιος Αἰθέριος, island at the mouth of the river Dnieper **9**/82, 88.

Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος, island in the river Dnieper **9**/72.

'Αγρός: ἡ μονὴ τοῦ καλουμένου μεγάλου 'Αγροῦ, monastery **22**/78.

'Αδαρά (τά), place near the mouth of the river Dnieper **42**/68.

'Αδέλβερτος, son of king Lothair I and father of king Hugh **26**/15, 70.

'Αδέλεσα, wife of king Lothair II **26**/65.

'Αδρανασέ, 1. curopalate, son of Asotios (cf. 'Ασώτιος 4.): 'Αδρανασέ (acc.) **46**/83; 'Αδρανασέ (gen.) **46**/36, 85, 89, 147, 164; 'Αδρανασήρ **43**/39, 47, 111; 'Αδρανασή (acc.) **45**/35.

2. magister, son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 4.): 'Αδρανασέρ 46/6.
3. magister, nephew of Adranase (cf. 'Αδρανασέ 1.): 'Αδρανασέ 45/126; 'Αδρανασή 46/41; 'Αδρανασῆ (gen.) 46/40.
'Αδρανασέρ, 'Αδρανασή, 'Αδρανασήρ cf. 'Αδρανασέ.
'Αδρανούτζι cf. 'Αρδανούτζι.
'Αειβόλας, place near Venice: εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον — 28/22.
'Αειμάνας, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/92.
'Αειφόρ, barrage of the river Dnieper: τὸν τέταρτον φραγμόν, τὸν μέγαν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον 'Ρωσιστὶ μὲν 'Αειφόρ, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Νεασήτ, διότι φωλεύουσιν οἱ πελεκᾶνοι εἰς τὰ λιθάρια τοῦ φραγμοῦ 9/45—47.
'Αέτιος, Roman general 25/6, 8, 13, 15, 42, 43, 45.
'Αζίδ, 1. chief of the Arabs: 'Ιζίδ 21/37.
2. chief of the Arabs: 'Αζίδ 22/53.
'Αθήναιος, author 23/40.
'Αθηναῖος, Athenian 27/16.
Αἴγυπτος (ἡ), Egypt 14/13, 21/18, 68, 22/68, 25/65, 68, 77, 83.
Αἰθέριος cf. "Αγιος Αἰθέριος.
Αἰθίοψ, Ethiopian 22/13.
Αἴθριβος (ἡ), district of Arabia 14/28, 17/14, 21/17, 19, 22, 38, 70, 105.
Αἴχυλον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/92.
Αἰτίκιοι cf. Βενέτικοι.
'Ακαμψῆ(ς), county in the province of Chaldia: τοῦρμα τοῦ 'Ακαμψῆ 46/119.
'Ακαρκοῦς, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία 'Ακαρκοῦς 50/95.
'Ακουϊλεγία (ἡ), city in Italy 28/5, 8.
'Αλανία, Alania 10/4, 5, 11/3, 37/38, 46, 42/13, 102.
'Αλανοί, Alans 11/11, 25/29, 42/107; 'Αλανός (ὁ) 10/6.
'Αλάριχος chief of the Goths 25/23.
'Αλβουνο(ν), city on the frontier of Croatia: τοῦ κάστρου 'Αλβούνου 30/115.
'Αλέξανδρος, emperor 50/197, 205, 207, 229.
'Αλή, chief of the Arabs 21/18, 20, 22; 'Αλήμ 21/69, 72, 79, 87, 92, 94, 94, 97, 104, 106, 25/59, 82, 85.
'Αλήμ, cf. 'Αλή.
'Αλικαρνασσός (ἡ), Halicarnassus 20/11.
'Αλλά, god of the Saracens: ἀναφωνοῦσιν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ αὐτῶν οὕτως· «'Αλλὰ οὐὰ Κουβάρ», ὅ ἐστιν 'ὁ θεὸς καὶ 'Αφροδίτη'. Τὸν γὰρ θεὸν ''Αλλά' προσονομάζουσι, τὸ δὲ 'οὐά' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'καὶ' συνδέσμου τιθέασιν, καὶ τὸ 'Κουβάρ' καλοῦσι τὸ ἄστρον, καὶ λέγουσιν οὕτως· «'Αλλὰ οὐὰ Κουβάρ.» 14/32—36. — Cf. W. Eichner, *Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern*, (Glückstadt, 1936), pp. 196, 200—205.
'Αλματαί (ὁ), river between the river Danube and the city of Sarkel 42/59.
'Αλμούτζης, voivode of the Turks (= Magyars) 38/43 [Σαλμούτζης P], 38/44; 'Αλμούτζη (acc.) 38/49. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 69 (2nd ed. p. 63).
'Αλογοβότουρ, general of the Bulgarians 32/127. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 69 (2nd ed. p. 64).
'Αλτζικέ (τό), city in Armenia 44/57, 109, 114.
"Αλυς (ὁ), river in Asia Minor 53/7, 11, 12, 64.
'Αλωήπ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
'Αμάλφη (ἡ), city in Italy 27/5, 10, 50, 52, 67.
'Αμανῖται cf. 'Ομηρῖται.
'Αμινσός, city in Asia Minor: ἀπὸ 'Αμινσοῦ 53/533.
'Αμόριον, city in Asia Minor: ἐξ 'Αμορίου 29/61.
'Αναστασία, Saint 29/276, 279.
'Αναστάσιος, Saint 29/245.
'Ανατολικοί, provincial soldiers, province: θέμα τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν 50/96; ἡ τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν στρατηγίς 50/84; τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν 50/99.
'Ανδρέας, Saint, apostle 49/26, 37.
'Αντίβαρις (ἡ), city on the frontier of Dalmatia 30/9, 97.
'Αντιόχεια (ἡ), Antioch, emirate 21/68; 25/71.

'Απασάκιος, magister, son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 1.) **44**/9, 36.
'Απαχουνῆς (τό), district in Armenia **44**/1. 40, 87.
'Απελβάρτ, 1. ruler of the city of Manzikiert **44**/17, 19, 23.
2. ruler of the city of Manzikiert, son of Aposelmis **44**/79, 107, 112.
'Απελμουζέ, son of Aposebatas **44**/74, 82, 91, 93, 96.
'Απογάνεμ, protospatharius, patrician, brother of Krikorikios **43**/55, 72, 101, 136, 178, 184, 188.
'Απολεσφούετ, ruler of the city of Manzikiert, brother of Aposebatas **44**/30, 43, 55, 61, 65, 69, 72, 76, 95, 98, 101, 102, 103, 112, 122.
'Απολλόδωρος, author **23**/3.
'Απολλώνιος, grammarian **23**/30.
'Αποσάται, emir of Persia **44**/8, 27, 51.
'Αποσεβατᾶς, emir of the city of Manzikiert **44**/26, 42, 52, 55, 59, 61, 64, 66, 68, 69, 72, 74, 81, 85, 95, 99, 121.
'Αποσέλμης, ruler of the city of Manzikiert, brother of Aposebatas **44**/62, 72, 79, 99; 'Αποσέλμη (gen.) **44**/30, 44, 106, 122.
'Απρίλιος, April **9**/110.
"Αραβες, Arabs **16**/10, 10, 11, **18**/1, 5, **19**/1, **20**/1, 12, **21**/3, 17, 37, 38, 49, 50, 52, 66, 110, 115, 120, **22**/19, 22, 27, 33, 53, 57, 58, 59, 63, 77, **25**/57; 'Αραβικός **15**/5.
'Αραβία, Arabia: ἡ εὐδαίμων 'Αραβία **25**/65, 82; ἡ τραχεῖα 'Αραβία **21**/70.
"Αραδος (ἡ), island **20**/5.
"Αρβη (ἡ), city in Dalmatia **29**/51, 288, **30**/136.
'Αργυρός, 1. military governor **50**/141; Εὐστάθιος ὁ τοῦ 'Αργυροῦ **50**/136; Εὐστάθιος **50**/151.
2. military governor, magister and commander-in-chief: 'Αργυρὸς Λέων **50**/150.
'Αρδανούτζι (τό), city in Armenia **46**/5, 8, 13, 23; 'Αρδανούτζιν **46**/29, 34, 42, 57, 71, 74, 98, 116, 150; 'Αρδανουτζίου (gen.) **46**/2, 21, 46, 99, 102, 104, 123, 134, 157 ['Αδρ— variants in P].
'Αρειανός, Arian **14**/22.
"Αρειος, presbyter of Alexandria **25**/19.
"Αρεντα cf. Παγανοί.
'Αρεντανοί, Arentani **29**/57, 80, **36**/1, 13; cf. Παγανοί.
'Αρζές (τό), city in Armenia **44**/3, 11, 15, 21, 54, 57, 102, 109, 114, 125.
'Αρζῦν (τό), territory of the city of Ardanoutzi **46**/47.
'Αρίσταρχος, Athenian general **23**/21.
'Αριστοφάνης, dramatist **23**/20.
'Αρκάδιος, emperor **25**/20.
'Αρκάϊκας, uncle of Krikorikios, prince of Taron: 'Αρκάϊκα (gen.) **43**/28, 33, 57.
'Αρμένης, protospatharius, vice-admiral: Λέων ὁ 'Αρμένης **51**/72, 74, 104, 129; Λέων **51**/126.
'Αρμενία, Armenia **22**/14, 23, **44**/128; ἡ μεγάλη 'Αρμενία **44**/13, 51; τετάρτη 'Αρμενία **22**/20.
'Αρμενιάκοι, provincial soldiers, province: θέμα τῶν 'Αρμενιάκων **50**/105, **53**/518; ἡ τῶν 'Αρμενιάκων στρατηγίς **50**/91; τῶν 'Αρμενιάκων **45**/46, **53**/534.
'Αρμένιοι, Armenians **43**/42, **45**/78; 'Αρμενικός **46**/44.
'Αρμένιος, frontier warden: 'Ισμαὴλ ὁ Αρμένιος **50**/140; 'Ισμαήλ **50**/144, 147.
'Αροτρᾶς cf. Κρινίτης 2.
'Αρπαδής, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **38**/44, 45, **40**/53; 'Αρπαδῆ (acc.) **38**/49; 'Αρπαδῆ (gen.) **38**/53, 57, **40**/13, 48, 56, 60. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 74—75 (2nd ed. pp. 71—2).
'Αρραβωνίτης, protospatharius and military governor: 'Ιωάννης ὁ 'Αρραβωνίτης **45**/133.
'Αρσάφιος, Ragusan **29**/231.
'Αρσένιος, protospatharius and lictor **51**/72, 130.
'Αρτεμίδωρος, author **23**/11, 22.
"Ασανδος, son of Moundaros **14**/7.
"Ασανδρος, king of the Bosporians **53**/235, 240, 245, 249, 251, 256, 269, 270, 287, 302.
'Ασμοσάτο(ν), province: τὸ τοῦ 'Ασμοσάτου θέμα **50**/112.

'Ασπάλαθος (ἡ), city in Dalmatia **30**/15, 133; 'Ασπάλαθον (τό) **29**/8, 51; 'Ασπαλάθου (gen.) **30**/14, **31**/30; τοῦ 'Ασπαλάθου κάστρον, ὅπερ 'παλάτιον μικρόν' ἑρμηνεύεται **29**/237.

"Ασπαρ, Roman general **25**/50, 51, 54.

'Ασπίς, comedy of Menander **23**/25.

"Ασπονα, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία "Ασπονας **50**/95.

"Ασπρον (τό), deserted city upon the Dnieper river: κάστρον πρῶτον τὸ ὀνομασθὲν παρὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν "Ασπρον διὰ τοὺς λίθους αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι καταλευκούς **37**/60—61. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 78 (2nd ed. p. 76).

"Ασπρος, river between the river Dniester and the mouth of the Danube: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον "Ασπρον **9**/91.

'Ασωτίκιος cf. 'Ασώτιος 2.

'Ασώτιος, 1. prince of princes of Armenia (I) **44**/7, 18, 20, 21, 35.
2. prince of princes of Armenia (II), son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 1.) **44**/9, 36, 37; 'Ασωτίκιος **43**/112.
3. protospatharius, patrician, bastard son of the Taronite Krikorikios **43**/29, 51, 132, 164.
4. son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 2.) **45**/34, 35.
5. curopalate, brother of David (cf. Δαυίδ 3.) **46**/25, 37, 80, 130, 146, 154, 163.
6. patrician, son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 4.) **46**/13, 19, 125; 'Ασώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης **46**/7, 10, 10, 16, 57, 64, 70, 106, 109, 117, 150; 'Ασωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση (gen.) **46**/23, 31, 98, 124, 162.

'Ατελκούζου, district inhabited by the Turks (= Magyars) and the Pechenegs: εἰς τόπους τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους — **38**/30; 'Ο δὲ τόπος... ὀνομάζεται κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐκεῖσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ 'Ετὲλ καὶ Κουζοῦ **40**/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 79 (2nd ed. p. 77).

'Ατέχ, island near Tamatarcha: νησίον.., τὸ λεγόμενον — **42**/95.

'Ατζαρά(ς), river region in Iberia: ποταμία τοῦ 'Ατζαρά **46**/14.

'Ατήλ, river in the country of the Pechenegs: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν — **37**/2. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 80 (2nd ed. p. 78).

'Αττάλεια (ἡ), city in Asia Minor **50**/170, 214, 217.

'Αττίλας, king of the Avars (= Huns) **28**/6, 11, 11, 17. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 81 (2nd ed. p. 79).

'Αφραζεία, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία 'Αφραζείας **50**/98.

'Αφρική (ἡ), Africa **20**/2, **21**/28, **22**/28, 36, **25**/52, 59, 65, 68, 74, **29**/90, 158.

'Αφρικοί, Africans **27**/63, **29**/163; τῶν Οὐανδήλων, ἤτοι τῶν 'Αφρικῶν **27**/62; 'Αφρικοὺς Σαρακηνούς **49**/9; cf. "Αφροι.

'Αφροδίτη, Aphrodite **14**/32, 34; cf. 'Αλλά.

"Αφροι, Africans **20**/3, **25**/5; cf. 'Αφρικοί.

'Αχαΐα (ἡ), Achaea **49**/43.

'Αχάμετ, "Αχαμτ cf. "Αχμετ.

'Αχελώ, river in Thrace: εἰς 'Αχελών **32**/91.

"Αχμετ, nephew and step-son of Apolesphouet and ruler of his cities **44**/56, 108, 110; 'Αχάμετ **44**/76, 77, 100, 104 ["Αχαμτ variant in P].

"Αψανον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/82.

'Αψίμαρος cf. Τιβέριος.

Βαασάκιος, frontier warden **50**/139, 142, 134, 148.

Βαγδάδ (τό), Bagdad **25**/57, 64, 75, 78, **47**/16.

Βαγιβαρεία (ἡ), Bavaria **30**/62.

Βάϊτζας, prince of the Pechenegs: Βάϊτζαν (acc.) **37**/21. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 84 (2nd ed. p. 84).

Βαιτική (ἡ), part of Iberia **23**/29.

Βαῖτις (ὁ), river in Iberia **23**/16.

Βάλ (ὁ), river on the eastern side of the Maeotic lake **42**/89.

Βαλβαδῶνα, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία Βαλβαδώνας **50**/94.

Βαλεντῖνος, 1. Ragusan archdeacon **29**/232.
2. Ragusan, father of Stephen protospatharius **29**/232 [Βανεντῖνος P].

Βάρβαρος, owner of a mansion in Constantinople **43**/67, 76, 91, 97, 102, 141.

Βαρβᾶτος, patrician and chamberlain **50**/230.

Βάρδας cf. Πλατυπόδης.

Βαρέτα, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία Βαρέτας **50**/94.

Βάρις (ἡ), city in Italy: Βάρεως (gen.) **27**/56, **29**/101, 112, 115.

Βαρκαλᾶς, chief oarsman, steersman of the imperial galley **51**/120, 127; Βαρκαλοῦ (gen.) **51**/124; Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βαρκαλᾶς **51**/117; Μιχαήλ, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην ὁ Βαρκαλᾶς **51**/109.

Βάρνα (ἡ), city in Bulgaria: Βάρνας (gen.) **9**/100, 100.

Βαρουφόρος, barrage of the river Dnieper: εἰς τὸν πέμπτον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Βαρουφόρος, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Βουλνηπράχ, διότι μεγάλην λίμνην ἀποτελεῖ **9**/57—59.

Βαρούχ (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs **38**/68.

Βασίλειος, 1. emperor (I) **22**/81, **29**/70, 88, 94, **30**/126, 128, **50**/76, 225, 225, **51**/7, 75, 108.
2. patrician and chamberlain **43**/67, **50**/233.

Βασπαρακά, district in Armenia: Βασπαρακά (gen.) **43**/111; Βασπαρακανίτης (ὁ) **45**/77.

Βασπαρακανίτης cf. Βασπαρακά.

Βατᾶς, prince of the Pechenegs: Βατᾶν (acc.) **37**/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 86 (2nd ed. p. 87).

Βέκλα (ἡ), city in Dalmatia **29**/52, 287, **30**/136.

Βελάης, zupan of Terbounia: Βελάη (gen.) **34**/8.

Βελέγραδα, 1. city on the river Danube: ἡ Βελέγραδα **40**/29, 32, **42**/2, 16; τὸ Βελέγραδον **32**/20 [Βελάγραδον P].
2. city in Croatia: τὸ Βελέγραδον **31**/69.

Βελέγραδον cf. Βελέγραδα.

Βελίτζιν (τό), city in Croatia **31**/69.

Βελοχρωβάτοι cf. Χρωβάτοι.

Βενεβενδός (ἡ), city in Italy **27**/4, 11, 15, 37, 38, 43, 51, 56, **29**/119, 128, 160, 214, 285.

Βενετία (ἡ), Venice **27**/77, 89, 94, **28**/2, 3, 6, 10, 13, 14, 22, 44, **31**/45, 57.

Βενέτικοι, Venetians **27**/80, 91, **28**/4, 20, 22, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 41, 43; τῶν νῦν καλουμένων Βενετίκων, πρῶτον δὲ Ἐνετικῶν [Αἰτικίων P] **27**/75—76; τοὺς Βενετίκους..., ἐκαλοῦντο Ἐνετικοί [Αἰτίκιοι P] **27**/71—72.

Βερβιάνοι, tributaries of the Russians: Βερβιάνων(gen.) **9**/107.

Βεργώνια (ἡ), Burgundy **26**/24, 26, 42, 57, 61, 63.

Βεριγγέρης cf. Βεριγγέριος.

Βεριγγέριος, 1. Berengar, king of Italy (I): Βεριγγέριος **26**/22, 25; Βεριγγέρης **26**/28, 30, 35, 36, 45, 51; Βεριγγέρη (gen.) **26**/27, 29, 41, 54.
2. Berengar, king of Italy (II): Βεριγγέρη (gen.) **26**/22.

Βερινούπολις, garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Βερινουπόλεως **50**/104.

Βερούλλια (τό), city in Pagania **36**/14.

Βερούτζη cf. Λεάντι.

Βέρτα, 1. wife of Adalbert, king of Italy: ἡ μεγάλη Βέρτα **26**/16, 70.
2. wife of Hugh, king of Italy **26**/64.
3. daughter of Hugh, king of Italy **26**/69: μετωνομάσθη δὲ Εὐδοκία **26**/71.

Βερῶνα (ἡ), city in Italy **26**/19, 54.

Βικτωρῖνος, Ragusan **29**/232.

Βιμβιλίδης, protospatharius of the basin: Θεοφύλακτος ὁ Βιμβιλίδης **51**/134.

Βινίολα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/84.

Βίσλα (ἡ) river: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βίσλας **33**/18.

Βιτάλιος, Ragusan **29**/232.

Βιτετζέβη (τό), tributary city of the Russians **9**/20.

Βλαδίμηρος, son of Michael, prince of the Bulgarians **32**/47 [Βλαστιμήρων P]. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 89 (2nd ed. p. 90).

Βλαστίμηρος, prince of the Serbs **32**/35, 35, 39, 42, **34**/6, 7.

Βογοῦ (ὁ), river between the Danube and the city of Sarkel **42**/59.

Βόες, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/84.

Βόζος, Burgundian marquis **26**/44, 44.

Βοΐκι, place inhabited by the Serbs: εἰς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς Βοΐκι τόπον ἐπονομαζόμενον **32**/4.

Βόϊλας, protospatharius and captain-general of Nicopolis: Πετρωνᾶς ὁ Βόϊλας **45**/146. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 91—92 (2nd ed. pp. 93—4).

Βοϊσέσθλαβος, prince of the Serbs **32**/34.

Βόνα, 1. city in the country of the Zachlumi: Βόνα (τό) **34**/14.
2. river in the country of the Zachlumi: ποταμὸς καλούμενος Βόνα, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'καλόν' **34**/15.

Βονιφάτιος, Roman general **25**/6, 7, 11, 13, 32, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51.

Βόρενα (ς), son of Muntimer, prince of the Serbs: Βόρενα (acc.) **32**/52.

Βορίσης, prince of the Bulgarians: **32**/49, 64; Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βορίσης **31**/62, **32**/45, 54. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 93 (2nd ed. p. 96).

Βοροταλμάτ, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — **37**/35; cf. Ταλμάτ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94 (2nd ed. p. 97).

Βόσονα, territory in Serbia: εἰς τὸ χωρίον — **32**/151.

Βοσποριανοί, Bosporians **53**/4, 15, 23, 31, 38, 39, 62, 65, 74, 183, 228, 229, 235, 236, 253, 255, 300, 309, 311, 317, 319, 323, 342, 381, 387, 445, 468.

Βόσπορος (ἡ), city on the Maeotic lake **11**/2, **37**/49, **42**/8, 62, 72, 73, 82, 85, 92, 92, **53**/27, 35, 40, 42, 43, 99, 102, 104, 177, 223, 232, 233, 292.

Βουβάχαρ cf. 'Αβουβάχαρ.

Βουγά (ἡ), chieftainess of the Croats **30**/65. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94 (2nd ed. p. 97).

Βουκελλάριοι, provincial soldiers, province: θέμα τῶν Βουκελλαρίων **50**/93, 102, **53**/519; τῶν Βουκελλαρίων **50**/99, **53**/533; εἰς τοὺς Βουκελλαρίους **50**/123; Βουκελλαρικός **53**/524.

Βουλατζοπόν, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — **37**/36; cf. Τζοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94 (2nd ed. p. 98).

Βουλγάρα cf. Βούλγαροι.

Βουλγαρία, Bulgaria 5/8, 8/5, **9**/97, 101, **30**/119, **31**/60, 62, **32**/29, 40, 45, 50, 60, 63, 65, 74, 80, 90, 99, 124, 137, 139, 148, **37**/41, 48, 59, **51**/112, 112; ἡ μαύρη Βουλγαρία **12**/1, **42**/77; ἡ μαύρη λεγομένη Βουλγαρία **12**/3. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 95—96 (2nd ed. pp. 98—100).

Βούλγαροι, Bulgarians 5/2, 3, 6, 10, 8/20, **13**/147, 161, **22**/25, **31**/65, **32**/36, 56, 88, 91, 95, 104, 105, 109, 114, 120, 126, 129, **40**/41, **41**/24; Βούλγαρος (ὁ) **13**/149, **31**/61; Βουλγάρα (ἡ) **32**/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 96—101 (2nd ed. pp. 100—106).

Βουλνηπράχ cf. Βαρουφόρος.

Βουλτζοῦς, prince and karchas of the Turks (= Magyars) **40**/64, 66. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 102 (2nd ed. p. 107).

Βουπάκτωρ cf. 'Αβουβάχαρ.

Βουράτ (τό), place on the frontier of Patzinacia **42**/63.

Βουρλίκ, 1. (ὁ) river on the eastern side of the Maeotic lake **42**/89.
2. (τό) mouth of the Maeotic lake **42**/91.

Βουσεβούτζης, prince of the Zachlumi: Βουσεβούτζη (gen.) **33**, 17.

Βουσεγραδέ, city in Russia: τοῦ Βουσεγραδὲ **9**/7.

Βούτοβα (τά), city in Dalmatia **29**/92 [Βούγοβα P].

Βράνος, son of Muntimer, prince of the Serbs **32**/67, 72, 94, 100.

Βράτζα (ἡ), island off Dalmatia: **30**/110; ὁ Βράτζης **36**/21.

Βράτζης cf. Βράτζα.

Βρεβέρη (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30**/92.

Βρεττανία, Britain **25**/3.

Βρόνιον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/86.

Βροῦνδον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/87.

Βροῦτος (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs **38**/70.
Βρύας (ὁ), imperial palace near Constantinople **51**/17.
Βρυέννιοι cf. Θεόκτιστος.
Βυζάντιον (τό), Byzantium **21**/56, **25**/49, **53**/125, 137.
Βύζηρες, Byzerians **23**/19.
Βύσκος, primate of the Chersonites **53**/168.
Γαβριήλ, 1. archangel **14**/21.
2. cleric and envoy **8**/23.
Γάδειρα (τά), city in Spain **23**/13, 17.
Γάζα (ἡ), city in Palestine **18**/3.
Γαϊτή (ἡ), city in Italy **27**/5, 49, 51.
Γαλλία, Gaul **25**/3, 24, 41.
Γαλουμαήνικ (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi **33**/21.
Γεζέριχος cf. Γηζέριχος.
Γεήχ, river in the country of the Pechenegs: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν — **37**/3. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 104 (2nd ed. p. 109).
Γελανδρί, barrage of the river Dnieper: τὸν τρίτον φραγμόν, τὸν λεγόμενον Γελανδρί, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Σκλαβηνιστὶ 'ἦχος φραγμοῦ' **9**/43—45.
Γενάχ, clan of the Turks (= Magyars): ἕκτη — **40**/5. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 104 (2nd ed. p. 109).
Γερμανοί, Germans: Γερμανούς, τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους Φράγγους **25**/29.
Γεωγραφούμενα, work of Artemidorus **23**/12, 23.
Γεώργιος, magister, ruler of Abasgia **46**/16, 18, 26.
Γηζέριχος, chief of the Vandals **25**/35, 47, 50, 54 [Γεζερίχου P].
Γήπαιδες, Gepedes **25**/17, 21.
Γιαζής, prince of the Pechenegs: Γιαζή (acc.) **37**/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 112).
Γιαζιχοπόν, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — **37**/41; cf. Χοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 112).
Γιαιουκάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester **37**/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 113).
Γλῆτες, Iberian tribe **23**/10.
Γογίδισκλος, chief of the Vandals **25**/31, 34 [recte: Γοδίγισκλος].
Γοδίγισκλος cf. Γογίδισκλος.
Γοΐνικος, prince of the Serbs **32**/44, 61, 69.
Γονθάριος, Γόνθαρις, Γοτθάριος cf. Γότθαρος.
Γότθαρος, prince of the Vandals **25**/35; Γοτθαρίου (gen.) **25**/46 [recte: Γόνθαρις, Γονθάριος].
Γότθοι, Goths **21**/32, **25**/15, 17, 24.
Γουτζησκά (ἡ), district of Croatia **30**/94.
Γράδεται (τό), city in Diocleia **35**/13.
Γραικοί, Greeks **49**/6.
Γρηγορᾶς, possessor of a suburban estate in Keltzini **43**/98, 108, 159 [Γρηγορίου P].
Γρηγόριος, 1. Ragusan **29**/231.
2. cf. Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος, Γρηγορᾶς, Κρικορίκιος 1.
Γρικορίκιος cf. Κρικορίκιος 1.
Γυκία, daughter of Lamachus, primate of the Chersonites **53**/239, 271, 272, 273, 288, 289, 314, 319, 321, 334, 339, 342, 354, 366, 368, 372, 377, 408, 409, 415, 423, 427, 435, 437, 446, 453, 472, 478, 482.
Γύλα (τό), province of the Pechenegs **37**/18, 22; τοῦ κάτω Γύλα **37**/41; cf. Χαβουξιγγυλά. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 279 (2nd ed. p. 332).
Δαλέν, zupania of Pagania: τοῦ Δαλέν **30**/106; τοῦ Δαλενοῦ **30**/108.
Δαλματινοί cf. Δελματινοί.
Δαμασκός (ἡ), Damascus **21**/18, 40, 68, **25**/70.
Δαμιανός, 1. patrician and chamberlain **50**/224.
2. patrician **50**/204.
Δάναπρις (ὁ), Dnieper **8**/34, **9**/8, 14, 20, 23, 111, **37**/36, 39, **42**/7, 58, 60, 66, 68, 70, 76, 79; Δάναπρι (gen.) **8**/3, 6.
Δάναστρις (ὁ), Dniester **9**/89 [Δάναπριν P], **37**/58 [Δανάπρεως P], **42**/57, 65 [Δανάπρεως P], 66; Δάναστρι (gen.) **8**/3, 6.
Δανιήλ, prophet **19**/9.
Δανούβιος (ὁ), Danube **8**/3, **9**/93, 98, 98, **25**/16, **30**/11, 22, 47; Δανούβιν (acc.) **25**/20, **30**/21, **32**/18; Δανούβεως (gen.) **29**/15, **42**/2, 15, 18, 19, 20,

55, 64; ὁ Ἴστρος, ὁ καὶ Δανούβιος λεγόμενος ποταμός 40/42.

Δαυίδ, 1. king 45/4, 5, 6, 7.
2. ancestor of the Iberians 45/14, 33, 37.
3. magister, brother of Asotios (cf. Ἀσώτιος 5.) 46/79, 95, 96, 129, 154; Δαυὶδ ὁ μέγας 46/117, 151.
4. son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 2.) 46/5, 29, 36, 38, 41; Δαυὶδ ὁ Μάμπαλις, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'πανάγιος' 46/3.

Δειπνοσοφισταί, work of Athenaeus 23/40.

Δεκάτερα (τά), city in Dalmatia 29/50 [τάδε κάστρα P], 92, 30/97, 98; τὸ κάστρον τῶν Δεκατέρων ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ 'ἐστενωμένον καὶ πεπνιγμένον' [πεπληγμένον P] 29/263—264.

Δελματία, Dalmatia 29/1, 3, 5, 56, 61, 86, 91, 110, 285, 30/1, 6, 8, 18, 19, 23, 57, 66, 76, 79, 120, 31/3, 56, 32/24, 36/5.

Δελματινοί, Dalmatians 30/51 [Δαλματινῶν P].

Δερβλενίνοι, tributaries of the Russians: Δερβλενίνοις (dat.) 37/44.

Δερζηνή, province: θέμα Δερζηνῆς 53/507.

Δεσνήκ (τό), city in Serbia 32/151.

Δεστινίκον (τό), city in Serbia 32/150.

Διάδωρα (τά), city in Dalmatia 29/51, 275, 30/135; τὸ κάστρον τῶν Διαδώρων καλεῖται τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ 'ἰὰμ ἔρα', ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται 'ἀπάρτι ἦτον' 29/272—273.

Διογένης, 1. father of Diogenes, primate of the Chersonites 53/131.
2. primate of the Chersonites 53/131, 159.

Διόκλεια (ἡ), 1. city 29/11, 35/11 [Διόκληα P].
2. district 30/95, 35/3, 9, 12 [Διόκληα everywhere P.]

Διόκληα cf. Διόκλεια.

Διοκλητιανοί, Diocletians 29/57, 64, 35/1; Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια, τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ᾠκοδόμησεν, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν 'Διοκλητιανοί' καλεῖσθαι οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἐπανειλήφασιν 29/11—14.

Διοκλητιανός, emperor 29/3, 8, 12, 238, 242, 252, 30/15, 16, 31/12, 28, 33/4, 35/4, 10, 36/4, 53/2, 8, 21, 120, 122, 166.

Διονύσιος, author 23/20.

Δίστρα (ἡ), city on the river Danube: Δίστρας (gen.) 42/21.

Διτζίκη cf. Λιτζίκη.

Διτζίνα (ἡ), river in Bulgaria 9/101, 101.

Δοβρισκίκ (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi 33/21.

Δολόηχος cf. Λοδόϊκος 1.

Δόμνος, Saint 29/241, 242.

Δοστινίκα (ἡ), city in Serbia 32/76.

Δούξ, military governor: Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Δούξ 50/153.

Δρεσνεήκ (τό), city in Serbia 32/150.

Δρουγουβῖται, tributaries of the Russians: Δρουγουβιτῶν (gen.) 9/108.

Δυρράχιον (τό), Dyrrachium 30/9, 96, 32/25, 82.

Ἕβδομον (τό), suburb of Constantinople 51/16.

Ἑβραῖοι, Jews 17/4; Ἑβραῖος (ὁ) 21/64.

Ἔδεσσα, Edessa: Ἐδεσσηνός (ὁ) 20/9, 21/65 [Ἐμησινός P].

Ἐζέλεχ, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/57. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 114 ((2nd ed. p. 121).

Ἐζερῖται, Ezeritai 50/2, 15, 21, 23, 28, 50, 61, 68, 70.

Ἐζερόν (τό), district of Peloponnesus: τοῦ Ἐζεροῦ 50/79.

Εἰρήνη, 1. empress 27/14, 23.
2. empress, mother of Constantine VI 22/61.

Ἐλαδᾶς, magister, patrician: Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐλαδᾶς 51/198.

Ἐλβυσίνιοι cf. Ἐλευσίνιοι.

Ἐλευσίνιοι, Iberian tribe 23/10 [recte: Ἐλβυσίνιοι].

Ἑλισσός (ὁ), fort of Dyrrachium 30/96.

Ἑλκύνιον (τό), fort of Dyrrachium 30/96.

Ἑλλάς (ἡ), province: θέμα Ἑλλάδος 50/54.

Ἕλληνες, Greeks **24**/9, **50**/73, 75; Ἑλληνίς (ἡ) **23**/25.
Ἑλληνικά, work of Charax **24**/9.
Ἑλληνίς cf. Ἕλληνες.
Ἑλλησπόντιοι cf. Ἑλλήσποντος.
Ἑλλήσποντος, Hellespont: Ἑλλησπόντιοι (οἱ) **48**/14; Ἑλλησπόντιος (ὁ) **48**/4.
Ἕλος (τό), district of Peloponnesus **50**/16.
Ἔμεσα cf. Ἔδεσσα, Χέμψ.
Ἔμετ (τό), emirate **25**/72.
Ἑνετικοί cf. Βενέτικοι.
Ἐπισκοπεῖο(ν), village in the province of Derzene: τοῦ χωρίου, τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Ἐπισκοπείου **53**/508.
Ἔραξ cf. Φᾶσις.
Ἐσιβή (ἡ), emirate: τὴν Ἐσιβή **25**/73.
Ἐσσουπῆ, barrage of the Dnieper river: εἰς τὸν πρῶτον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ἐσσουπῆ, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Ῥωσιστὶ καὶ Σκλαβηνιστὶ ʽμὴ κοιμᾶσαιʼ **9**/24—26.
Ἐστιουνήζ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — **29**/292.
Ἐτέλ cf. Ἀτελκούζου.
Εὐδοκία cf. Βέρτα 3.
Εὐδοκιάς (ἡ), garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία τῆς Εὐδοκιάδος **50**/97.
Εὐθύμιος, Saint **22**/74.
Εὐρώπη, Europe **25**/32.
Εὐστάθιος, 1. king (?) **29**/277.
2. protospatharius, of the imperial chancellery **50**/173, 178, 180, 182, 191, 193, 196, 201.
3. patrician and lord admiral **51**/85, 87, 96, 110.
4. cf. Ἀργυρός 1.
Εὐφράτεια (ἡ), district **50**/145, 152.
Εὐφράτης (ὁ), Euphrates **21**/21, 73.
Ἔφεσος (ἡ), Ephesus **20**/11, **48**/9.
Ζαλτᾶς, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40**/55, 59. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 119 (2nd ed. p. 129).
Ζαχαρίας, 1. pope **27**/15.
2. son of Pribeslav, prince of Serbia **32**/101, 106, 118, 119.
Ζαχλοῦμα, river in the country of the Zachlumi: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ζαχλοῦμα **33**/19.
Ζαχλοῦμοι, Zachlumi **29**/57, 64, **30**/101, 139, 141, **32**/21, 87, **33**/1, 3, 6, 8, 17, 20, **35**/8; Ζαχλοῦμος (ὁ) **29**/109; Ζαχλοῦμοι δὲ ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ ὄρους οὕτω καλουμένου Χλούμου, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ παρὰ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ Ζαχλοῦμοι ἤγουν ʽὀπίσω τοῦ βουνοῦʼ **33**/10—12.
Ζέντινα (ἡ), river on the frontier of Croatia: τῆς Ζεντίνας **30**/105, 113; Τζέντινα (ἡ) **30**/116.
Ζετλήβη (τό), city in Terbonnia **34**/20.
Ζῆθος, primate of the Chersonites **53**/276.
Ζήθων, father of Zethus, primate of Cherson **53**/276.
Ζήνων, emperor **25**/28.
Ζιναρός, descendant of Ishmael **14**/4 [recte: Νίζαρος].
Ζιχία, Zichia **6**/5, **42**/12, 97, 99, 99, 103, 109, **53**/495, 499.
Ζιχοί, Zichians **42**/105, 107, **53**/496.
Ζουβέρ, father of Abdelas, chief of the Arabs **21**/39, 45.
Ζουρβανέλης, protospatharius: Ζουρβανέλη (gen.) **45**/103.
Ζωή, empress, mother of Constantine VII **50**/161.
Ἡβόλα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/86.
Ἡλιούπολις (ἡ), city in Syria **48**/29.
Ἠλιτούαλβα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/85.
Ἡμέριος, patrician and foreign minister **50**/176, 190, 191, 194.
Ἡμνῆκος, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Ἡμνήκου (gen.) **32**/118. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 122 (2nd ed. p. 132).
Ἠμότα (τά), zupania of Croatia **30**/91.
Ἡράκλειος, emperor **16**/7, **29**/54, **31**/9, 10, 16, 17, 19, 21, 33, 59, **32**/9, 10, 19, 146, **33**/10, **34**/5, **35**/7, **36**/7, 8, **45**/22, 24, 26.
Ἡρακλῆς: Ἡ καθʼ Ἡρακλέα ἱστορία, work of Herodotus (= Herodorus) **23**/6; Ἡράκλειαι στῆλαι **23**/2.
Ἡρόδοτος, author **23**/5 [recte: Ἡρόδωρος].
Ἡρόδωρος cf. Ἡρόδοτος.

Ἡρτήμ, province of Patzinacia: τὸ θέμα — **37**/17, 21; cf. Ἰαβδιερτίμ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 124 (2nd ed. p. 133).

Ἡτζβόκλια(ς), general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Ἡτζβόκλια (gen.) **32**/118. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 122 (2nd ed. p. 133).

Θαλάσσων, protospatharius of the basin: Ἰωάννης, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην Θαλάσσων **51**/70, 136.

Θεμίμης, son of Moundaros **14**/6,

Θεμιστός, 1. father of Themistus, primate of the Chersonites **53**/3.
2. primate of the Chersonites **53**/3.

Θεοδόσιος, 1. Saint **22**/74.
2. emperor (II) **25**/6; Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος **25**/25.

Θεοδοσιούπολις (ἡ), city in Armenia **45**/52, 70, 71, 74, 87, 89, 89, 91, 94, 96, 116, 122, 128, 134, 144, 148, 154, 160, 169, 170; Θεοδοσιουπολῖται (οἱ) **45**/62, 64, 73, 143, 153, 166.

Θεοδοσιουπολῖται cf. Θεοδοσιούπολις.

Θεόδοτος, chief oarsman, steersman, protospatharius of the basin **51**/150, 164.

Θεόδωρος, 1. Armenian interpreter **43**/41.
2. cf. Σιγρίτζης.

Θεόκτιστος, protospatharius and military governor **50**/21; Θεόκτιστος, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην ὁ τῶν Βρυεννίων **50**/10.

Θεός, God **P**/39, **13**/32, 35, 36, 38, 43, 46, 50, 51, 53, 55, 59, 77, 84, 91, 97, 98, 139, 140, **21**/119, **22**/51, 72, **27**/34, **29**/126, 192, 199, 203, **31**/41, **45**/15, **46**/59, **47**/15, **48**/8, **49**/25, 64, **51**/174, **53**/170, 200, 208, 334, 345, 351, 383, 445, 453, 460, 465; cf. Κύριος, Παντοκράτωρ, Χριστός.

Θεοτόκος, the Mother of God **21**/125, **45**/7.

Θεοφάνης, 1. historian **17**/1, **21**/1, 35, **22**/1; ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Θεοφάνης **22**/78; ὁ ὅσιος Θεοφάνης τῆς Σιγριανῆς **25**/1.
2. patrician and chamberlain **50**/232.

Θεόφιλος, 1. emperor **42**/26, 28, 40, 44, 47, **50**/7, 10, 222, 223.
2. patrician and military governor **45**/59, 134, 140.

Θεοφύλακτος, 1. magister **43**/155.
2. protospatharius and master of the Augusta's table **51**/175.
3. cf. Βιμβιλίδης.

Θεσσαλονίκη (ἡ), Thessalonica, province **32**/11, **42**/1, 15.

Θευδέριχος, patrician and consul, chief of the Goths: Θευδερίχου (gen.) **25**/27.

Θρᾷκες, Thracians **50**/12.

Θρᾴκη (ἡ), Thrace **21**/118; **25**/26, 27.

Θρακήσιοι, provincial soldiers, province: τὸ Θρακησίων **47**/25.

Θωμᾶς, rebel **22**/42.

Ἰαβδιερτίμ, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — **37**/43; τοῦ Ἰαβδιηρτί **37**/69; cf. Ἡρτήμ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 124 (2nd ed. p. 134).

Ἰαχνούκας, military governor **50**/121, 123.

Ἴβηρ (ὁ), river **23**/2, 4, **24**/11.

Ἴβηρες, Iberians **23**/19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 40, 41, **45**/1, 2, 8, 20, 28, 64, 73, 79, 91, 95, 138, 154, 159, 168, **46**/1, 35, 128; Ἴβηρ (ὁ) **23**/24, 30, 36, 36, **46**/4, 52, 67; Ἴβηροι (οἱ) **23**/37, 38; Ἴβηρος (ὁ) **23**/36, 39; Ἰβηρίς (ἡ) **23**/25, 25; Ἰβηρίτης (ὁ) **23**/17, 18; Ἰβηρικός **23**/6, 26, 26.

Ἰβηρία, Iberia **22**/14, **23**/1, 2, 14, 19, 27, 28, **24**/9, 10, **43**/39, 48, 112, **46**/44, 48, 56, 79, 153.

Ἰβηρίς, Ἰβηρίτης, Ἴβηροι cf. Ἴβηρες.

Ἴγγωρ, prince of Russia **9**/5.

Ἰεκτάν, ancestor of the Homerites **14**/9.

Ἰέλεχ, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40**/54, 57. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 125 (2nd ed. p. 136).

Ἱερεία (ἡ), place near Constantinople with imperial palace **51**/16.

Ἱεροσόλυμα cf. Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Ἱερουσαλήμ (ἡ), Jerusalem **19**/3, **45**/10, 13, 29, 38; Ἱεροσολύμων (gen.) **19**/4.

Ἰζίδ, cf. Ἀζίδ 1.

Ἴης, island off Dalmatia: νῆσος — **36**/22.

Ἰησοῦς cf. Χριστός.

Ἰλλυρία, Illyria **45**/159.

Ἰλλυρικόν (τό), Illyricum **30**/76.

Ἰοσλή (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi **33**/21.

Ἰουδαῖοι, Jews **14**/16, **19**/10; Ἰουδαῖος (ὁ) **20**/8.

Ἰούνιος, June **9**/19.

Ἰουστινιάνα, city of the Venetians. κάστρον — **27**/73.

Ἰουστινιανός, emperor (II) **21**/48 [Ἰουστιανός P], **22**/9, 29, 34, **47**/6, 10; Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥινότμητος **21**/30, **22**/4 [Ἰουστῖνος P].

Ἰουστινιανούπολις (ἡ), city in the province of Hellespont **48**/18; ἡ νέα Ἰουστινιανούπολις **48**/11.

Ἰουτοτζᾶς, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40**/55, 58. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 128 (2nd ed. p. 140).

Ἰπαός, prince of the Pechenegs: Ἰπαόν (acc.) **37**/22. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 128 (2nd ed. p. 140).

Ἰσάμ, chief of the Arabs **22**/54.

Ἰσίγοτθοι, Visigoths **25**/17, 23, 40.

Ἰσμαήλ, 1. son of Abraham **14**/3, 4. 2. cf. Ἀρμένιος.

Ἱσπανία, Spain **21**/29, 33, **22**/3, 37, 38, 39, 44, **23**/1, 14, **24**/1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, **25**/4, 31, 33, 41, 61; cf. Σπανία.

Ἵσπανος, giant **24**/2.

Ἰστρία, Istria **30**/10, 114, 116.

Ἴστρος (ὁ), Ister **40**/35, 42, **53**/133; cf. Δανούβιος.

Ἰταλία, Italy **24**/3, **26**/2, 66, **27**, 4, 90; τὸ ῥηγᾶτον Ἰταλίας, ἤτοι Παπίας **28**/41.

Ἰταλοί, Italians **23**/24.

Ἰωάννης, 1. archbishop **47**/4, **48**/3, 19.
2. son of Manuel protospatharius **50**/121, 124.
3. cleric and rector **51**/173.
4. cf. Ἀρραβωνίτης, Ἐλαδᾶς, Θαλάσσων, Κουρκούας, Πιτζηκαύδης, Πρωτεύων.

Ἰωνία, Ionia **20**/12.

Κάβαροι, Kabaroi, clan of the Turks (= Magyars) **39**/1, 2, 7, 13, **40**/1, 4, 7. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 132 (2nd ed. p. 144).

Καβερτζέντζης, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/95.

Κάγγαρ, name of the Pechenegs: καὶ Κάγγαρ ὀνομάζονται οἱ Πατζινακῖται **37**/68; ὡς ἀνδρειότεροι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι τῶν λοιπῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ ἡ τοῦ Κάγγαρ προσηγορία **37**/70—71; Πατζινακῖται, οἱ πρότερον Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζόμενοι (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ Κάγγαρ ὄνομα ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ ἐλέγετο παρ' αὐτοῖς) **38**/20—21; Πατζινακιτῶν, τῶν τηνικαῦτα Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζομένων **38**/25. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 132 (2nd ed. p. 145).

Καϊδούμ, prince of the Pechenegs **37**/23. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 133 (2nd ed. p. 146).

Καινή cf. Καρχηδών.

Καισαρεία (ἡ), city in Cappadocia **50**/110.

Κάϊσος, son of Moundaros **14**/6.

Κακίκιος, prince of Basparaka **43**/111, 130.

Καλαβρία, Calabria, province **27**/10, 48, 58, **28**/12, **50**/88.

Καλής, father of the karchas Boultzous: Καλῆ (gen.) **40**/66, 67. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 134 (2nd ed. p. 147).

Καλλίνικος, manufacturer of liquid fire **48**/29.

Καλλίπολις (ἡ) city in Italy **27**/48.

Καλπιανοί cf. Κελκιανοί.

Καλφοῦς, Saracen general: Καλφοῦς (gen.) **29**/90 [Κλαφοὺς P].

Καματηρός, spatharocandidate: Πετρωνᾶς ὁ ἐπονομαζόμενος Καματηρός **42**/25; Πετρωνᾶς **42**/32, 39, 49; Πετρωνᾶ (acc.) **42**/30.

Κάμαχα (ἡ), county in the province of Mesopotamia **50**/116, 128.

Καναλή, district of Terbounia: **34**/16; τοῦ Καναλή **34**/19, **35**/9; Τὸ δὲ Καναλὴ ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ 'ἁμαξία' **34**/16—17.

Καναλῖται, Kanalites **29**/57, 64, 109, **32**/22, **34**/1, 3.

Καππαδοκία, Cappadocia, province **50**/83.

Καππαδοκοί, provincial soldiers, province: τὸ Καππαδοκῶν θέμα **50**/93, 96; τὸ Καππαδοκῶν **50**/108.

Κάπρε, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/91.
Κάπυα (ἡ), city in Italy **27**/4 [Καπύη P], 11, 50, 57, 61, 66; Καπύη **29**/118, 127, 160, 214; Κάπυαν νέαν (acc.) **27**/65 [Καπαντήν P].
Καρή(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): ἑβδόμη Καρῆ **40**/6. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 139 (2dn ed. p. 154).
Κάρουλος, Charlemagne, emperor of great Francia **26**/5; ὁ μέγας Κάρουλος **26**/3.
Κάρς (τό), city in great Armenia **44**/14.
Καρχηδών (ἡ), city in Spain: Καινὴ Καρχηδών **23**/16.
Κασαχία, Kasachia **42**/13, 101, 101.
Κασή, county in the province of Charsianon: τοῦρμα Κασῆς **50**/110.
Κασή(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): ὀγδόη Κασῆ **40**/6. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 139 (2nd ed. p. 155).
Κατακαλών, magister and commander-in-chief: Κατακαλών (acc.) **45**/51.
Καταυτρεβενώ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — **29**/291.
Κάτερα (τό), city in Serbia **32**/151.
Καυκάσια (τά), Caucasian mountains **42**/102.
Καφᾶς (ὁ), frontier-town of the Chersonites and Bosporians **53**/170, 172, 182, 189, 227.
Κελκιανοί, Iberian tribe **23**/11 [recte: Καλπιανοί seu Κελτικοί?].
Κελτζηνή (ἡ), city and county in the province of Chaldia **43**/92, 98, 108, 142, **50**/116, 129.
Κελτικοί cf. Κελκιανοί.
Κετζέον (τό), city near Theodosioupolis **45**/68, 82, 93.
Κεφαλληνία (ἡ), province **50**/85.
Κίαβος, city of the Russians: τὸν Κίαβον **9**/106, 111; τὸν Κίοβα **9**/15; τὸ Κιοάβα, τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαμβατάς **9**/8—9.
Κιβυρραιῶται, provincial soldiers, province: τὸ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν θέμα **50**/174, 183; τὸ θέμα τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν **51**/132; τὸ Κιβυρραιωτῶν **47**/25; τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν **50**/207.
Κίκερ cf. Κούρκρα.
Κιοάβα, Κίοβα cf. Κίαβος.
Κισκάσης cf. Ἀσώτιος 6.
Κλαβώκα (τό), city in Croatia **31**/70.
Κλαφούς cf. Καλφοῦς.
Κλεῖσα, frontier pass in Dalmatia: καλεῖται Κλεῖσα διὰ τὸ συγκλείειν τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐκεῖθεν **29**/30.
Κλονίμηρος, son of Stroïmer, prince of the Serbs **32**/63, 74.
Κλουγία, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/87.
Κλουκᾶς, chief of the Croats **30**/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 144 (2nd ed. p. 161).
Κνῆνος, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Κνήνου (gen.) **32**/117. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 144 (2nd ed. p. 161).
Κόγκορδα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/73.
Κογράδον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/80.
Κολώνεια (ἡ), city and province **45**/47, **50**/116.
Κόμματα (τά), county in the province of Cappadocia **50**/100.
Κορή (τό), district of Armenia **44**/41, 87.
Κόρι (τό), city in Croatia **31**/70.
Κόρινθος, Corinth: Κορίνθου (gen.) **49**/14, **52**/4.
Κοσέντζης, chief of the Croats **30**/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 146 (2nd ed. p. 164).
Κοτζίλις, leader of the Franks: Κοτζίλιν (acc.) **30**/87.
Κουαδρᾶτος, author **23**/36.
Κουαρτζιτζούρ, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — **37**/35; τοῦ — **37**/69; cf. Τζούρ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 147 (2nd ed. p. 165).
Κουβάρ, the star Venus **14**/32, 33, 35, 36; cf. Ἀλλά.
Κουβοῦ (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs **38**/69.
Κούελ, prince of the Pechenegs **37**/21. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 147 (2nd ed. p. 166).
Κουζοῦ cf. Ἀτελκούζου.
Κουλπέη (τό), province of the Pechenegs **37**/18, 22; cf. Συρουκάλπεη. —

Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 248 (2nd ed. p. 294).
Κουρκένιος, 1. son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 4.) **46**/7, 9.
2. magister, son-in-law of Asotios (cf. Ἀσώτιος 6.) **46**/18, 20, 22, 25, 30, 52, 84, 87, 90, 92, 94, 121, 126, 129, 154; Κουρκένην (acc.) **46**/11, 121; Κουρκένη (gen.) **46**/58, 66, 107.
Κουρκούας, magister: Ἰωάννης ὁ Κουρκούας **45**/56, 162; Ἰωάννης **45**/59, 143.
Κούρκουρα cf. Κούρκρα.
Κουρκοῦται, prince of the Pechenegs: **37**/22. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 149 (2nd ed. p. 168).
Κούρκρα (ἡ), island off Dalmatia: ἡ Κούρκρα, ἤτοι τὸ Κίκερ **36**/16; τὰ Κούρκουρα **30**/110.
Κουρτουγέρματο(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): τετάρτη ⟨τοῦ⟩ Κουρτουγερμάτου **40**/5. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 150 (2nd ed. p. 169).
Κούσαρος, son of Moundaros **14**/6.
Κοῦφις (ὁ), river between the river Danube and the city of Sarkel **42**/59.
Κρατίνας, son of Belaes, zupan of Terbounia **34**/8.
Κρακνακάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester **37**/62. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 153 (2nd ed. p. 173).
Κράριον, ford of the river Dnieper: πέραμα τοῦ Κραρίου **9**/66.
Κρασημέρης, prince of the Croats: τοῦ Κρασημέρη **31**/44, 76.
Κρατῖνος, dramatist **23**/39.
Κρήτη (ἡ), Crete **22**/40, 46.
Κρίβασα (ἡ), district of Croatia **30**/93.
Κριβηταιηνοί cf. Κριβιτζοί.
Κριβιτζοί, tributaries of the Russians: Κριβιτζῶν (gen.) **9**/108; Κριβηταιηνοί **9**/9.
Κρικορίκιος, 1. magister, patrician and military governor, prince of Taron **43**/7, 46 [Γρικορίκιον P], 50, 63, 64, 80, 91, 135, 151, 164, 187; Κρικορίκου (gen.) **43**/28, 56; Γρηγόριος **43**/35; cf. Ταρωνίτης.
2. brother of Baasakios: Κρικορίκη (gen.) **50**/139.
Κρινίτης, 1. protospatharius and interpreter **43**/137, 170, 172, 177.
2. protospatharius **50**/39, 47, 52, 53; Κρινίτης ὁ Ἀροτρᾶς **50**/34.
Κρισκόρονος, chief of the Sarmatians: Κρισκορόνου (gen.) **53**/4 [Κρίσκων. Ὄρου P], 163.
Κρίσος (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) **40**/40.
Κτενᾶς, cleric, precentor, protospatharius **50**/236, 238, 246, 253, 255.
Κυβερνικόν, place near Bosporus: ἐν Κυβερνικῷ **53**/224.
Κυζικηνοί cf. Κύζικος.
Κύζικος (ἡ), Cyzicus **47**/6, 13, 24, **48**/31; Κυζικηνοί **48**/17, 20.
Κύιντος, Roman general **24**/6, 6.
Κυκλάδες (αἱ), Cyclades **22**/46.
Κυμβαλαῖος (τό), county in the province of Charsianon **50**/134.
Κυμινᾶς: τοῦ Κυμινᾶ, monastery **46**/55.
Κύνητες, Iberian tribe **23**/9.
Κύπριοι cf. Κύπρος.
Κύπρος (ἡ), Cyprus **20**/4, **22**/14, **47**/9, 12, 16, 20; Κύπριοι (οἱ) **47**/1, 11, 17, 22, **48**/3; Κύπριος (ὁ) **47**/10.
Κυρήνη (ἡ), Cyrene **25**/40.
Κυριακός, Saint **22**/73.
Κύριος, The Lord **P**/3, 39, **13**/43, **45**/30.
Κώλωρι(ν), district on the Byzantine frontier: εἰς — **46**/15.
Κωμόδρομος garrison in the province of Charsianon: ἡ τοῦ Κωμοδρόμου τοποτηρησία **50**/106.
Κωνοπάς (ὁ), river near the Danube **9**/99, 99.
Κωνστάντια (ἡ) city on the coast of the Black Sea **9**/99.
Κωνσταντινέων πόλις, Constantia, city in Cyprus **48**/12.
Κωνσταντῖνος, 1. emperor (I) **13**/49, 141, 169, **53**/124, 159; ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος **13**/155; Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας **13**/32; ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος **13**/78; Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἅγιος **13**/117; ὁ μέγας καὶ ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος **13**/112; ὁ ἅγιος καὶ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος **40**/30.
2. emperor (= Constans II Pogonatus): Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ καὶ Πωγωνᾶτος καλούμενος **48**/28; ὁ Πωγωνᾶτος **21**/11,39, 46.
3. emperor (IV): **21**/9, 10, 46, **48**/28.
4. emperor (VI) **22**/62 [Κώνσταντος P].

5. emperor (VII) **Tit./1**, **22/80**, **26/67**, 72, **45/40**, **50/159**, 230, 233, **51/137**, 164, 169.

6. protospatharius, patrician, commander of the great company **43/55**, 59, 61, 70, 74; Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τοῦ Λιβός **43/43**.

7. patrician and chamberlain **50/229**, 231, **51/149**, 160.

8. protospatharius, patrician and lord admiral **46/50**, 53, 65, 77, 91, 93, 96, 101, 108, 111, 113, 119, 140, 144, 149, 155, 162.

9. cf. Δούξ, Λωρικᾶτος.

Κωνσταντινούπολις (ἡ), Constantinople **9/2**, 3, **20/10**, **21/55**, 112, 117, **26/66**, **27/7**, 8, **29/27**.

Κώνστας, 1. tribune and emperor (?) **53/10**, 11, 13, 76, 80, 86, 91, 95, 106, 119; Κώνσταν (acc.) **53/71**; Κώνσταντος (gen.) **53/103**; Κώνστα (gen.) **53/124**, 127; Κώνστᾳ (dat.) **53/73**, 88, 90.

2. cf. Κωνσταντῖνος 4.

Κώστας, prince of the Pechenegs: Κώσταν (acc.) **37/23**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 156 (2nd ed. p. 176).

Λαγουβαρδία, Lombardy, province **27/1**, 47, 54, **29/101**, 103, 111, 115, **50/86**, **51/200**.

Λαγούβαρδοι, Lombards **27/30**, 36, 53, 63; Λογγίβαρδοι **25/22**.

Λαζική (ἡ), Lazike **53/163**.

Λαζοί, Lazi **53/6**, 8, 98.

Λακεδαιμονία, Lacedaemonia **50/16**.

Λαλάκων, patrician and military governor: Λαλάκωνα (acc.) **45/47**.

Λάμαχος, primate of the Chersonites **53/234**, 245, 257, 259, 268, 270, 272, 280, 285, 313, 315, 320.

Λαμάχου Σκοπή (ἡ), site in the city of Cherson **53/451**.

Λάμψακος (ἡ), city in Asia Minor: ἐν Λαμψάκῳ **21/118**.

Λανδοῦλφος, bishop **27/64**.

Λάρισσα (ἡ), county in the province of Sebasteia **50/133**, 143, 144, 149.

Λάστοβον (τό), island off Dalmatia **36/23**.

Λαυρέντιος, Saint **29/262**.

Λαυριτῶν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27/88**.

Λαυσαῖοι cf. Ῥαούσιον.

Λαυσιακός (ὁ), hall in the imperial palace at Constantinople **50/241**.

Λάχης, sculptor: Λάχης ὁ Λίνδιος **21/62** [recte: Χάρης].

Λεάντι, barrage of the Dnieper river: τὸν ἕκτον φραγμόν, λεγόμενον μὲν Ῥωσιστὶ Λεάντι, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Βερούτζη, ὅ ἐστιν 'βράσμα νεροῦ' **9/61**—62.

Λεβεδία (ἡ), place inhabited by the Turks (= Magyars) **38/4**, 8. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 177).

Λεβεδίας, voivode of the Turks (= Magyars) **38/6**, 13, 16, 18, 30, 34; Λεβεδία (acc.) **38/33** [χελάνδια P]. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 177).

Λενζανῆνοι, tributaries of the Russians **9/10**; Λενζενίνοις (dat.) **37/44**.

Λενζενίνοι cf. Λενζανῆνοι.

Λεόντιος, emperor **22/7**, 7, 29, 31.

Λεσνήκ (τό), city in Serbia **32/150**.

Λευκαδίαι, work of Parthenius **23/18**.

Λέων, 1. emperor (IV) **13/61**, 126.

2. emperor (VI) **32/78**, 81, **40/8**, **43/19**, 36, 97, 102, 129, **44/119**, **45/36**, 44, 67, **50/86**, 92, 101, 118, 133, 136, 156, 171, 218, 227, 232, 235, **51/192**, 197; Λέων, ὁ σοφώτατος βασιλεύς **22/80**, **49/72**, **51/5**, 34, 51, 69, 77, 157; ὁ σοφώτατος Λέων **51/22**.

3. cf. Ἀγέλαστος, Ἀργυρός 2., Ἀρμένης, Ῥαβδοῦχος, Τζικάνης.

Λίβανος (ὁ), Lebanon **21/4**, 5, **22/11**, 24.

Λιβύη (ἡ), Libya **15/4**, **22/68**, **25/4**, 8, 9, 33, 36, 39.

Λίγυες, Ligurians **23/37**.

Λικέντζια, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27/83**.

Λιμών (ὁ), place near the city of Cherson **53/306**, 311, 312,

Λίνδιος cf. Λάχης.

Λιούντικα(ς), son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars): Λιούντικα (acc.) **40/12**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 178).

Λίτζα (ἡ), district in Croatia **30/93**.

Λιτζίκη, unbaptized people dwelling on the river Visla: ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἀβαπτίστων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βίσλας, τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους Λιτζίκη **33**/17—19 [Διτζίκη P]; cf. Λενζανῆνοι.

Λιτουμαγκέρσης, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/85.

Λίψ cf. Κωνσταντῖνος 6.

Λόβελος, chief of the Croats **30**/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 178).

Λογγίβαρδοι cf. Λαγούβαρδοι.

Λοδόϊκος, 1. Lewis, king of Francia (II): Λοδοΐκου (gen.) **26**/17; Λοδόϊχος **29**/104, 117 [Δολοήχος P], 122 [Δολοήχω P], 126 [Δολοήχος P], 136 [Δολόηχον P], 152, 154, 162, 164, 169.

2. Lewis, king of Italy (III): Λοδόϊκος **26**/17.

Λοδόϊχος cf. Λοδόϊκος 1.

Λοντοδόκλα (τό), city in Diocleia **35**/13.

Λουκάβεται (τό) city in Terbounia **34**/20.

Λουκᾶς, Saint, evangelist **36**/18.

Λουλιανόν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/82.

Λουμβρικάτον (τό), city in Dalmatia **29**/289.

Λουσιτανία cf. Λυσιτανία.

Λουσιτανοί, Lusitanians **24**/5.

Λυκανδός (ἡ), city, county and province **50**/135, 154, 157, 161, 162, 163.

Λυσιτανία, Lusitania **23**/17 [recte: Λουσιτανία].

Λωθάριος, 1. king of Italy (I) **26**/10; ὁ μέγας Λωθάριος **26**/2, 17.

2. king of Italy (II) **26**/65.

Λωρικᾶτος, steersman and protospatharius of the basin: Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Λωρικᾶτος **51**/168.

Μαδαμαῦκο(ν), island near Venice: τοῦ Μαδαμαύκου **28**/25.

Μαδαῦκον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/86.

Μαδιανῖτις, desert: τὴν Μαδιανῖτιν ἔρημον **14**/7.

Μαδίς, chief of the Arabs **22**/58.

Μάζαροι cf. Χάζαροι.

Μαΐνη (ἡ), city in Peloponnesus: τοῦ κάστρου Μαΐνης **50**/4, 71.

Μαιῶτις (ἡ), Maeotic lake **42**/9, 73, 75, 78, 86, 90, **53**/5, 15, 28, 41, 74, 105, 164, 180, 223.

Μακεδόνες, Macedonians **50**/12.

Μαλέας (ὁ), promontory in Peloponnesus: τοῦ Μαλέα **50**/79.

Μαλθακοί, comedy of Cratinus **23**/39.

Μαλοζεάται cf. Μέλετα.

Μάμπαλις cf. Δαυίδ 4.

Μανζικίερτ (τό), city in Armenia **44**/2, 17, 29, 40, 43, 53, 67, 70, 73, 80, 86, 94, 99, 107, **45**/97; Μανζικιέρται (οἱ) **45**/65.

Μανζικιέρται cf. Μανζικίερτ.

Μανουήλ, protospatharius **50**/115, 118, 120.

Μαρδαΐται, Mardaïtes **21**/4, **22**/10, 18, 21, 24, **50**/169, 184, 185, 214, 217, 220.

Μαρία, the Mother of God **21**/124.

Μαρκιανός, 1. author **23**/27.

2. emperor **25**/53.

Μαρμαήν, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Μαρμαήν (acc.) **32**/93; Μαρμαήμ (gen.) **32**/112. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 161 (2nd ed. p. 182).

Μαρουάμ, 1. chief of the Arabs **21**/26, 42.

2. chief of the Arabs **22**/56, 56.

Μαρτῖνος, missionary **31**/45.

Μάρτιος, March **50**/42.

Μάσαλμας, general of the Arabs **21**/112, 116, 117, **22**/50; Μάσαλμα (gen.) **21**/121.

Μαστάτον (τό), city in Armenia **45**/129, 142, 145, 155.

Μαστιηνοί cf. Μαστινοί.

Μαστινοί, Iberian tribe **23**/10 [recte: Μαστιηνοί].

Μαυίας (-ου gen.), chief of the Arabs **20**/3, 10, **21**/3, 7, 12, 19, 20, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35, 67, 72, 79, 89, 91, 98, 98, 100, 101, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, **22**/2, 36, **25**/62; Μαυιᾶται (οἱ) **22**/39.

Μαυιᾶται cf. Μαυίας.

Μαῦρον, mountain in Lebanon: τοῦ Μαύρου ὄρους **21**/4.

Μαυροφόροι, Black-robed (= Abbasids) **21**/24, 27.

Μεγέρη(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): τρίτη τοῦ Μεγέρη **40**/4. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 164 (2nd ed. p. 186).

Μεγυρέτους (τό), city in Serbia **32**/150.

Μέκε, Mecca: τοῦ Μέκε **15**/4.

Μελετᾶ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — **29**/292.

Μέλετα (τά), island off Dalmatia **30**/110; νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη τὰ Μέλετα, ἤτοι τὸ Μαλοζεάται, ἣν ... ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς μέμνηται, Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων **36**/16—18.

Μελίας, patrician and magister **50**/138, 145, 152, 154, 162, 164.

Μελίτη cf. Μέλετα.

Μελιτηνή (ἡ), city in Asia Minor **50**/138; Μελιτηνιᾶται (οἱ) **50**/114, 147.

Μελιτηνιᾶται cf. Μελιτηνή.

Μένανδρος, dramatist **23**/25.

Μεσημβρία (ἡ), Mesembria **9**/102.

Μεσοποταμία, province **45**/47, **50**/117, 126, 128, 129, 131.

Μηλιγγοί, Milingoi **50**/2, 15, 20, 23, 28, 48, 61, 68, 70 [Μιληγγοί variant in P].

Μιληγγοί cf. Μηλιγγοί.

Μιλινίσκα (ἡ), city in Russia: τὴν Μιλινίσκαν **9**/6.

Μιρόσθλαβος, prince of the Croats: Μιροσθλάβου (gen.) **31**/77.

Μισχιοί, Mischians **46**/48.

Μιχαήλ, 1. emperor (II): Μιχαὴλ ὁ Τραυλός **22**/41, **29**/61.
2. emperor (III) **50**/7, 9, 223.
3. prince of the Zachlumi **32**/87, **33**/16.
4. protospatharius and collector **43**/176.
5. chief oarsman, spatharocandidate, protospatharius of the basin **51**/89, 106, 127, 138, 154, 158, 161.
6. cf. Βαρκαλᾶς, Βορίσης.

Μοάμεδ cf. Μουάμεθ 2.

Μοκρισκίκ (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi **33**/21.

Μοκρός (ὁ), zupania of Pagania **30**/106, 107.

Μόκρον (τό), city in Pagania **36**/14.

Μομψουεστία (ἡ), city in Asia Minor **22**/20.

Μοραβία, Moravia **41**/1, 2, **42**/19; ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία **13**/5, **38**/58; ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία, ἡ ἀβάπτιστος **40**/33.

Μορδία, Mordia **37**/46.

Μορήσης (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) **40**/39.

Μουάμεθ, 1. prophet **17**/2, **21**/50, 51, 69; Μουχούμετ **14**/1, 2, 11, **15**/2, 5, 7; Μουάμεθ, ὃν οἱ Ἄραβες καλοῦσι Μουχούμετ **16**/10; Μουάμεθ, ἤτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ **25**/58, 60.
2. chief of the Arabs: Μοάμεδ **22**/64.

Μουδάφαρ, son of Manuel protopatharius **50**/121, 124.

Μούνδαρος, son of Zinaros (= Nizaros) **14**/5, 6.

Μουνδράγα, city in Bulgaria: κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον — **40**/11.

Μουντιμῆρος, prince of the Serbs **32**/43, 52, 59, 65.

Μουράν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/93.

Μουργούλη (ἡ), county in the province of Chaldia: τῇ Μουργούλῃ **46**/119.

Μούσελ (τό), emirate **25**/73.

Μουχλώ, chief of the Croats **30**/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 177 (2nd ed. p. 203).

Μουχούμετ cf. Μουάμεθ 1.

Μυριοκέφαλον (τό), garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Μυριοκεφάλου **50**/103.

Μωσῆς, Moses **17**/8.

Ναπρεζή cf. Στρούκουν.

Ναρσῆς, patrician **27**/15, 17, 19, 27, 32.

Νάσαρ, patrician and lord admiral **51**/75.

Νέα Ἐκκλησία (ἡ), church in the imperial palace at Constantinople **50**/237.

Νεάπολις (ἡ), Naples **27**/4, 10, 49, 51, 58, 59, 60, 60, 67.

Νεασήτ cf. Ἀειφόρ.

Νέκη(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): δευτέρα τοῦ Νέκη **40**/4. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 182 (2nd ed. p. 210).

Νεκρόπηλα cf. Νεκρόπυλα.

Νεκρόπυλα (τά), gulf near the Dnieper river **42**/5, 69, 79 [Νεκρόπηλα everywhere P].

Νεμογαρδάς, city in Russia: τοῦ Νεμογαρδάς **9**/4.

Νεόκαστρον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/92.

Νίζαρος cf. Ζιναρός.
Νικήτας, 1. protospatharius and military governor **50**/206, 208, 213, 216.
2. cf. Ὠρύφας.
Νικηφόρος, emperor (I) **49**/4, 41.
Νικομήδεια (ἡ), Nicomedeia **46**/54, 65, **51**/37, **53**/123.
Νικόπολις (ἡ), city in Asia Minor **45**/147, **50**/123.
Νίκοψις 1. (ὁ) river on the frontier of Zichia and Abasgia **42**/97, 109.
2. city on the frontier of Zichia and Abasgia **42**/98.
Νίνα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30**/93.
Νῖνος (ὁ), river Rhine **25**/30 [recte: Ῥῆνος].
Νοέμβριος, November **9**/105, **50**/44.
Νόνα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30**/92.
Νουγράδε (τό), city in Diocleia **35**/13.
Νοῦνο(ν), city of the Venetians: κάστρον τοῦ Νούνου **27**/74.
Νύσσα (ἡ), garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Νύσσης **50**/110.
Νῶνα (ἡ), city in Croatia **31**/69.
Ὄλυμπος (ὁ), mountain in Bithynia **51**/38.
Ὁμηρῖται, Homerites: οἱ λεγόμενοι Ὁμηρῖται, τουτέστιν Ἀμανῖται **14**/10.
Ὀνώριος, emperor **25**/20.
Ὀρέστης cf. Χαρσιανίτης.
Ὀρμός (τό), city in Terbounia **34**/20.
Ὀρόντιος (ὁ), river on the frontier of the Zachlumi and Pagani **30**/101, 104.
Ὀστροβουνιπράχ cf. Οὐλβορσί.
Ὄστρωκ (τό), city in Pagania **36**/15.
Οὐαλεντιανός cf. Οὐαλεντινιανός.
Οὐαλεντινιανός, emperor (III) **25**/3, 7, 10 [Οὐαλεντιανός everywhere P].
Οὐαλίδ, chief of the Arabs **22**/33, 49.
Οὐανδῆλοι, Vandals **25**/17, 29, 34, 39, 47, 48, 53, **27**/62; cf. Ἀφρικοί.
Οὔγων, 1. Hugh, king of Italy **26**/1, 3, 16, 44, 57, 63, 69.
2. Burgundian marquis **26**/43.
Οὐζία, Uzia **37**/38, 45. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 197 (2nd ed. p. 228).
Οὖζοι, Uzes **9**/114, **10**/3, **37**/4, 5, 8, 52. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 197 (2nd ed. p. 228).
Οὐθμάν, chief of the Arabs **20**/1, 13, **21**/52, 66.
Οὐιρίαθος, chief of the Lusitanians **24**/8 [Οὐριάθου P].
Οὐκρούχ (ὁ), river on the frontier of Zichia **42**/96, 97.
Οὐλβορσί, barrage of the Dnieper river: εἰς τὸν ἕτερον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Οὐλβορσί, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Ὀστροβουνιπράχ, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται 'τὸ νησίον τοῦ φραγμοῦ' **9**/39—41.
Οὐλνούτιν (τό), city in Armenia **43**/181, 185.
Οὐλτῖνοι, tributaries of the Russians: Οὐλτίνοις (dat.) **37**/44.
Οὔμαρ 1. chief of the Arabs **18**/5, **19**/1, 2.
2. chief of the Arabs **22**/51, 52, 53.
Οὐρίαθος cf. Οὐιρίαθος.
Οὐρίας, Uriah the Hittite: Οὐρίου (gen.) **45**/3.
Οὐσάν, emir of Palestine: Οὐσάν (acc.) **21**/41.
Ὄψαρα (τά), city in Dalmatia **29**/52, 288, **30**/135.
Παγανία, Pagania **30**/104, **31**/56, **32**/21, 84, **36**/14.
Παγανοί, Pagani **29**/65, **30**/102, 122, **36**/3, 5, 22; Ἀρεντανοί, οἱ καὶ Παγανοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι **29**/57—58; Οἱ δὲ Παγανοί, οἱ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ Ἀρεντανοὶ καλούμενοι **29**/79—80; Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σκλάβων γλῶσσαν 'ἀβάπτιστοι' ἑρμηνεύεται **29**/81—82; Περὶ τῶν Παγανῶν, τῶν καὶ Ἀρεντανῶν καλουμένων **36**/1—2; Παγανοὶ δὲ καλοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέξασθαι αὐτοὺς τῷ τότε καιρῷ βαπτισθῆναι, ὅτε καὶ πάντες οἱ Σέρβλοι ἐβαπτίσθησαν. Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ 'ἀβάπτιστοι' ἑρμηνεύονται, τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὲ διαλέκτῳ ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν Ἄρεντα καλεῖται, ἐξ οὗ κἀκεῖνοι παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀρεντανοὶ καλοῦνται **36**/9—13.
Πάγη (ἡ), place in Zichia: πρὸς τὸν τόπον τῆς Πάγης **53**/495.

Παγκράτιος, 1. Saint **29**/235.
2. son of David, ancestor of the Iberians (cf. Δαυίδ 2.) **45**/34, 34.
3. patrician and military governor, son of Krikorikios, prince of Taron (cf. Κρικορίκιος 1.) **43**/150, 164.
4. magister, son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 2.) **46**/3, 5, 6.
5. brother of Asotios (cf. Ἀσώτιος 5.) **45**/147, 153, **46**/27, 39.

Παγκρατούκας, military governor **50**/121, 122.

Παζουνῆς, brother of Baasakios: Παζουνῆ (gen.) **50**/140,

Παλαιστίνη (ἡ), Palestine **14**/14, 16, **19**/2, 6, **21**/18, 40, 41, 67, **26**/9.

Πανία cf. Πανωνία.

Παννονία, Pannonia **25**/24, **27**/31, **30**/77.

Παντοκράτωρ, The Almighty **P**/31.

Πανωνία, Panonia **24**/13 [recte: Πανία].

Πάπαγι, place in Zichia: ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ — **53**/499.

Παπαγία, Papagia **42**/12, 100, 100, **53**/496.

Πάπια, Papia **26**/13, 14, 18, 20, 26, 42, **27**/11, 15, 17, 48, **28**/18, 41; cf. Ἰταλία.

Παπίας, father of Chrestus, primate of the Chersonites: Παπίου (gen.) **53**/25, 44.

Παραθαλασσία (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30**/92.

Παρθένιος, author **23**/18.

Πάρθοι, Parthians: Πάρθικος **6**/9 [πάρδικα P].

Παρώνυμα, 1. work of Apollonius **23**/31.
2. work of Habro **23**/38.

Πατζινάκαι cf. Πατζινακῖται.

Πατζινακία, Patzinacia **7**/2, 4, 7, **8**/4, **37**/15, 45, **42**/3, 21, 62. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 212 (2nd ed.p. 247.)

Πατζινακῖται, Pechenegs **1**/1, 17, 25, **2**/1, 2, 6, 9, 17, 22, **3**/1, 3, 5 [Πατζινάκαι P], **4**/1, 3, 9, **5**/1, 5, 6, 11, **6**/1, 2, 11, **7**/8, **8**/5, 9, 14, 16, 26, 30, 34, **9**/50, 67, 71, 94, 96, 114, **13**/4, 9, 11, **31**/87, **37**/1, 2, 6, 8, 20, 34, 50, 60, 68, **38**/20, 24, 31, 56, 61, 66, **39**/6, **40**/7, 15, 17, 25, 25, 43, **42**/85, **53**/531; Πατζινακίτης (ὁ) **6**/10, **9**/78; cf. Κάγγαρ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 213—214 (2nd ed. pp. 247—249).

Πάτραι (αἱ), city in Peloponnesus **49**/1, 7, 57, **52**/5.

Παῦλος, 1. Saint, apostle **36**/19, 20.
2. imperial agent **22**/15.
3. grandson of Muntimer, prince of the Serbs **32**/94, 99, 103, 105, 107.

Παφλαγονία, Paphlagonia, province **42**/32, **53**/518, 533; Παφλαγονικός **53**/523.

Πελοπόννησος, Peloponnesus, province: θέμα Πελοποννήσου **49**/5, **50**/1, 6, 11, 14, 65, **52**/2; Πελοποννήσου (gen.) **50**/22, 35, **52**/12; ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ **50**/34, 55, **51**/201.
Πελοποννησαῖοι (οἱ) **51**/200, 202.

Πενταδάκτυλος, mountain in Lacedaemonia: ὄρος ... καλούμενον — **50**/17.

Περὶ γῆς, work of Apollodorus **23**/3.

Περίπλους, work of Marcianus **23**/28.

Περκρί (τό), city in Armenia **44**/2, 11, 15, 21, 54, 102, 126.

Πέρσαι, Persians **23**/19, **45**/18, 25, 26, 28; Περσικός **44**/126.

Περσθλάβος cf. Πρεσθλάβος.

Περσία, Persia **25**/65, 67, 76, 79, **46**/138; Περσίς (ἡ) **21**/24, **22**/63, **38**/27, 62, **44**/8, 11, 27, 51, 117, **45**/12, 22, 66.

Περσίς cf. Περσία.

Πεσέντα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30**/92.

Πέτρος, 1. Saint, apostle **27**/85, **31**/36, 42.
2. prince of the Bulgarians **13**/148.
3. prince of the Serbs **32**/61, 69, 73, 77, 86, 89, 92, 95.

Πετρωνᾶς cf. Βόϊλας, Καματηρός.

Πηγαί (αἱ), place near Constantinople with imperial palace **51**/15.

Πίερες, Pierians **23**/19.

Πιζούχ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — **29**/291.

Πίνεται, city of the Venetians: κάστρον Πίνεται, ὅπερ λέγεται Στρόβιλος **27**/83.

Πιπῖνος, king 28/17, 18, 20, 23, 27, 31, 33, 39, 47.

Πίταυρα, city of the Ragusaioi: κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον — 29/223.

Πιτζηκαύδης, imperial envoy: Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπίκλην Πιτζηκαύδης 21/11.

Πλαζέντα, city in Italy; τὸ κάστρον — 26/13.

Πλακιδία, mother of the emperor Valentinian III 25/10, 43, 44.

Πλατυπόδης, protospatharius: Βάρδα τοῦ Πλατυπόδη (gen.) 50/54, 57.

Πλατύς, captain-general of the Mardaites of Attalia: Σταυράκιος ὁ Πλατύς 50/171, 176, 218; Σταυράκιος 50/180, 182, 184, 192.

Πλέβα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia 30/91.

Ποδάρων, protospatharius of the basin, vice-admiral and military governor 51/71, 73, 94, 104, 126, 131, 133.

Ποντική (ἡ), northern coastal district of Asia Minor 53/9.

Πόντος (ὁ), Pontus 42/6, 91, 53/524.

Ποργᾶς, prince of the Croats: Πορyᾶ (gen.) 31/21; Πορyᾶ (acc.) 31/25.

Πόρινος, prince of the Croats: Πορίνου (gen.) 30/90.

Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, Acts of the Apostles 36/17.

Πρεσθλάβος (ἡ), city in Bulgaria: Πρεσθλάβου (gen.) 40/10; Περσθλάβου (gen.) 32/130.

Πρεσιάμ, prince of the Bulgarians 32/39, 46. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 220 (2nd ed. p. 257).

Πριβέσθλαβος, prince of the Serbs 32/66, 68, 70, 101.

Πριβουνίας, ban of the Croats: Πριβουνία (gen.) 31/78.

Πριστῆναι, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/86.

Προσηγόης, prince of the Serbs 32/34.

Προῦσα (ἡ), city in Asia Minor 51/8, 18.

Πρωτεύων, protospatharius and military governor: Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρωτεύων 50/27, 35, 51/201.

Πτελέαι (αἱ), place in Zichia 42/107.

Πύθια (τά), city in Asia Minor 51/38.

Πυρηναῖα (τά), Pyrenees mountains 23/13, 15.

Πυρήνη (ἡ), Pyrenees mountains 23/4.

Πυρότιμα, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.

Πωγωνᾶτος cf. Κωνσταντῖνος 2.

Ῥαβδοῦχος, magister and foreign minister: Λέων ὁ Ῥαβδοῦχος 32/83.

Ῥαβίας, son of Zinaros (= Nizaros) 14/6.

Ῥάμβλε cf. Φιλιστίημ.

Ῥαουσαῖοι cf. Ῥαούσιον.

Ῥαούσιον (τό), city in Dalmatia 29/231, 234, 30/138; Ῥαούσι 29/217; Ῥαούσιν 29/51; Ῥαουσίου (gen.) 29/93, 100, 114, 217, 30/99, 100. Ῥαουσαῖοι (οἱ) 29/94, 110, 222; Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ῥαουσίου οὐ καλεῖται Ῥαούσι τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐπάνω τῶν κρημνῶν ἵσταται, λέγεται Ῥωμαϊστὶ 'ὁ κρημνὸς λαῦ' · ἐκλήθησαν δὲ ἐκ τούτου Λαυσαῖοι, ἤγουν 'οἱ καθεζόμενοι εἰς τὸν κρημνόν'. Ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια ... Ῥαουσαίους τούτους ἐκάλεσεν 29/217—222.

Ῥάση (ἡ), place on the frontier of Serbia 32/53.

Ῥάστωτζα (ἡ), zupania of Pagania 30/106, 107.

Ῥήγιον (τό), place near Constantinople: τοῦ Ῥηγίου 51/9, 19.

Ῥῆνος cf. Νῖνος.

Ῥιβαλενσῆς, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/82.

Ῥίβαλτον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον Ῥίβαλτον, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'τόπος ὑψηλότατος' 27/93 [Ῥιβαντόν P],

Ῥιβαντόν cf. Ῥίβαλτον.

Ῥινότμητος cf. Ἰουστινιανός.

Ῥίσενα (τά), city in Terbounia 34/20.

Ῥοδανός, river Rhone?: † ἡ διορόδανος † 23/11.

Ῥοδόλφος cf. Ῥοδοῦλφος.

Ῥόδος (ἡ), Rhodes 20/4, 7, 21/54, 57, 61.

Ῥοδόσθλαβος, prince of the Serbs **32**/34.

Ῥοδοῦλφος, king of Italy **26**/23, 27 [Ῥοδόλφου P], 29 [Ρουδοῦλφος P], 32, 35, 38, 40, 56, 60, 64.

Ῥουδοῦλφος cf. Ῥοδοῦλφος.

Ῥουσιάνο(ν), city in Italy: τοῦ Ῥουσιάνου **27**/49.

Ῥωμαϊκὴ χιλιάς, work of Quadratus **23**/36.

Ῥωμαῖοι, Romans **Tit.**/2, **P**/15, 22, 24, **1**/2, 16, **2**/16, **4**/3, 4, 6, 8, **5**/4, 7, **11**/5, **13**/107, 114, 119, 121, 136, 146, 175, **16**/5, **21**/14, 47, 53, **22**/4, 12, 30, 32, 41, 61, 82, **23**/14, 29, **24**/5, 7, **25**/20, 33, 42, 51, **27**/5, 14, 26, 30, 68, 69, **28**/36, **29**/54, 58, 62, 65, 73, 79, 86, 87, 95, 116, 170, 177, 180, 186, 198, 207, 214, 217, 263, 272, **30**/12, 59, 131, **31**/9, 16, 27, 34, 60, **32**/9, 12, 16, 23, 27, 30, 38, 88, 91, 109, 110, 113, 114, 116, 133, 136, 140, 141, 143, 147, **33**/3, 6, **35**/6, **36**/12, 13, **37**/66, **40**/14, **42**/61, **43**/5, 8, 13, 13, 16, 86, 90, 116, 174, **44**/33, 46, 48, 58, 63, 88, 124, **45**/24, 36, 42, **46**/115, 133, 166, **48**/24, 29, 31, **49**/4, **50**/72, 131, 164, **53**/6, 46, 47, 50, 118, 122, 141; Ῥωμαϊκός **13**/115, 151, **21**/33, **22**/18, **53**/107; Ῥωμαϊστί **29**/218.

Ῥωμανία, Romania **9**/113, **22**/22, **44**/126, 127, **46**/15, 135, 139, **47**/24, **53**/530.

Ῥωμᾶνοι, Romani **29**/14, 20, 22, 27, 34, 37, 41, 45, 47, 49, 52, **30**/121, **31**/11, 13, 15, **32**/24, **33**/4, **35**/3, **36**/4 [Ῥωμαίων P]; Ῥωμᾶνοι προσηγορεύθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετοικισθῆναι **29**/5—6.

Ῥωμανόπολις (ἡ), frontier pass in the province of Mesopotamia **50**/113, 132.

Ῥωμανός, 1. emperor (I) **13**/147, 149, 170, 192, **32**/100, 106, **43**/89, 118, 131, **45**/41, 55, 67, 75, 102, **46**/49, **50**/26, 28, 37, 61, 131, 168, 232, **51**/162, 175, 199, **52**/2.
2. emperor (II) **Tit.**/3, **26**/67.

Ῥωματινά, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27**/83.

Ῥώμη, Rome **25**/7, 23, 49, 51, **26**/11, 22, **27**/6, 16, **28**/12, **29**/4, 6, 103, 105, 273, **30**/89, **31**/12, 13, 22, 33, 39, **32**/27, **33**/4, **35**/4, **36**/4, **53**/2, 70, 84, 108, 124; ἡ μεγάλη Ῥώμη **21**/32.

Ῥῶς (οἱ), Russians **2**/1, 2, 5, 9, 12, 17, 19, **4**/1, 4, 11, **8**/20, **9**/1, 16, 16, 21, 30, 71, 79, 104, 106, 109, **13**/25, **42**/61, 77; Ῥωσιστί **9**/25, 40, 46, 58, 62, 64.

Ῥωσία, Russia **2**/4, 8, **6**/5, **9**/1, 5, 67, **37**/42, 43, 47, **42**/4, 62; ἡ ἔξω Ῥωσία **9**/3.

Ῥῶσσα (ἡ), city in Dalmatia **29**/92.

Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι, ancient name of the Turks (= Magyars) **38**/9, 28. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 223—224 (2nd ed. pp. 261—262).

Σάβας, Saint **22**/74.

Σάβας, Saracen general: τοῦ Σάβα **29**/90.

Σάβας (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars): Σάβα (gen.) **42**/20.

Σακακάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester **37**/63. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 225 (2nd ed. p. 264).

Σαλαμᾶς (τό), city in Armenia **44**/4, 16.

Σαλερινόν (τό), city in Italy **27**/4, 52, 57.

Σαληνές (τό), city in Serbia **32**/151.

Σαλμακάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester **37**/63. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 226 (2nd ed. p. 264).

Σαλμούτζης cf. Ἀλμούτζης.

Σαλῶνα (ἡ), city in Dalmatia **29**/26, **30**/14; Σαλῶνα (acc.) **29**/45, 233, **30**/17, 30; Σαλώνας (gen.) **31**/29; Σαλῶνος (gen.) **30**/20, 34, 46.

Σαμβατάς cf. Κίαβος.

Σαμωνᾶς, patrician and chamberlain **50**/228, 239, 246, 250.

Σανίανα, county in the province of Charsianon: τοῦρμα ἡ νῦν Σανίανα λεγομένη **50**/105.

Σαξία cf. Φραγγία.

Σαπαξί, village in Zichia: χωρίον ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαπαξί, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'κονιορτός' **53**/500.

Σαπίκιο(ν), village in the province of Derzene: τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ [τὰ P] Σαπικίου **53**/507.

Σαρακηνοί, Saracens **14**/3, **16**/2, 6, 8, **17**/2, 12, **21**/36, 85, 88, 113, 115, **25**/63, **29**/89, 99, 117, **43**/10, 14, 17, 25, **45**/28, 45, 50, 55, 58, 61, 150, **46**/132, 138, **47**/3, 22, **48**/31, **49**/9, **50**/112, 113, 115, 165, 202; Σαρακηνός (ὁ) **50**/202; cf. Ἀφρικοί.

Σαράτ (τό), place on the frontier of Patzinacia **42**/63.

Σάρκελ (τό), city on the river Tanaïs **11**/8, **42**/4, 22, 29, 40, 54, 56, 88; Ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ παρὰ αὐτοῖς τὸ Σάρκελ 'ἄσπρον ὁσπίτιον' **42**/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 229 (2nd ed. pp. 268—269).

Σαρμάται, Sarmatians **53**/5, 9, 12, 14, 19, 23; Σαυρόματοι **53**/42, 45, 121, 203, 232; Σαυρόματος (ὁ) **53**/3, 17, 20, 27, 46, 50, 53, 55, 59, 60, 62, 64, 72, 75, 76, 82, 86, 87, 91, 93, 96, 97, 99, 104, 104, 107, 162, 163, 169, 171, 173, 173, 177, 180, 183, 184, 188, 190, 193, 193, 194, 196, 198, 204, 205, 209, 215, 215, 216, 218, 221, 221.

Σαυρόματοι, Σαυρόματος cf. Σαρμάται.

Σεβάστεια (ἡ), city and province **50**/134, 149, 167.

Σεβέριοι, tributaries of the Russians: Σεβερίων (gen.) **9**/108.

Σελβώ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — **29**/291.

Σελινάς (ὁ), river, branch of the Danube **9**/79, 92, 94, 97.

Σεπτέμβριος, September **16**/6, 8.

Σερβλία, Serbia **30**/98, 100, 104, 117, 117, **31**/15, **32**/7, 21, 43, 58, 76, 85, 92, 95, 96, 102, 102, 123, 130, 146, **34**/6, 12, **35**/8; ἡ βαπτισμένη Σερβλία **32**/149; ἡ ἀβάπτιστος Σερβλία **34**/6.

Σέρβλια (τά), place in the province of Thessalonica **32**/11.

Σέρβλοι, Serbs **29**/55, 57, 63, **31**/9, 84, **32**/1, 2, 6, 15, 17, 26, 36, 40, 47, 49, 51, 108, 137, **33**/9, **36**/10; Σέρβλος (ὁ) **29**/109, **32**/31; ἀβάπτιστοι Σέρβλοι **31**/6, **34**/4, **36**/6; ἀβάπτιστοι Σέρβλοι, οἱ καὶ ἄσπροι ἐπονομαζόμενοι **32**/2; Σέρβλοι δὲ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ 'δοῦλοι' προσαγορεύονται **32**/12—13.

Σέρετος (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs **38**/71.

Σέρμιον (τό), Sirmium **25**/22, **40**/31.

Σθλάβοι cf. Σκλάβοι.

Σιγγιδών, Singidunum: Σιγγιδῶνα (acc.) **25**/22.

Σιγριανή cf. Θεοφάνης 1.

Σιγρίτζης, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Σιγρίτζη Θεόδωρον (acc.) **32**/93; Σιγρίτζη Θεοδώρου (gen.) **32**/112. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 234 (2nd ed. p. 275).

Σίδραγα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30**/92.

Σίκαρδος, prince of the Lombards **27**/52, 55, 57.

Σικελία (ἡ) Sicily, province **22**/45, **27**/9, 59, 61, **50**/89.

Σίκων, prince of the Lombards **27**/55, 56.

Σινούτης, eunuch, chief clerk to the foreign ministry, envoy **43**/36, 41, 47.

Σιπενδός (ἡ), city in Italy **27**/57.

Σκερδά, deserted city in Dalmatia: — **29**/291.

Σκηρδάκισσα, deserted city in Dalmatia: — **29**/291.

Σκλαβάρχοντες cf. Σκλάβοι.

Σκλαβηνίαι (αἱ), Slavonic regions **9**/10, 107, **28**/19, **29**/68, **30**/94.

Σκλαβῆνοι, Slavenes **49**/15, 30, 41, 65, 70; Σκλαβήνικος **29**/17; Σκλαβηνιστί **9**/25, 40, 44, 46, 58, 62, 65.

Σκλαβησιάνοι, Slavisians **50**/59, 64.

Σκλάβοι, Slavs **9**/9, 109, **29**/40, 43, 69, 82, 224, 294, **30**/120, 125, 129, 133, **31**/6, 7, **33**/11, **34**/12, 16, **36**/11, **37**/45, **49**/2, **50**/1, 6, 14, 38, 60, 72; Σκλάβοι, οἱ καὶ Ἄβαροι καλούμενοι **29**/33; Σκλάβοι, οἱ ⟨καὶ⟩ Ἄβαροι **29**/37; Σθλάβοι **50**/66; Σκλαβικός **30**/7, 13; Σκλαβάρχοντες **29**/113.

Σκόρδονα (τό), city in Croatia **31**/69.

Σκύθαι, Scythians **43/2**, **53/129**; Σκυθικός **13/25**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 236 (2nd ed. p. 279).

Σκυθία, Scythia **53/126**.

Σλαβίνετζα (ἡ), city in Pagania **36/15**.

Σμύρνη (ἡ), Smyrna **20/11**.

Σολδανός, Saracen general **29/90**, 102, 117, 120, 122, 128, 130 [Σουλδανός P], 142, 150 [Σουλδανοῦ P], 156, 163, 164, 175, 176, 180, 183, 191, 205, 209, 212.

Σολομών, Solomon **19/10**.

Σουλδανός cf. Σολδανός.

Σουλεϊμάν, chief of the Arabs **21/115**, 116, 120, 126, **22/49**, 50, 52.

Σουπόλιχος, father of Byscus, primate of the Chersonites: Σουπολίχου (gen.) **53/168**.

Σοῦσαι cf. Σῶσαι.

Σοφία cf. Ἁγία Σοφία.

Σοφιάμ, progenitor of Mauias, chief of the Arabs **21/111**.

Σπανδιάτης, ancestor of the Iberians **45/14**, 14, 33, 37.

Σπανία, part of Iberia **23/29**, 29 [recte: Ἱσπανία].

Σπαταλό(ν), harbour in Zichia: εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σπαταλοῦ λιμένα **42/106**.

Σρεχιαβαράξ (τό), village in the province of Tziliapert **53/511**.

Σταγνόν (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi **33/21**.

Σταυράκιος cf. Πλατύς.

Σταυρός cf. Τίμιος Σταυρός.

Στενῖται, sailors of the Stenon **51/12**, 91.

Στενόν (τό), the Bosphorus **51/13**, 92.

Στέφανος, 1. Saint **29/236**.
2. astrologer **16/1**.
3. protospatharius, son of Valentine (cf. Βαλεντῖνος 2.) **29/233**.
4. son of Muntimer, prince of the Serbs **32/52**, 67.

Στόλπον (τό), city in Croatia **31/69**.

Στρατόφιλος, primate of the Chersonites **53/471**.

Στρόβιλος cf. Πίνεται.

Στροΐμηρος, prince of the Serbs **32/44**, 63.

Στρούκουν, barrage of the Dnieper river: πρὸς τὸν ἕβδομον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Στρούκουν, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Ναπρεζή, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται 'μικρὸς φραγμός' **9/64**—65.

Συγγούλ (ὁ), river between the Danube and the city of Sarkel **42/58**.

Συμβάτιος, 1. prince of princes of Armenia **43/30**, 34, 35, **44/7**, 18, 22, 26, 35, 50, 119.
2. Iberian ruler of the city of Ardanoutzi: ὁ μέγας Συμβάτιος **46/4**.
3. son of David (cf. Δαυίδ 4.) **46/29**, 33, 38, 41.

Σύμβολο(ν), port near the city of Cherson: ἐν Συμβόλῳ **53/296**, 309; τοῦ Συμβόλου **53/302**.

Συμεών, 1. prince of the Bulgarians **32/80**, 87, 92, 111, 117, 138, **40/9**, 13, 17, **51/111**, 112. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 248 (2nd ed. p. 293).
2. patrician and chief of the imperial chancellery **46/68**.

Συμπόσιον (τό), frontier pass, desert adjacent to the region of Lykandos **50/135**, 145, 148, 159.

Συρεντός (ἡ), city in Italy **27/49**, 67.

Συρία, Syria **21/12**, 23, 63, 73, 102, **22/68**, **25/56**, 64, **42/78**, **43/11**, 14, **46/45**, **47/19**, 21.

Συρουκάλπεη, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — **37/35**; cf. Κουλπέη. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 248 (2nd ed. p. 294).

Σφενδοπλόκος, prince of Moravia **13/6**, **40/34**, **41/2**, 4, 19.

Σφενδοσθλάβος, son of Igor, prince of Russia **9/4**.

Σχολαστίκιος, door-keper and chamberlain **50/223**.

Σῶσαι (αἱ), place near the city of Cherson **53/263** [Σουσῶν P], 306, 312.

Σωτηριούπολις, city on the frontier of Abasgia: κάστρον Σωτηριουπόλεως **42/14**, 110.

Σωφρόνιος, bishop of Jerusalem **19/4**, 8.

Τάβια, garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Τάβιας **50/107**.

Ταλιαφέρνος, Burgundian marquis: Ταλιαφέρνου (gen.) **26/43**; cf. Οὔγων **2**.
Ταλμάτ (τό), province of the Pechenegs **37/18**, 23; cf. Βοροταλμάτ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94 (2nd ed. p. 97).
Ταμάταρχα (τό), city opposite to Bosporus **42/11** [τὰ Μάταρχα P], 92, 95, 97, **53/493**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 251 (2nd ed. p. 297).
Τάναϊς (ὁ), river Tanaïs **42/34**, 87.
Ταξίς, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/59**, 61. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 252 (2nd ed. p. 298).
Ταριάνο(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): πέμπτη τοῦ Ταριάνου **40/5**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 253 (2nd ed. p. 299).
Ταρκατζοῦς, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/54**, 56. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 253 (2nd ed. p. 300).
Ταρρακωνησία (ἡ), part of Iberia **23/29**.
Ταρτήσιοι, Iberian tribe **23/10**.
Ταρών (τό), Armenian principality **43/1**, 7, 27, 38, 46, 47, 49, 56, 62, 63, 66, 110, 153, 186; Ταρωνίτης (ὁ) [= Κρικορίκιος] **43/32**, 51, 97, 101, 113, 119, 122, 146, 151, 180.
Ταρωνίτης cf. Ταρών,
Τασῆς, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/61**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 253 (2nd ed. p. 300).
Τατζάτης, possessor of a suburban estate in Keltzini: Τατζάτου (gen.) **43/92**.
Τεβέλης, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/63**; Τεβέλη (acc.) **40/57**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 256 (2nd ed. p. 303).
Τεκῆς (τό), district in the province of Mesopotamia **50/115**, 119.
Τελιούτζα (ἡ), city in Russia: ἀπὸ Τελιούτζαν **9/6**.
Τενήν (τό), city in Croatia **31/70**.
Τερβουνία, 1. Terbounia **30/99**, 139, 142, **32/22**, **34/8**, 11, 15, 19, **35/9**; Τερβουνία δὲ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἑρμηνεύεται 'ἰσχυρὸς τόπος' **34/12**.
2. city in Terbounia **34/20**.
Τερβουνιῶται, Terbouniotes **29/57**, 64, 109, **34/1**, 3.
Τερματζοῦς, great grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/64**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 258 (2nd ed. p. 306).
Τερπημέρης, prince of the Croats: Τερπημέρη (gen.) **31/43**.
Τετραγγούριν (τό), island and city off Dalmatia **29/51**, 258, **30/134**; Τετραγγούριν δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ μικρὸν δίκην ἀγγουρίου **29/260—261**.
Τζαμανδός (ἡ), mountain and county in the province of Lykandos: ὄρος τῆς Τζαμανδοῦ **50/157**.
Τζαρβαγάνιν (τό), island off Zichia **42/105**.
Τζεέσθλαβος, prince of the Serbs **32/65**, 75, 119, 121, 129, 140.
Τζένζηνα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30/91**.
Τζέντινα cf. Ζέντινα.
Τζερματζοῦ (τό), city in Armenia **44/5**, 62.
Τζερναβουσκέη (τό), city in Serbia **32/150**.
Τζερνιγῶγα, city in Russia: ἀπὸ Τζερνιγῶγαν **9/6**.
Τζιβιτανόβα, city in Lombardy: ὀνομάζεται Τζιβιτανόβα, τουτέστιν νεόκαστρον **27/41**.
Τζιβιτάνουβα, Venetian island: εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Τζιβιτάνουβα, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται 'νεόκαστρον' **28/47—48**.
Τζικάνης, protospatharius and military governor: Λέοντος Τζικάνη (gen.) **51/194**.
Τζιλιάπερτ, province: θέμα τοῦ — **53/510**.
Τζοπόν (τό), province of the Pechenegs **37/19**, 24; cf. Βουλατζοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94 (2nd ed. p. 98).
Τζουζήμερις, prince of Terbounia **34/11**.
Τζούρ (τό), province of the Pechenegs **37/17**, 21; cf. Κουαρτζιτζούρ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 147 (2nd ed. p. 165).
Τιβέριος, emperor (III): 'Αψίμαρον **22/7**; 'Αψιμάρου ... τοῦ Τιβερίου **22/31**.

Τιβί (τό), city in Armenia **44/15**; Τιβί (gen.) **44/4**; Τιβίου (gen.) **45/57**.

Τικρίτ (τό), emirate **25/74**.

Τιμήσης (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/39**.

Τίμιος Σταυρός, garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ **50/104**.

Τίτζα (ἡ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/40**.

Τνήνα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30/92**.

Τορνίκης cf. Τορνίκιος.

Τορνίκιος, patrician, son of Apoganem **43/136**, 139, 139, 166, 179; Τορνίκης **43/100**.

Τορτζελῶν (τό), city and trading station of the Venetians **27/93**.

Τουγά (ἡ), chieftainess of the Croats **30/65**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 267 (2nd ed. p. 317).

Τουγγάται (τό), deserted city on the Dniester river **37/62**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 267 (2nd ed. p. 317).

Τουργανήρχ (τό), island off Zichia **42/105**.

Τουρκία, Turkey (= country of the Magyars) **31/5**, **32/3**, **37/42**, 47, **38/55**, **40/28**, 36, 53, 65, **42/3**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 269 (2nd ed. p. 320).

Τοῦρκοι, Turks (= Magyars) **3/1**, 2, 5, **4/2**, 5, 11, **8/21**, 24, 29, **13/2**, 3, 7, 8, 9, 24, **27/31**, **30/23**, 75, **31/87**, **32/89**, **37/11**, **38/1**, 3, 9, 10, 16, 23, 24, 25, 28, 32, 38, 47, 48, 48, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, **39/6**, 8, 10, **40/2**, 6, 16, 16, 17, 19, 19, 23, 25, 33, 41, 45, **41/21**, 25, **42/18**, **51/111**, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 270 (2nd ed. pp. 321—322).

Τούτης (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) **40/39**.

Τραϊανός, emperor **40/28**.

Τραπεζοῦς (ἡ), Trapezus **46/43**, **50/124**.

Τραυλός cf. Μιχαήλ 1.

Τριάς cf. Ἁγία Τριάς.

Τρίπολις (ἡ), city in Africa **25/40**.

Τριφάλης, comedy of Aristophanes **23/21**.

Τροίζην (ὁ), Troezen **23/35**, 35; Τροίζηνος (ὁ) **23/35**; Τροιζήνοιο (gen.) **23/35**.

Τροῦλλος (ὁ), Domed Hall in the imperial palace **48/2**.

Τροῦλλος (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs **38/70**.

Τρυπία (τά), desert on the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire **50/146**.

Τρύφων, Saint **29/269**.

Τυρόκαστρον (τό), city in Iberia **46/14**.

Ὑβύλ (ὁ), river between the Danube and the city of Sarkel **42/59**.

Ὑδρεντός (ἡ), city in Italy **27/48**.

Φαγγουμεῖς (οἱ), illustrious Cypriots **47/18**.

Φαλεμβέρτος, murderer of king Berengar **26/55**.

Φαλῆς, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars): Φαλῆς **40/61**; Φαλίτζιν (acc.) **40/58**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 278 (2nd ed. p. 331).

Φαλιμέρης, prince of Terbounia **34/10**.

Φαλίτζις cf. Φαλῆς.

Φάρα (τό), island off Dalmatia **36/20**; Φάρος (ὁ) **30/110**.

Φαρνάκος, 1. father of Pharnacus, primate of the Chersonites **53/187**.
2. primate of the Chersonites **53/187**, 192, 196, 204, 205, 208, 214, 215, 216, 218, 220, 222, 228, 230.

Φάρος cf. Φάρα.

Φασιανή (ἡ), district of Armenia **45/44**, 50, 53, 58, 61, 63, 66, 100, 100, 158.

Φᾶσις (ὁ), river in Armenia: ὁ Ἔραξ, ἤτοι ὁ Φᾶσις **45/130**, 158, 173.

Φατέμ cf. Φατιμέ.

Φατέμη, district of Libya: τοῦ Φατέμη **15/3**.

Φατεμῖται, Fatemites **15/1**, 3, **25/60** [Φατουμῖται P].

Φατιλάνο (ν), mountain on the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire: τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Φατιλάνου **50/114**.

Φατιμέ, daughter of Mahomet, the prophet **21/70**, **25/59**; Φατέμ **15/2**.

Φατουμῖται cf. Φατεμῖται.

Φιλιστίημ (ἡ), emirate: τὴν Φιλιστίημ, ἤτοι τὸ Ῥάμβλε **25/69**.

Φιλόμουσος, father of Stratophilus, primate of the Chersonites **53/471**.

Φινές, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27/92**.

Φοινίκη (ἡ), Phoenicia **21/40**.

Φοσαῶν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — **27/87**.

Φραγγία, Francia **13/4**, **28/5**, 9, **29/105**, 118, 162, 165, **30/72**, 85, **31/5**, 44, **32/5**; ἡ μεγάλη Φραγγία **26/6**, 18, **29/134**; Φραγγίας, τῆς καὶ Σαξίας **30/74**; Φραγγίαι (αἱ) **28/7**, 19.

Φράγγοι, Franks **13/116**, 119, **25/30**, **28/4**, 8, 43, **30/79**, 81, 83, 87, **31/87**, **40/44**; cf. Γερμανοί.

Φύλαρχος, author **23/41**.

Χαβουξιγγυλά, province of the Pechenegs: τοῦ — **37/70**; cf. Γύλα. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 279 (2nd ed. p. 332).

Χαδήρ (ὁ), river on the eastern side of the Maeotic lake **42/89**.

Χαδιγά, wife of Mahomet **14/12**.

Χαζάρα cf. Χάζαροι.

Χαζαρία, Chazaria **6/5**, **10/1**, 5, 8, **12/2**, **13/61**, 134, **37/38**, 45, **38/3**, 15, 32, 34, **42/27**, 77. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 280 (2nd ed. p. 334).

Χάζαροι, Chazars **10/3**, 7, **11/3**, 5, 11, **12/3**, **13/24**, **37/4** [Μαζάρους P], 5, **38/13**, 14, 22, 52, **39/2**, 8, **40/3**, **42/22**, 27; Χαζάρα (ἡ) **38/17**, 19 [Χαζάρου P]; Χαζαρικός **42/4**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 281—282 (2nd ed. pp. 335—336).

Χαλδία, province **43/61**, 176, **45/48**, 60, **46/74**, 77, **50/117**.

Χάλεπ (τό), emirate **25/71**.

Χαλιάτ cf. Χλιάτ.

Χαλκοπρατεῖα: Χαλκοπρατείων ναός, church in Constantinople **29/279**.

Χαμούχ, 1. village in Zichia **53/503**, 505.

2. founder of the village called Chamuch **53/503**.

Χανζίτ (τό), frontier pass in the province of Mesopotamia **50/113**, **132**.

Χαραβόη (τό), province of the Pechenegs **37/18**, 22, 42. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 285 (2nd ed. p. 340).

Χαράκουλ (τό), river on the eastern side of the Maeotic lake **42/88**. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 285 (2nd ed. p. 340).

Χαράν (τό), emirate **25/72**.

Χάραξ, author **24/4**.

Χάρης cf. Λάχης.

Χαρίτων, Saint **22/73**.

Χάρκα (τό), district of Armenia **44/41**, 87.

Χάροψ (ὁ), Charops **23/34**, **34**; Χάροπος (ὁ) **23/34**; Χαρόποιο (gen.) **23/35**.

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Χαρσιανόν (τό), province **50/90**, 102, 106, 108, 109, 134, 137, 153.

Χασέ, protospatharius **50/202**, 205, 206, 208.

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Χερσών (ἡ), Cherson, city **1/26**, 27, 27, **6/3**, **7/1**, 3, 6, 16, **8/8**, **9/67**, **11/1**, 8, 10, 12, **22/30**, **37/38**, 49, **42/7**, 32, 33, 41, 51, 53, 63, 70, 72, 81, 85, **53/1**, 168, 271, 276, 294, 512, 525, 527, 528.

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Χέρτ (τό), city in Armenia **44/4**, 16.

Χιγγιλούς cf. Χιδμάς.

Χιδμάς (ὁ), river in Lebedia: Χιδμάς, ὁ καὶ Χιγγιλοὺς ἐπονομαζόμενος **38/8**.

Χλεβένα (τό), city in Croatia **31/69**.

Χλέβενα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia **30/116**; Χλεβίανα (ἡ) **30/91**.

Χλεβίανα cf. Χλέβενα.

Χλιάτ (τό), city in Armenia **44/3**, 20, 57, 102, 108, 114, 125; Χαλιάτ **44/3**, 11, 15, 53.

Χλούμ (τό), city in the country of the Zachlumi **33/14**.

Χλοῦμος, mountain in the country of the Zachlumi **33/11**; cf. Ζαχλοῦμοι.

Χόζανον, province: τὸ τοῦ Χοζάνου θέμα **50/111**.

Χοπόν (τό), province of the Pechenegs **37/19**, 24; cf. Γιαζιχοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 112).

Χρῆστος, primate of the Chersonites **53/25**, 44.

Χριστιανοί, Christians **13/33**, 77, 81, 86, 113, 125, 138, 142, 159, 160, **14/16**, **17/10**, **22/71**, **32/29**, **45/32**, 151, **50/76**; Χριστιανικός **13/145**, **22/79**, **48/6**.

Χριστός, Jesus Christ **Tit./2**, **17/6**, **22/72**, **29/96**, **31/42**, **49/58**; Ἰησοῦς Χριστός **13/43**, **45/31**.

Χρονικά, work of Charax **24/4**.

Χρονικόν, work of Theophanes **17/1**, **21/1**; Χρονογράφος **22/1**.

Χρονογράφος cf. Χρονικόν.

Χρυσόγονος, Saint **29/278**.

Χρυσοτρίκλινος (ὁ), hall in the imperial palace at Constantinople **50/215**.

Χρωβατία, Croatia **30/70**, 78, 94, 113, 118, **31/14**, 44, 58, 76, **32/62**, 69, 72, 120, 125, 127, 136, **35/8**; ἡ μεγάλη Χρωβατία, ἡ καὶ ἄσπρη ἐπονομαζομένη **31/83**; ἡ μεγάλη Χρωβατία, ἡ ἀβάπτιστος, ἡ καὶ ἄσπρη προσαγορευομένη **32/5—6**,; ἡ βαπτισμένη Χρωβατία **31/68**, 71, 86.

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Χρωβάτος, chief of the Croats **30/65**.

Χώαρα (τά), island off Dalmatia **36/22**.

Χωρασάν (τό), emirate **22/64**, 66, **25/67**, 79.

Ψωμαθεύς: ἡ τοῦ Ψωμαθέως μονή, monastery **43/177**.

Ὠκεανός (ὁ), Ocean **25/40**; ὁ ἑσπέριος Ὠκεανός **25/32**.

Ὠορύφας, patrician and admiral of the fleet: τὸν... Νικήτα,... οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην Ὠορύφας **29/97—98**.

Ὦτ(ος), king of Francia, or Saxony: Ὤτῳ (dat.) **30/73**.

# GLOSSARY

The Glossary contains 1. words which occur in *D. A. I.* only (these are marked with an asterisk), 2. words peculiar to Byzantine civilization, 3. words of the Postclassical and Byzantine periods, 4. uncommon ancient words or ancient words used in an altered sense in the Byzantine period, 5. words of foreign origin.

Passages are cited by chapter and line in the chapter. **P**, in such citations, stands for «Proem».

Abbreviation: *Byzantinoturcica* = Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II. *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Budapest, 1943 (2nd ed. Berlin 1958).

ἄβαλε **53**/483.
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ἀηδίζομαι **53**/475.
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βήσσαλον (Latin *bessalis*) **29**/246, **42**/36, **53**/329, 331, 340, 347, 348, [βήσαλον everywhere P].

βίγλα (~ Latin *vigilia*) **9**/49, 50, **29**/175, **51**/29; cf. δρουγγάριος.

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*βοάνος (~ Turkish *ban*?) **30**/93; βοεάνου (gen.) **31**/78. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 178 (2nd ed. p. 204).

*βοεάνος cf. βοάνος.

*βοέβοδος (~ Slavic *vojevoda*) **38**/5, 5, 7, 12, 12, 16, 29, 34, 43. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 91 (2nd ed. p. 93).

βοϊλᾶς (~ Bulgarian *boila*): βοϊλάδων (pl. gen.) **32**/48 [βολιάδων P]. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 91 (2nd ed. p. 93).
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διαπρέπω **50**/172.
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*ἐμβλήσκομαι **9**/56. — Cf. ἐκβλήσκεσθαι Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $184_{10}$; ἔμβλησαν Phrantzes, ed. Papadopoulus p. $141_{26}$.
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ἐναποδέχομαι **38**/41. — Cf. Ioannes Chrysostomus, Homilia in Genesim XLIV., ed. Migne, P. G. 54. c. 406 [= $447_E$].
ἐναποδιώκω **31**/11. — Cf. Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, Σεπτέμβριος ΙΓ', Θεοτοκίον, vol I. (ἐν Ῥώμῃ, 1888), p. 150.
ἐναποκλείω **29**/244, **53**/516, 521.
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ζάκανον (~ Slavic *zakon*) 8/17, **38**/52. — Cf. Suidas s. v. δατόν; P. Kretschmer, ***Archiv für slavische Philologie***, 27 (1905), p. 232; S. B. Psaltes, ***Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken***, (Göttingen, 1913), pp. 36—37.
*ζουπανία (~ Slavic *župan*) **30**/91, 105, 106.
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ἰδιάζω: ἐν τοῖς ἰδιάζουσιν **53**/356.
*ἰδιοκάβαλλος (~ Latin *caballus*) **53**/506.
*ἰδιοκρατῶ **25**/75.
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καβαλλικεύω (~ Latin *caballico*) **15**/10.
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καμηλεύω **14**/13. — Cf. Georgius Monachus, ed. de Boor p. $698_{10}$; Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $333_{25}$.
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*καρχᾶς (~ Hungarian *qarχa* > *karχa*) **40**/49, 51, 65, 66, 67, 67, 68. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 139 (2nd ed. p. 155).
κασσίδιον (~ Latin *cassis*) **53**/219.
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κογχυλευτής **52**/11.
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κοινωφελής **13**/166.
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*hunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon,* (München, 1949), p. 123.
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μαγίσδιον (~ Arabic *masǧid*) **21**/114. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 161 (2nd ed. p. 182).
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ὀλιγοστός **22**/37, **53**/32.
ὀλιγωρῶ **14**/21. — Cf. Georgius Monachus, ed. de Boor p. $699_1$; Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $334_9$.
ὁλοσχερῶς **22**/36.
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*ὀρθόπλωρα **9**/48.
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ὀφθαλμοφανῶς **49**/31, 47.
ὀφφίκιον (~ Latin *officium*) **51**/46.
ὄχθη **9**/37.
ὄχλησις **28**/38.
ὀχυροποιῶ **50**/155.
ὄψης (~ Latin *obses*) **7**/5, 6, 10, **8**/13, 14, **45**/142; ὁμήρους, ἤτοι ὄψιδας **1**/21.
ὄψις: ἐπ' ὄψεσι **53**/51. — Cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $10_{28}$ etc.; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* II. p. 217.
παγιδεύω **29**/194.
παγιῶ **22**/25, **53**/286, 289. — Cf. Menander fr. 3., Excerpta de legationibus, ed. de Boor I, p. $181_{22}$; Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $364_8$.

παιδάριον **4**/12.
παιδίον **8**/31, **30**/27, **32**/52, **60**, 131, **43**/168, 174, **46**/38.
παιδοποιῶ **38**/19.
*πακτιώτης (~ Latin *pactum*) **9**/9, 109. — Cf. A. Eck, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, 2 (1934), pp. 343—349.
πακτιωτικός (~ Latin *pactum*) **9**/21.
πάκτον (~ Latin *pactum*) **21**/14, **27**/18, **28**/39, 40, **30**/133, **31**/65, **32**/57, **43**/128, **44**/33, 39, 44, 59, 63, 87, 89, 112, **50**/3, 5, 48, 49, 51, 63, 67, 69, 82, **53**/78, 80, 82, 528. — Cf. I. Dujčev, *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, 10 (1938), p. 147—150.
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*παραμόνιμον **29**/24. — Cf. παραμονή Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $376_{26}$.
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παρασαλεύω **45**/120.
παραστέλλω **22**/21.
παραστήκω **53**/403.
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παρρησιαστικός **13**/20.
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πάτος **29**/281, **53**/228.
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πέχ (~ Turkish *bäg*) **42**/27. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 214 (2nd ed. p. 250).
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*πολύδια: τὰ πολύδια, ὃ λέγεται γύρα **9**/107. — Cf. K. Nevolin, Финнскій Вѣстникъ, 20 (1847), No. 8., pp. 1—10 (= Сборникъ сочиненій, S. Peterburg, 1870, pp. 521—527); N. Lavrovskij, Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія, 166 (1873), Мартъ, pp. 113—121; S. Gedeonov, Варяги и Русь II. (S. Peterburg, 1876), pp. 546—547; P. Jurčenko, Чтенія въ Имп. Обществѣ Исторіи и Древностей россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ, 1877, II., pp. 1—14; S. Vvedenskij, Извѣстія Общества археологіи, исторіи и этнографіи при Казанскомъ Университетѣ, 22 (1906), pp. 149—163; L. Niederle, *Slavia*, 7 (1928—29), pp. 979—980; N. Popov, *Byzantinoslavica*, 3 (1931), pp. 92—96; *D. A. I.* Commentary, pp. 59—60.
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πολυήμερος **49**/43.
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πραῖδα (~ Latin *praeda*) **29**/21, 35, **30**/30, **45**/135, **50**/8.
πραιδεύω (~ Latin *praedor*) **2**/3, **5**/12, **10**/6, **13**/10, **29**/47, **31**/86, **44**/32, **45**/60, 95, 132, 137, 168, **53**/95.
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πράνδιον (~ Latin *brandeum*) **6**/8. — Cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $232_9$; Eparchicon Biblion IX. 6., ed. Zepos p. 382.
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προβάλλω (= break out *sc.* of war) **40**/46.
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πρωτελάτης **51**/74, 77, 90, 106, 110, 151. — Cf. De cerimoniis, ed Bonn. p. $577_{1-3}$ (πρωτοελάτης).
πρωτεύω **53**/3, 25, 130, 168, 186, 235, 275, 470; πρωτεύων **42**/43, 46, 52, **53**/136, 357, 363.
πρωτοασηκρῆτις (~ Latin *a secretis*) **46**/68.
πρωτοβεστιάριος (~ Latin *vestiarius*) **51**/32.
πρωτοκάραβος **51**/2, 80, 81, 105, 127, 139, 146, 150, 155, 161, 167, 171, 188.
πρωτόκλητος **49**/30, 37, 57.
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ῥαίκτωρ cf. ῥέκτωρ.
*ῥαπάτιν (~ Arabic *rabaḍ*) **46**/43. — Cf. E. Honigmann, *Byzantion*, 10 (1935), pp. 148—149.
ῥεγεών (~ Latin *regio*) **53**/262, 282.
ῥέκτωρ (~ Latin *rector*) **51**/174, 184. [ῥαίκτωρ everywhere P].
ῥηγᾶτον (~ Latin *regatus*) **26**/6, 25, 55, **28**/18, 41. — Cf. Eustathius, De Thessalonica a Latinis capta, ed. Bonn. p. $417_4$.
ῥήξ (~ Latin *rex*) **26**/1, 2, 3, 7, 7, 16, 45, 57, 59, 63, 66, 69, **28**/17, 20, 23, 27, 31, 33, 38, 46, **29**/105, 107, 117, 119, 122, 132, 133, 143, 146, 152, 152, 154, 162, 163, 165, 169; μέγας ῥήξ **30**/74.
ῥιζιμαῖος **9**/27. — Cf. Praktikon a. 1301, ed. F. Dölger, *Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon*, (München, 1949), p. $52_{433}$; Narratio de Sancta Sophia, ed. N. Bănescu, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 3 (1926), p. $150_{19}$.
ῥιπτάριον **28**/32. — Cf. Leo, Tactica V. 3,. ed. Migne, P. G. 107. c. 711c etc.
ῥόγα (~ Latin *erogatio*, *roga*) **43**/68, 82, 114, 119, 128.
ῥογεύω (~ Latin *erogo*) **7**/17, **43**/117, **50**/242, 254, 256.
ῥοδωτός **15**/12. — Cf. cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 244. f. 201r, ed. A. Delatte, *Miscellanea Giov. Mercati* III, (Roma, 1946), p. 496; Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* s. v.
ῥούσιος **51**/7, 49, 50, 63, 65.
σάββατον **29**/23, **30**/48.
σαγῆνα (~ Latin *sagena*) **30**/108, **31**/52, 72, 73, 80, 81, 87. — Cf. Mauricius, Tactica, ed. Scheffer p. $347_1$.
σαγίον (~ Latin *sagum*) **13**/41.

σαγίττα (~ Latin *sagitta*) **9**/69, 75.
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σεμνός **53**/265. — Cf. E. Dawes—N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, (Oxford, 1948), pp. 74, 75.
*σέρβυλα: 'σέρβυλα' ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια τὰ δουλικά φησιν ὑποδήματα **32**/13; cf. τζερβουλιανός.
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σιγίλλιον (~ Latin *sigillum*) **49**/59, 72.
σιταρχῶ **45**/69, 91.
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σκαλώνω (~ Latin *scala*) **9**/31, 48, 95. — Cf. Nicephorus Uranus, Tactica, ed. A. Dain, *Naumachica* (Paris, 1943), p. $78_5$, etc.
σκάνδαλον **43**/23, 123, 130.
σκαρμός (~ Latin *scalmus*) **9**/18. — Cf. Leo, Tactica XIX. 5., ed. A. Dain, *Naumachica*, (Paris, 1943), p. $19_{27}$.
σκαρφίον **9**/77. — Cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 30 (1910), p. 99.
σκαφίδιον **9**/17.
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σκληρύνομαι **30**/80.
σκορπίζω **30**/37.
σκουλκάτωρ (~ Latin *sculcator*) **53**/57.
σκουτάριον (~ Latin *scutum*) **38**/53, **51**/83, 118.
σκυλίον **32**/56.
σοῦδα (~ Latin *suda*) **42**/80, 83. — Cf. F. Dölger, Der Titel des sog. Suidaslexikons, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Philos.-hist. Abt. 1936. H. 6, München 1936; H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, 11 (1936), pp. 777—778; 12 (1937), pp. 295—300; A. Dain, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 5 (1937), pp. 233—241; F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 38 (1938), pp. 36—57.
σπαθάριος **51**/152, 156, 158, **52**/7.
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στρατηγῶν cf. στρατηγός.
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συγχαίρομαι **51**/24.
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συγχωρῶ **53**/350.
συκοφαντικῶς **50**/189.
συλλαλῶ **38**/48.
συλλειτουργός **48**/3.
συμβίβασις **46**/28, **49**/11.
σύμβιος **29**/201.
συμβίωσις **13**/182.
συμπάθεια **50**/46.
συμπαθῶ **17**/22, **50**/62; cf. Grammatical Notes.
συμπενθερία **30**/74.
συμπενθεριάζω **13**/107, 114, 143, 148.
συμπλήρωμα **29**/266.

συμπλήρωσις **42**/108, **53**/157.
συμφιλιοῦμαι **39**/7.
σύμφωνον **45**/114.
συμψευδομαρτυρῶ **14**/22. — Cf. Georgius Monachus, ed. de Boor II. p. $699_1$.
*συναλλάγιον **13**/120, 134.
συναναστρέφομαι **14**/16.
συνάντησις **26**/46.
σύνδεσμος **14**/35.
συνδιατριβή **13**/182.
συνδίδωμι **30**/59; cf. Grammatical Notes.
συνδοσία **49**/70.
συνδρομή **32**/144.
συνειστρέχω **30**/56.
συνεπαίρω **32**/89, 123; cf. Grammatical Notes.
συνεπαμύνομαι **29**/105, 162.
συνέργεια **22**/51.
συνετίζω **P**/13, 32.
συνήθεια 1. (= usage, colloquial) **29**/275, **32**/13.
2. (= regular grant) **53**/153.
συνιστῶ **13**/120.
σύνοδος **47**/6, 12, 14, **48**/1.
συνοικέσιον **13**/180.
συνομιλία **13**/182.
συνορίτης **32**/37.
σύνορον **30**/9, 114, **32**/53, **45**/158, 161, 164, 173, **46**/15.
συνορῶ (-άω) **48**/9.
συνορῶ (-έω) **31**/6, **37**/4, **46**/118.
συνταξιδεύω **45**/23, 147, **50**/31 [-ταξειδ- everywhere P]
σύνταξις **53**/290, 291.
συντάσσομαι **53**/283.
συντεχνία **32**/96.
σύντεχνος **26**/55, **32**/81.
συντιμῶ **43**/126.
συντομία: ἐν συντομίᾳ **46**/70, **53**/407 [ἐν συντόμως P].
σύντομος: ἐκ συντόμου **53**/434 [ἐκ σύντομον P].
συρράπτομαι **50**/188.
σύρω **9**/15, 53.
σφάζω **21**/76, 76.
σφοντύλιν **53**/325, 345.
σφραγίζω **53**/148.
σχέσις **38**/40.
σχολαρίκιον **50**/247, 252. — Cf. diploma, ed. M. I. Gedeon, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 5 (1896), p. $115_6$.
σχολή cf. δομέστικος.
σωφρονισμός **13**/193.

*ταξατεύω (~ Latin *taxatus*) **46**/127.
ταξατιών (~ Latin *taxatio*) **22**/28.
ταξᾶτος (~ Latin *taxatus*) **45**/69.
ταξειδεύω, ταξείδιον cf. ταξιδεύω, ταξίδιον.
ταξεώτης **30**/34, 47, **42**/23.
ταξίαρχος (ταξιάρχης ?) **49**/36.
ταξιδεύω **51**/43, 195, 200, 202, **53**/530 [ταξειδ- everywhere P].
ταξίδιον **30**/28, 30, **40**/16, **51**/92, **52**/13 [ταξειδ- everywhere P].
τεχνῶ **38**/18.
τετραπέδικος **29**/247. — Cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, Epistola XXV., ed. Migne, P. G. 46. c. 1097c.
*τζερβουλιανός: ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια... φησιν... 'τζερβουλιανούς' τοὺς τὰ εὐτελῆ καὶ πενιχρὰ ὑποδήματα φοροῦντας **32**/14. — Cf. Praecepta Nicephori, ed. Kulakovskij, p. $1_{20}$ = cod. Monac. gr. 452. fol. $109^v$ (τζερβούλια); S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, (Göttingen, 1913), p. 74; Ph. Kukules Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν 1935—1936, p. 124.
τζυκανιστήριον (~ Persian *čougān*) **9**/27. — Cf. Ph. Kukules, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 13 (1937), p. 114; C. Diem, *Asiatische Reiterspiele*, (Berlin, $1942^2$), pp. 111, 260; A. Pagliaro, Un gioco persiano alla corte di Bizanzio, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 5 (1939), pp. 521—524.
τίποτε **53**/88, 374.
τοιοῦτος cf. Grammatical Notes.
τόλμημα **13**/67.
τόνος **23**/33.
τοξεία **28**/32.
τοποτηρησία **50**/94, 94, 95, 95, 97, 97, 98, 103, 103, 104, 107, 107, 110.
τοποτηρητής **51**/105, 126, 130, 133.
τοῦρμα (~ Latin *turma*) **46**/118, **50**/83, 85, 90, 100, 104, 107, 109, 116, 116, 128, 129, 134, 134, 149, 167.
*τουρμαρχᾶτον (~ Latin *turma*) **50**/159.
τουρμάρχης (~ Latin *turma*) **45**/81, 83, 84, **46**/78, **50**/146.
τρακτεύω (~ Latin *tracto*) **53**/214.
τράπεζα 1. ἁγία τράπεζα **13**/39, 49, 84, 131; ἱερὰ τράπεζα **13**/42, 113.

2. ὁ τῆς τραπέζης **51**/51, 66, 68, 103, 175, 179.
τραπέζιον **50**/248, 252.
τραπεζοποιός **49**/68.
τριάς cf. Index of Proper Names.
τριβοῦνος (~ Latin *tribunus*) **53**/10.
τριετία **32**/41.
τριώροφος **29**/255.
τροπαιοῦχος **49**/36.
τροποῦμαι (= deceive) **14**/20. — Cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. 334, etc.
τροπῶ **2**/23, **45**/26, **49**/48, **53**/134.
τύπος **13**/22, 67, **22**/26, **27**/19, **29**/68, **37**/26, **43**/125, **50**/169, 219, **51**/17, 28, 43, 44, 56, 154.
ὑλογραφία **29**/280. — Cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. $443_{25}$.
ὕπαρξις **49**/56.
ὕπατος **25**/28.
ὑπεισέρχομαι **37**/32, **45**/138, 154.
ὑπεράγιος **45**/7.
ὑπερασπίζω **P**/31, **45**/108.
ὑπερβόρειος **25**/16.
ὑπεργηρῶ **51**/138.
*ὑπερεξάρχων **45**/78.
ὑπερθαυμάζω **51**/121.
ὑπερισχύω **30**/67, 86, **37**/6, **39**/5.
ὑπερνικῶ **5**/9.
*ὑπερούσιος (= wealthy) **14**/27.
*ὑπερπολεμῶ **27**/26.
ὑπήκοος **17**/16, **43**/5, 12, **53**/48, 118.
ὑπηρεσία **51**/39.
ὑπηρέτης **13**/46.
ὑπόγεως **53**/330.
ὑπόθεσις **13**/111, **29**/129, **32**/86, **43**/38, 40, **46**/67, 100, 159, 161.
ὑποκάτωθεν **53**/323.
ὑποκλίνω **43**/8.
ὑπόκρημνος **29**/227.
ὑποκύπτω **53**/115.
ὑπομάσθιον **30**/81.
ὑπόσπονδος **26**/8, **45**/109.
ὑπόστασις **43**/95, **44**/105. — Cf. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts,* (München, 1927), p. 153.
ὑποταγή **29**/215, **30**/131, **32**/37, 79, **43**/87.
ὑποτάσσω **P**/17, **1**/6, **27**/47, **29**/72, 140, 161, **30**/69, 79, **31**/59, **32**/27, 40, 110, 116, 142, 147, **43**/8, 85, **44**/29, 44, 58, 63, **45**/23, 141, **48**/7, **49**/12, **50**/15, 41, 45, 80.
ὑπότροπος **27**/45.
ὑπουργία **13**/27, **51**/140; cf. δομέστικος.
ὑπόφορος **30**/132, **37**/43.
ὕφαλος **9**/69.
ὑψῶ **29**/126.
φαλκώνιον (~ Latin *falco*) **32**/55.
φαμιλία (~ Latin *familia*) **27**/37, **29**/4, **40**/18, **49**/55, **53**/16, 20, 24, 41, 59, 75, 85, 99, 101, 105, 281, 436.
φεναχίζω: πεφενακισμένος **14**/29.
φέρω cf. ἐνεγκαμένη.
φημί: φησί(ν) **53**/37, 66, 165, 291, 303, 384.
φθάζω **9**/69, **29**/207, **53**/7, 388.
φιάλη **51**/4, 57, 102, 142, 179; cf. πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης.
*φιβλατοῦρα (~ Latin *fibulatorium*) **53**/142.
φίλος (ὁ) (= 'friend' *sc.* diplomatic) **8**/18, **9**/69, **40**/64, **45**/108, 157.
φιλοτιμία **1**/23, **43**/109, 162, **53**/161.
φιλοτιμοῦμαι **22**/16, **51**/93.
φιλοφρόνησις **31**/66, **43**/22.
φιλοφρονοῦμαι **43**/53, 76, 133.
φιλόχριστος **26**/68, 72, **29**/70, **45**/36, 41, 43, **48**/8, **50**/87, 92, 101, 118, 133, 136, 156, 160, 225, 225, 227, 231, 235, **51**/7, 76, 108, 137, 164, 192, 196.
φιμοῦμαι **P**/29.
φλάμμουλον (~ Latin *flammula*) **29**/39, 42, **30**/44, **46**/109, 114, **49**/21, 22, 25, 27 [φλάμου- everywhere P].
φορβάς **53**/266.
φορτίον **53**/400.
φορτῶ **20**/9.
φοσσᾶτον (~ Latin *fossatum*) **11**/12, **15**/9, 9, **30**/49, 55, 85, **32**/94, 111, 117, **38**/25, **43**/12, **44**/126, 128, **46**/134, 138.
φοσσατικῶς (~ Latin *fossatum*) **30**/45.
φραγμός (= barrage) **2**/19, **9**/24, 26, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 45, 47, 47, 53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 64, 65.
φράσις **1**/11.
φρυάττομαι **53**/191.
φύλαχος **23**/31.
φύλαξις **40**/18, **51**/41.
φύλαρχος **14**/25.
φωλεύω **9**/46.
φωταγωγός **29**/257.

χαγάνος (~ Turkish *qaγan*) **13**/134, **38**/15, 32, 34, 36, 39, 46, **42**/27.— Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 279—280 (2nd ed. pp. 332—334).
χαιρέκακος **50**/200.
χαίρω **29**/169, **53**/291, 391; χαίρομαι **53**/206, 409, 424.
χαλινῶ **51**/203; cf. Grammatical Notes.
χάραγμα **52**/14.
χαρέριον (Arabic *harir*) **6**/8. — Cf. Eparchicon Biblion IX. 6., ed. Zepos p. 382.
χαρίζομαι **13**/53.
χάρισμα **45**/15.
χαρτοποιός **52**/11.
χαρτουλάριος (~ Latin *chartularius*): χαρτουλάριος τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου **43**/37.
*χειροβολίστρα **53**/30, 34, 37, 133. — Cf. De cerimoniis, ed. Bonn. p. $670_1$ (χειροτοξοβολίστρων).
χειροτονία **47**/8.
χειροτονῶ **21**/51, **47**/12, **48**/14, 20.
χελάνδιον **8**/2, 8, 10, 12, 15, **29**/98, **42**/31, 31, 33, **51**/13, 82, 119.
χλεύη **44**/112, **53**/485.
χοῦς **P**/46.
χρεωποιοῦμαι **8**/19. — Cf. Gregentius, Homeritarum leges, ed. Migne, P. G. 86, 1. c. $612_C$.
χρῆμα **4**/6, **13**/15, **26**/8, **27**/20, **29**/121, **45**/32.
χρηματίζω **13**/109, **16**/11, **20**/3, **21**/116, **43**/11, **45**/11, 13.
χριστιανικός, χριστιανός cf. Index of Proper Names.
χρονικόν **17**/1, **21**/1.
χρονογράφος **22**/1.
χρόνος (= year) **1**/19, **16**/3, **21**/93, **22**/61, **25**/26, **28**/17, 40, 42, **29**/32, **30**/67, 79, 85, **31**/43, **32**/33, 68, 72, 74, 105, 128, **38**/55, **41**/19, **43**/89, **50**/172, **51**/131, **53**/162, 179, 285, 470.
χρυσοβούλλιον (~ Latin *bulla*) **43**/76, 96, 99, 148, **45**/101, 105, 118, **50**/67.
χρυσοβούλλιος (~ Latin *bulla*) **43**/87.
χρυσόβουλλον (~ Latin *bulla*) **50**/141.
χρυσός cf. Grammatical Notes.
χύμα **13**/14.
χωρίον (= village) **32**/122, **45**/63, 136, 137, 161, 166, **53**/500, 503, 504, 504, 507, 508, 510. — Cf. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, (München, 1927), p. 126.
χωρόπολις **46**/43. — Cf. Michael Attaliota, ed. Bonn. p. $148_8$.
ψευδοκατηγορία **25**/42.
ψευδολογία **50**/187.
ψευδοπροφήτης **17**/3.
ψευδώνυμος **14**/23.
ψυχάριον **9**/52, **32**/55.
ψωμίον **9**/75.
ὡρισμένος cf. ὁρίζω.
ὠτίον **26**/49.

# GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Since *D. A. I.* contains many linguistic phenomena which diverge from classical usage and illustrate the mediaeval and modern development of the language, we think it necessary to summarize here the most noteworthy demotic characteristics of the language of *D. A. I.*

Words and names cited without indication of chapter and line occur in the Glossary and Index.

### Orthography:

νδ ~ ντ: κονδοῦρα, σφοντύλιν.

Cf. Critical Introduction, pp. 18—19, 36, 37.

### Accentuation:

ἀντίπερα, ἀπάρτι, αὐθεντῶς, θέρμα, κύρις, λάβε **27/24**, μήκοθεν, πάραυτα, Ἄβαρεις, Ἀρκάϊκα (gen.) Ἀρμενιάκοι, Ἄσπονας (gen.), Δανούβιν (acc.), Μάσαλμα (gen.), Πάρθικος, Πελοποννησαῖοι, Ῥαούσι(ν), Τάβιας (gen.), Τετραγγούριν, Χερσωνίτικος; cf. below, Substantives ending in -ιν.

Cf. Critical Introduction, p. 18.

### Substantives:

nom. -ας (-ᾶς); acc. -α (-ᾶ): Βόρενα, Λεβεδία, Λιούντικα, Νικήτα, Πετρωνᾶ, Πογρᾶ;

nom. -ᾶς; plur. gen. -άδων: ἀμηράδων, βοϊλάδων;

nom. -ης (-ής, -ῆς); acc. -η (-ή -ῆ), gen. -η (-ῆ): ἀμερμουμνῆ, Ἀδρανασή, Ἀδρανασῆ, Ἀλμούτζη, Ἀποσέλμη, Ἀρπαδή, Ἀρπαδῆ, Βεριγγέρη, Βουσεβούτζη, Γιαζή, Ζουρβανέλη, Καλῆ, Καρῆ, Κασῆ, Κισκάση, Κουρκένη, Κρασημέρη, Κρικορίκη, Μεγέρη, Νέκη, Παζουνῆ, Πλατυπόδη, Σιγρίτζη, Τεβέλη, Τερπημέρη;

nom. -ός (< -ιος): κυρός;

nom. -ις (< -ιος): κύρις, Δανούβιν (acc.);

nom. -ίν, -ιν (< -ίον, -ιον): ἀσήμιν, θεμάτιν, κλειδίν, κουροπαλατίκιν, νησίν, ῥαπάτιν, σφοντύλιν, Ἀρδανούτζι(ν), Οὐλνούτιν, Ῥαούσι(ν), Τετραγγούριν, Τζαρβαγάνιν;

nom. -ί; gen. -ί: Τιβί;

nom. -ιμον; plur. nom. -ίματα: μεταστασίματα;

nom. -ις; gen. -ι: Δάναπρι, Δάναστρι.

### Adjectives:

nom. -ος, -η, -ον (~ -ος, -ον): ἕτοιμαι (plur. nom.) **53/433**, ὁμοφύλαις (plur. dat.) **14/24**;

nom. -ος (< -ής): ἄσφαλοι (? plur. nom.) **38/10, 28**;

nom. -ός (< -οῦς): ἀπλός **23/33**, χρυσός **42/67**;

comparative: βραδέστερον **53**/304, μειζοτέρῳ **53**/258, μελανώτερα **53**/498, πλησιέστερον **37**/49, ταχέστερον **53**/397, τάχιον **53**/402, 416;

congruence: εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ φιλοτιμιῶν, τῶν ἐπαξίων πάντων **1**/23, γυναικῶν ...παρόντων **17**/20.

### Numerals:

ἕνας (< εἷς) ἕνα βήσσαλον **53**/329.

### Pronouns:

αὐτός (= this) passim, e. g.: **2**/11, **5**/5, **9**/63, **13**/75, **14**/11, **27**/73, **28**/11, **29**/245, **32**/81, **40**/27, **44**/19;

ὁ αὐτός (= the same, the said, the aforementioned) passim, e. g.: **8**/9, **9**/104, **16**/8, **18**/4, **31**/8, **32**/10, **38**/19, **41**/3, **42**/32, **43**/27, **44**/20, **49**/59, **50**/39, **51**/8, **53**/173;

τό (= αὐτό): διὰ τὸ **45**/30, **53**/156;

ὁ τοιοῦτος (= this, the said) passim, e.g.: **1**/25, **2**/22, **4**/7, **6**/7, **8**/14, **9**/36, **11**/9, **13**/6, 118, **15**/6, **29**/32, 68, 246, **30**/18, 132, **31**/24, 47, **32**/23, 144, **33**/14, **34**/13, **35**/9, **38**/51, **42**/93, **43**/88, 157, **44**/38, **45**/48, 155, **46**/35, 140, **50**/78, 195, **51**/54, **53**/216, 505, 523:

οἱοσδήποτε: τὸ οἱονδήποτε **13**/82, τοῦ οἱουδήποτε **13**/122, τὸν οἱονδήποτε **25**/38;

οἱοσοῦν: ὁ οἱοσοῦν **13**/89, 102;

ὁ δεῖνα: τὸν ὁ δεῖνα **42**/48, 48;

τίς: τί δουλείαν **46**/81.

### Prepositions:

ἀνά + gen.: **29**/248, 248, **31**/73, 74, 74, **41**/5, **52**/7;

ἀπό + acc.: **9**/5, 6, 96, 106, **26**/25, 42, **31**/55, **32**/74, **42**/67, 87, 95, **46**/44;

εἰς + acc. (= in, into, on, at, by, among, about) passim, e.g.: **6**/4, **7**/6, **9**/10, 60, **13**/174, **15**/9, **16**/9, **21**/17, **22**/63, **25**/80, **26**/24, **27**/39, **28**/22, **29**/288, **30**/16, 103, **31**/29, **32**/82, **33**/5, **35**/5, **37**/21, 59, **38**/30, **39**/10, **40**/46, **42**/86, **44**/14, **45**/57, 165, **46**/55, **50**/78, 137, **51**/92, 131, **53**/214, 264;

ἐν + dat. (= to, into, at, upon) passim, e.g.: **1**/21, **7**/2, **8**/4, **9**/3, **13**/98, **21**/56, **22**/37, **26**/9, **27**/7, **28**/14, **29**/118, 157, **30**/76, **32**/50, 120, 139, **42**/34, **43**/62, 171, **45**/89, **46**/60, 79, **50**/53, 174, **51**/26, 142, **53**/52, 266, 311, 387, 414, 525;

[ἐν + acc. in P: **29**/235, 245, 261, 268, 275, **32**/92, **51**/139; cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, (München, 1938), pp. 111—112];

ἕως + acc.: **21**/55, **22**/48, **42**/63;

μετά + acc. (= with): **25**/23, **29**/4, **30**/75, **45**/62, 65;

μέχρι + acc.: **37**/13, **39**/13, **42**/53;

πρὸς ἐπί: πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις **53**/149; cf. D. Tabachovitz, *Museum Helveticum*, **3** (1945), pp. 160—161.

### Prepositional adverbs:

with gen.: ἀναμέσον, ἀναμεταξύ, ἀντίπερα, ἐκεῖθεν, ἔνθεν, ἐνώπιον, ἐπάνω, κύκλῳ, λόγῳ, μέσον, μήκοθεν, νόμῳ, πέραθεν, ὑποκάτωθεν.

### Verbs:

-άω ~ -έω: ἀπεμπολοῦσιν 9/16, ἔζουν 30/121;

-ῶ ~ -νῶ: ἀντιπερνᾶν 51/115;

augment: ἀνάλωσεν 13/99, ἀντεπαρατάξαντο 53/134, 187, ἀπέλασαν 32/25, ἐδιοίκει 51/60 [cf. P: P/35, 18/35, 51, 170, 21/20, 64, 25/5, 26/47, 64, 71, 27/13, 17, 31, 65, 29/28, 141, 233, 30/17, 46, 62, 32/42, 33/10, 34/9, 38/10, 39/7, 40/15, 41/22, 43/51, 45/19, 46/145, 47/11, 25, 49/47, 50/155, 162, 51/36];

reduplication: ἀποσταλμένῳ 49/20, βαπτισμένος 31/31, 68, 71, 86, 32/149, κατασκευασμένας 53/34, κοπωμένοι 53/68, μεταμέλημαι 29/167, τελευτηκότος 46/146, χαλινωμένα 51/203 [cf. P: 1/12];

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